AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and other TABLES.

VOL. X.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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'AN

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM
LORD *TALBOT*,
BARON of HENSOL.

My LORD,

WE presume to lay before Your Lordship this Part of the UNIVERSAL HISTORY; a Work which has hitherto received a favourable Applause, and is at present read by most Nations of Europe in their several Dialects, and by the Learned of all Nations in that Language which is peculiar to Men of Letters. The Names of the Noble Personages who have given Countenance and Protection to the foregoing Volumes, have, no doubt, greatly contributed to the uncommon Approbation they have met with, and heightened their Reputation among our own Countrymen, as well as Foreigners. That this Volume might, at its first Appearance in the World, be attended with the same Advantages as the former, is the Motive that has induced us to take the Liberty of inscribing it to Your Lordship: For who can be so little conversant in the Histories of the present and past Ages, as not to be greatly influenced in favour of a Performance, which displays the Illustrious Name of TALBOT? The Name of a Family from which your Lordship is lineally derived, near as antient as our Monarchy, and ever revered by this Nation, as it has eminently adorned the highest Offices both in Church and State: For whoever turns over the English Annals, must find the TALBOTS exerting

erting their great Talents for the Service of their Country, commanding Armies in the Field, preſideing in the Senate, or at the Head of a glorious Adminiſtration. And here, my Lord, we muſt ask Pardon for reviving Your's and the Kingdom's deplorable Loſs, when we reflect upon that Great and Good Man Your Father, who, to his immortal Honour, was the Darling of the preſent, as he will be the Admiration of all future, Times. My Lord, a Subject ſo copious as the CHARACTER of the laſt Lord Chancellor, we are ſenſible, cannot be confined to the narrow Limits of a Dedication; and we ſhall the rather decline it, becauſe we hope to ſee THAT become one of the moſt amiable Parts of ſome future Volume: Beſides, my Lord, as You are univerſally allowed to inherit his extraordinary Virtues, we will not dare to offend that remarkable Modeſty, which, with his other valuable Qualities, hath deſcended to Your Lordſhip. Therefore we ſhall not preſume further, but only with Your Lordſhip's Permiſſion, to acquaint the World, that the ſole Aim of this Addreſs is to pay a Reverence to ſuch exalted Merit, and to have the Honour of declaring ourſelves to be, with the utmoſt Duty and Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

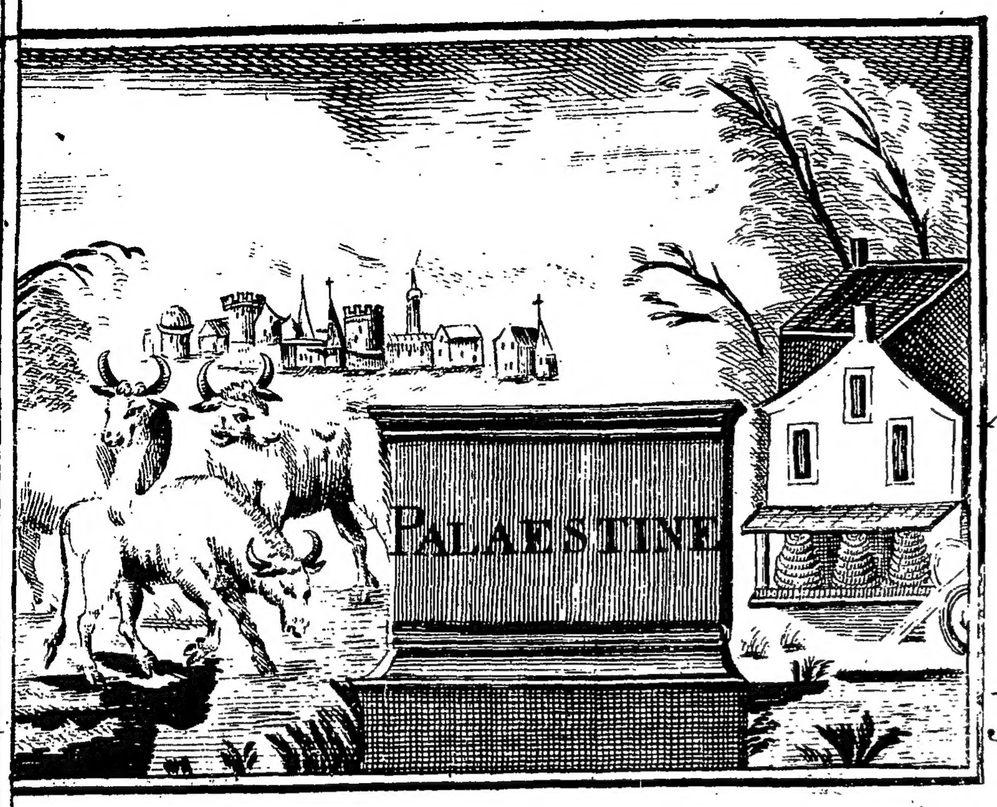
Moſt Obedient,

And Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

North



THE GREAT

OR

MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

Achzib Ecdippa

R. Kison Flu

Sycaminum

Megiddo

Dora

Straton's Tower

Cæsarea Palæstinæ

Apollonia

Joppa

Iabne

Iamnia

Accaron or Ekron

Azotus

Asdod

Ascalon

Gaza

Rhinocolura or Rhinocorura

Pompey's Tomb

Mount Casius

Jupiter's Temple

Casiotes

PART OF EGYPT

The Desert of Sur

Desert of Etham

Mara

Elim

Elusa

Eboda

Tabeera

Raphidim

Massa

Hazeroth

Kibroth Hataavah

Rimon Perez

Thimna

Mizpa

Emmaus

Lydda

Ramata

Bethoron

Gazara

Jaron

Antipatris

Sidon

Sarepta

Eleutherus Flu

Palætyrus

Gabala

Tyre

Sarra

Ptolemais

Abdon

Zippor

Nazareth

Carmel

Naim

Jephthoris

Bethlehem

Itabyr M.

Endor

Capernaum

Tarichæa

Tiberias

Nophet

Jesreel

Geboe M.

Jaramoth

Galgal

Thirza

Jamnia al. Sebaste

Garizim M.

Sichem

Neapolis

Darcas

Acrabata

Acrabatene

Silo

Bethel, Luz

Thimna

Emmaus

Jerusalem

Roma

Bethsemes

Bethlehem

Gallim

Gath

Libna

Eleutheropolis

Adullam

Ephrata

Gabathon

Jalim

Lachis

Hebron

Mamre

Machpelah

Ziph

Enaim

The Desert of Ziph

Ather

Ziclag

Etam

Gesouri

Engaddi

Maon

Carmel

Bethbirei

Besor Flu

Anthedon

Raphea

Gerara

Wilds of Bersheba

Cades barnea

Arad

Statue of Salt

Zoar

Sodom

Masada

Libna

Rimon Perez

Hazeroth

Kibroth Hataavah

Elusa

Eboda

Tabeera

Kehelatha

Harada

Makhelata

Tahath

Mirka

Sinai M.

Horeb

Hasmona

Moseroth

Bne Jaakan

Hor M.

Dedan

Bozra

Phunon

Zalmona

Petra Arce

Iie Abarim

Theman

Seir M.

Oboth

Zared Flu.

Arnon

Areopolis

Aroer

Dibon

Nebo M.

Matherus

Herodium

Ephrata

Adullam

Libna

Eleutheropolis

Ramata

Bethoron

Gazara

Jaron

Antipatris

Lydda

Jamnia al. Sebaste

Garizim M.

Sichem

Neapolis

Darcas

Acrabata

Acrabatene

Silo

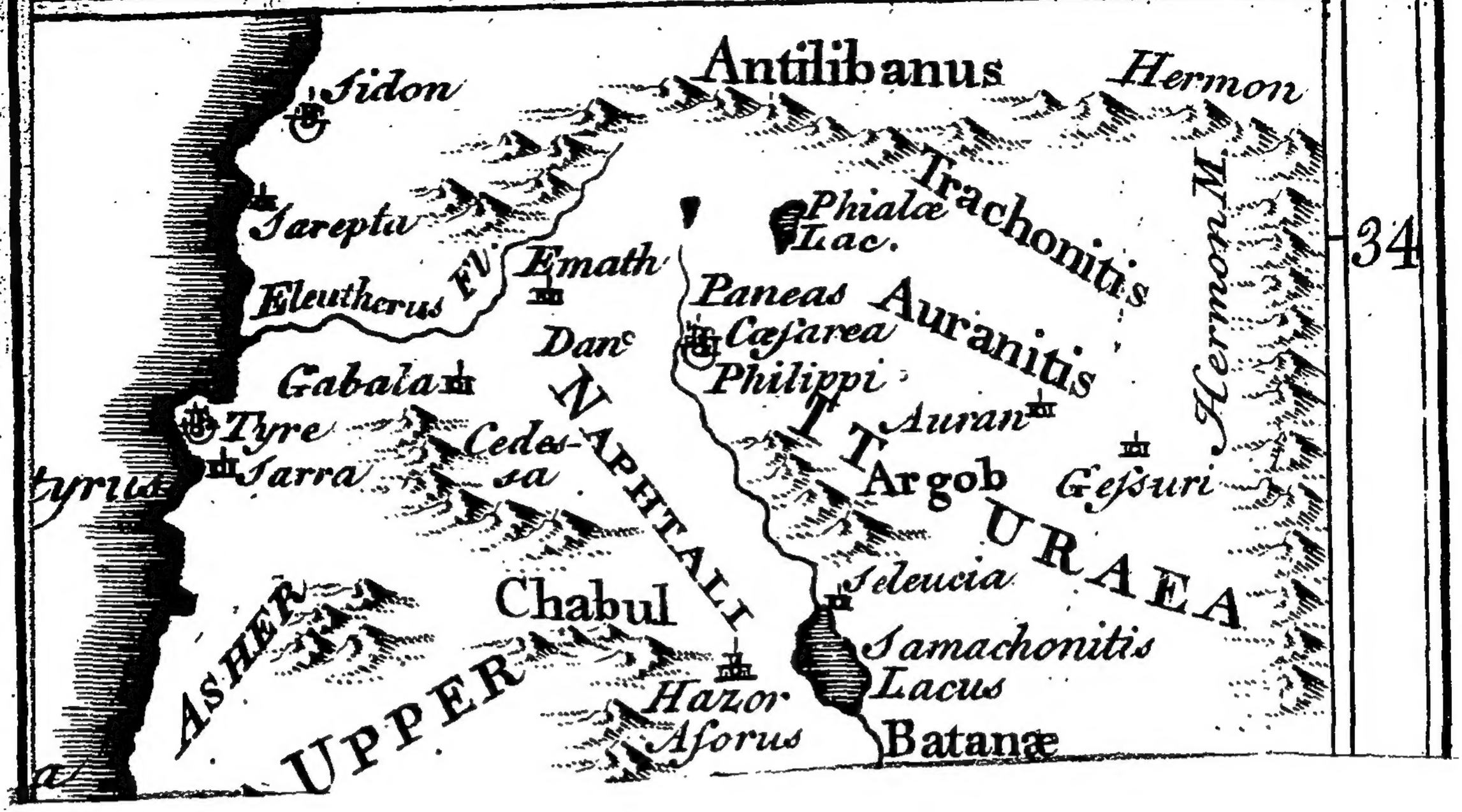
Bethel, Luz

Phasaelis

Jericho

Jerusalem

Teccoa


Antilibanus
Hermon
Sidon
Trachonitis
Phialæ
Lac.
Sareptu
Emath
Eleutherus
Fl.
Paneas
Auranitis
Cæsarea
Philippi
Dan
Gabala
Auran
Tyre
Tarra
Cedes-
sa
Argob
Gessuri
NAPHTALI
ITURAEA
Seleucia
Chabul
Samachonitis
Lacus
ASHER
UPPER
Hazor
Aforus
Batanæ
Hermon M.

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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CHAP. XI.

The Hiſtory of the Jews, from their return from the Babyloniſh captivity to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus Veſpaſian, with an account of their diſperſion and condition to this preſent time.

THIS chapter, long and extenſive as it is, it containing an epocha of five hundred and thirty-ſix years from their return into Judæa to the birth of Chriſt, and ſeventy-three more from that time to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and total diſperſion of the Jewiſh nation, may be conveniently enough divided into ſeven ſections or æras, according to the following chronological order: The diviſion and chronology of this chapter.

	Years of the flood.	Total of years.
Sect. I. From their return to Jeruſalem, to their being governed by their high-prieſts, where the canonical books end	2463 to 2590	127
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V. To the birth of Chriſt, concluding with an account of the principal Jewiſh ſects at that time: And VI. To the death of Chriſt in the thirty-third year of his age	33	70
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A ſummary of the ſtate of the Jews during this epocha.

THE account of their diſperſion and condition to this preſent time we ſhall give in an appendix.

BUT, before we paſs to the firſt ſection, it will be convenient to premiſe ſome few things concerning the ſtate of the Jews during this new epoch; for from this time they are no more to be looked upon as that free, rich, and glorious people, which they had been, either under their former theocracy, as Joſephus rightly terms it [a], or under their opulent and warlike monarchs, and the direction of their prophets. Their condition, government, manners, their very name, and every thing but their religion, is now intirely changed! And indeed, it could hardly be expected otherwiſe, when we conſider, that thoſe that had been carried away into Babylon were ſold for ſlaves, and diſperſed far and wide through that vaſt empire, according to the cuſtom of thoſe conquerors; and though ſome of them we find to have attained to very conſiderable poſts [b], or grown exceeding rich in the land of their captivity, yet theſe were but few, in compariſon of thoſe who groaned under the heavy hand of their oppreſſors [c]. Neither was it the former, but the latter, that is, the poorer ſort, that came back into Judæa; and even of theſe, the whole amount of all that came, either with Zerubbabel, Ezra, or Nehemiah, did ſcarcely come up to ſeventy thouſand; among whom a multitude of ſtrangers was likewiſe intermixed, either by marriages, or otherwiſe, moſt of them ſo indigent, that they were forced to be ſupported in their journey by the charitable contributions of thoſe that ſtayed behind.

THEY were indeed to be governed by their own laws; but as they ſtill continued in ſubjection to other nations, to the

[a] Cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 6. [b] Vid. Nehem. i. Eſth. i. Tobit paſſ. [c] Vid. int. al. Pſalm cxxxvii.

the Persians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans, that privilege, as well as the exercise of their religion, did very much depend on the arbitrary will of their conquerors, and was often curtailed, and sometimes wholly taken away. Even whilst they were under the Persians, the lives and estates of the whole nation were on the brink of being sacrificed to the ambition of a favourite Haman, had not Esther's interest miraculously prevented the execution of that bloody edict[d]; and so weak did they continue under them, that they were a long time exposed to the injuries of even the neighbouring Samaritans. They seem, however, to have recovered themselves by degrees, and to have lived in more peace and plenty during the two following centuries; and that is perhaps the reason of that vast chasm of near two hundred and fifty years in their history, between the death of Nehemiah and the times of the Maccabees, when those glorious heroes not only shook off the foreign yoke, but raised the glory of their nation by their victories and conquests, and by obliging other nations to embrace the Jewish religion. But this epocha was but short-lived, and eighty years were hardly expired, before the ungovernable ambition of some of their unworthy successors introduced a general apostacy, and brought them under such subjection to the Romans, as they could never more shake off. Herod indeed, whom these raised to the royal dignity, did greatly increase the glory and opulence of the Jewish nation; but as he was an Idumean, who had gained the crown by the destruction of the Asmonean race, as he was a vassal to the Romans, and a tyrant of the Jews, they could neither be said to be free or happy during his hateful reign, much less under those of his successors, when the government of Judæa was split into so many toparchies; so that the nation went from thenceforward from bad to worse, till their total destruction. We observed that they were changed in their very name; that of Israelites was quite lost, as well as those of all the other tribes, which were absorbed into that of Judah. So that from their return they were chiefly known by the name of Jews, in opposition to the Samaritans, who were a mongrel mixture, partly of the ten tribes, partly of revolted Jews, and of other nations, as the sequel will soon shew. Religion was the only thing that received the least change since their re-establishment, and if we except some apostacies, occasioned by persecutions, or the ambition of some of their high-priests, we shall find them in the sequel more averse to idolatry and all heathenish superstitions,

[d] Esther iii. & seq.

ons, than ever their fore-fathers had been prone to them before the captivity; ſuch ſtrict obſervers of the ſabbath, as to ſuffer themſelves to be murdered by whole armies, rather than violate it by ſtanding on their defence; in a word, ſo zealous for their religion, and ſuch ſtrict obſervers of their oaths, whether of allegiance or confederacy, as to ſuffer the moſt bloody perſecutions and horrid butcheries, with the utmoſt courage and conſtancy, rather than to violate their laws or fidelity. This is indeed a virtue, which, as Joſephus rightly obſerves, was peculiar to the Jews [c], and which no other nation or religion could ever lay any claim to, till the ſufferings, number, and conſtancy of the chriſtian martyrs, did in a great meaſure eclipſe the glory of the Jewiſh ones. We have already ſeen ſeveral inſtances of theſe laſt in a former volume, but ſhall find them ſtill more frequent in this ſequel of their hiſtory.

[c] Cont. Apion. ubi ſupra.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Jews, from their return out of Babylon to their being governed by their high-prieſts, where the canonical books end.

AS ſoon as the ſeventy years captivity pronounced by Jeremiah againſt this rebellious people [a], were fully accompliſhed (A), God was pleaſed to raiſe up the great Cyrus to

[a] Jerem. xxv. 11. xxix. 10. See before, Vol. IV. p. 173.

(A) Theſe ſeventy years are differently computed; ſome begin them from the fourth of Jehoiakim, when the firſt Jewiſh captives were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar (1), and end them at the firſt iſſuing of Cyrus's decree. Others from the words of Zechariah (2) place the beginning of it at the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and its concluſion at the publication of Darius's decree for the building of the temple, and reſtoring of liberty to the Jews.

Both computations may be juſtly maintained, and may have even been deſigned by Jeremiah, ſince between either of the two epochas there are juſt ſeventy years, and the latter begins and ends juſt eighteen years after the former.

(1) 2 Kings xxiv. 10, & ſeq. (2) Ch. vii. 1, & ſeq.

For

to the throne; who, in the very firſt year of his reign, iſſued out that decree in favour of them, of which an account has been given in a former volume *. By this edict they were not only permitted to return to their own land, which that prince had doubtleſs beheld, in ſome late expedition, lying deſolate and barren, though naturally fertile (B); but alſo to rebuild

Cyrus's decree. Year of the flood 2463. Year before Chriſt 536.

* Vol. V. p. 81. & not.

For as the captivity which began in the fourth of Jehoïakim, could not be ſaid to be completed till the total deſtruction of the city and Jewiſh monarchy; ſo neither could their deliverance, begun at the firſt decree of Cyrus, be ſaid to be completed till the fourth year of Darius, which confirmed and put it in full vigor and execution.

We may ſtill reckon a third method or ſtage of computing theſe ſeventy years, which anſwers in the ſame exactneſs with the two former; namely, from the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, when Nebuzaradan carried off all the remainder of the conquered Jews; at which time the captivity was completed to all intents; and the full reſtoration of their temple worſhip, at the ſolemn dedication of the new temple, and their celebrating the firſt paſſover immediately after it in the ſeventh year of Darius's reign; when, and not till then, was fully completed the end of their thraldom, and the Jewiſh religion reſtored to its antient ſplendor and regularity. All theſe the reader may ſee fully demonſtrated by the learned Prideaux (3) in the place laſt quoted.

However, the words of the prophecy before us, we own, ſeem to fix the epocha according to the firſt of theſe ſtages; though thoſe of Zechariah do more plainly belong to the laſt, as will be ſhewn in its due time.

(B) We have ſhewn in a former volume †, that the Jews were obliged by theMoſaic law to let their lands lie fallow every ſeventh year (4); but this had been neglected for a conſiderable time; for which God cauſed it to lie deſolate and uncultivated, till it had recovered that full reſpite, of which that rebellious nation had deprived it (5).

If therefore we reckon the whole ſeventy ſabbatic years to be here implied, it will follow, that the omiſſion of this law began even before the time of David, or even of Samuel; but it is ſcarce credible, that it ſhould have been ſuffered under the government of two ſuch pious perſons; whereas, if we date the deſolation of the land from the murder of Gedaliah, at which time thoſe few Jews that were left there fled into Egypt; to this

(3) Vid. Prideaux. Connect. vol. i. part 3. † See before, vol. iii. p. 207. (4) Levit. xxv. 1, & ſeq. (5) Conf. Levit. xxvi. 34, & ſeq. 2 Chron. cap. ult. verſ. 21.

rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, renew the divine worship and transport thither all the sacred utensils which Nebuchadnezzar had brought away from thence. These last he ordered to be delivered by Mithridath, his high treasurer, to Sheshbazzar, whom we take to be the same with Zerubbabel (C), who being the grandson of Jehoiakim, or Jeconiah, king of Judah, was then the first prince of the royal blood, and was therefore appointed head governor of Judæa, under the title of Tirshatha [b]. He likewise gave directions concerning the dimensions of the temple, which was to be *sixty cubits in height and breadth, built upon a strong foundation, with three rows of great stones, and a row of timber*; the expence of the whole to be furnished out of the king's house [c]; to all these the king added a full permission to all the Jews that were so disposed to return into Judæa, and to those who preferred staying behind, free liberty to contribute, as liberally as

[b] Conf. Ezra i. 8, 11. ii. 2. iii. 8, 10. v. 16. [c] See Ezra vi. 3, 4.

first year of Cyrus, the number of sabbatic years will be just fifty-two, and will carry us back three hundred and sixty-four years, that is, to about the beginning of Asa's reign, from which time the people began to be very remiss in this and many other particulars of the Mosaic law (6).

(C) It is likely, that the first was his Babylonish name (7), it being customary for those conquerors to change the names of their captives, as we find they did those of some of the later kings of Judah (8), as well as those of Daniel and his three companions (9). As to the title of Tirshatha, or Hatirshatha, though some derive it from the Chaldee, התירשתא dispensator potûs, or a cup-bearer, such as Nehemiah seems to have been to Artaxerxes; yet it is most likely, that the word implied some high dignity, such as a governor, lord lieutenant, a deputy, and the like; for such was here our Sheshbazzar or Zerubbabel.

The vessels that were delivered to him by the king's order, were, according to Ezra (10), thirty charges of gold, a thousand charges of silver, thirty basons of gold, four hundred and ten of silver, twenty-nine knives, besides many others, amounting in all to five hundred and forty; but these were not all that had been carried out of Jerusalem; the rest were afterwards brought thither by Nehemiah.

they

(6) Vid. Prid. ubi supra. Tremell. Munst. & al. in loc. sup. citat. (7) Conf. Ezra iii. 8, 10. & v. 16. (8) Vid 2 King. xxiv. 17. & alib. pass. (9) Dan. i. 7. & alib. (10) Ezra i. 9, & seq.

they pleased, gold, silver, or any other precious stuffs, towards the building and adorning of that sacred edifice, and the renewing and carrying on of the worship of God there [d].

IMMEDIATELY upon the publishing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with the priests and Levites, assembled themselves; and as many as retained still a love for their country and a zeal for the God of Israel, disposed themselves to return to that once happy land. As for the rest, which were the far greater number, who preferred the land of Babylon to it, they contented themselves with furnishing their returning brethren with gold, silver, cattle, and other conveniencies, either for their journey, or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of these were Zerubbabel mentioned above, and Jesua the high-priest (D). The next in rank were Nehemia and Mordecai (E), Serajah, Reelajah, Bilsham, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, and Baanah, who were all heads of families, and assistants to Zerubbabel in the re-establishment of the Jewish affairs both in church and state [e]. The rest amounted to about forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, including those that came afterwards with Nehemiah, besides their servants and slaves of both sexes, which were in all seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven [f]. Neither were they all of the

The heads of those that returned.

The total of them.

[d] Ibid. i. 3. 4. [e] Ezra ii. 2. Nehem. vii. 7. [f] Idem. ibid.

(D) This office belonged to him by a lineal descent, he being the son of Jozadack (11), whose father Seraiah, high-priest at the taking of Jerusalem, had been put to death at Riblah (12). As for Jozadack, he was carried captive into Babylon, and had been dead some time before the publishing of this decree, so that Jesua was then the head of the pontifical family.

(E) Some think these two to be the same with those so often mentioned in the books of Esther and Nehemiah, and that finding the work of the temple obstructed by their enemies, they returned again to Shushan (13); but it is generally believed, that they were quite different persons of the same name (14).

As for the other seven, the Jewish writers affirm them to have been the chiefs of the Jewish synagogue, or grand council of the Jews, which they say did sit at Jerusalem after their return from Babylon. We shall have occasion to speak more largely of this synagogue in the sequel of this chapter.

(11) Conf. Ezra iii. 1. & 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15. (12) 1 Kings xxv. 18 ad 21. (13) Abenezr. Corn. à Lap. & al. in Ezra ii 2. (14) Vide Prid. conn. & al. supra. citat. (15) Vide Abenezr. in loc. Kimch. in rad. & al. Munst. & Jun. in loc.

the tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, though from that time they were all blended together under the name of Jehudim, or Jews; for many of thoſe of the other ten tribes, which had been formerly carried away by Tiglath-pilezer, Shalmanezer, and Ezarhaddon, and had ſtill preſerved the true worſhip of God, took the advantage of the king's edict to return into the land of their forefathers. To theſe we may add a great number, who had formerly gone from the idolatrous ten tribes to put themſelves under the protection of the kings of Judah [g]; and this may be the reaſon why the whole number of thoſe mentioned in Ezra's liſt, amounts but to twenty-nine thouſand eight hundred and eighteen, and to thirty-one thouſand and thirty-one in that of Nehemiah; whereas both theſe hiſtorians make the ſum total to be forty-two thouſand three hundred and ſixty; ſo that the overplus ſeems to be added from thoſe of the other ten tribes, which returned with thoſe of Judah and Benjamin (F). We find likewiſe mention made of two hundred men and women ſingers, whom they brought with them, four hundred and thirty-five camels, ſeven hundred and thirty-ſix horſes, two hundred and forty-five mules, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred aſſes [h].

One may ſee by this liſt, how ſmall the number was of thoſe who returned, in compariſon of thoſe who ſtayed behind; neither muſt we be much ſurprized at it; for if even their forefathers, who were brought with ſo many wonders out of the furnace of Egypt, were almoſt continually plotting to return thither, what could be expected from their ſordid offspring, but that the far greater part of them would prefer the

[g] Vide 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9, & alib. [h] Ezra ii. 65, & ſeq.

(F) Accordingly we find the decree of Cyrus, and afterwards that of Artaxerxes, extended not to thoſe two tribes only, but to all thoſe that worſhipped God at Jeruſalem, which could not but include all the other ten (16).

In conſequence of which Ezra concludes the chapter in which the above-mentioned liſt is, with theſe remarkable words; *So the prieſts, levites, people, ſingers, porters, and* nethinims, *dwelt in their cities, and all* Iſrael *in their cities.* And when he ſpeaks of the expiatory ſacrifices which were offered at Jeruſalem, he mentions expreſſly *twelve he-goats according to the twelve tribes of* Iſrael (17).

(16) Ezra i, 3. vii. 13. (17) Ibid. vi. 16, 17.

the place of their captivity, where they were poſſeſſed of lands, houſes, and money, to that of Paleſtine, which had lain ſo long deſolate? And accordingly the Jews themſelves tell us [i], that only the bran came out of Babylon, but that the flour ſtaid behind; even of the prieſts, who, as we obſerved in the former part of their hiſtory *, were divided into twenty-four claſſes, only four of theſe returned, namely thoſe of Jedajah, Immer, Paſhur, and Harim. Theſe, however, ſoon after their arrival, ſubdivided themſelves each into ſix, that they might again make up the old number, and called themſelves by their names accordingly (G) [k]. Some of theſe there were, who, not being able to make out their lineal deſcent from the prieſthood, were deprived of the office and privileges of it until ſome high-prieſt ſhould ariſe who could decide their title by the urim and thummim [l]. The ſame diſpute happened alſo concerning ſome others, who being come from Telmela, Telharſa (H), and other places, could not prove themſelves to belong to any tribe [m]. Theſe were about ſix hundred and fifty in number, beſides upwards of three hundred and ninety nethinims, the poſterity of thoſe Gibeonites whom Solomon did afterwards dedicate to the ſervice of the temple †; ſo ſmall was the number of thoſe of unqueſtionable deſcent, who returned either with Zerubbabel or Nehemiah. And hence it is, that ever ſince this time the number of Jews that dwelt in Paleſtine was always vaſtly inferior to thoſe that were diſperſed in Chaldea, Perſia, &c. The prieſts, levites, ſingers, nethinims, and other officers of the temple ſettled themſelves as well as they could in or near Jeruſalem, that they might more readily vacate on the ſervice

Priests that returned.

[i] Talmud. Babyl. in Keduſhim. * See before, vol. i. p. 273. a. b. [k] Sedar. Holam. Rabb. c. 29. Talmud. Hieroſ. in Taanith. Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra. [l] Ezra. ii. 62, 63. [m] Ibid. 58. & ſeq. † See before, vol. i. p. 288.

(G) Hence it is that Zechariah the father of John the Baptiſt is ſaid (18) to have been of the courſe of Abiah, and Matthias the Maccabee to have been of that of Joarib (19), though 'tis plain neither of them, nor any other but the four above-mentioned, returned into Judæa.

(H) Perhaps the ſame with Telaſſur, a province of Aſſyria; if not, we own we are in the dark about the ſituation of thoſe places.

(18) Conf. Luke i. 5. 1 Maccab. ii. 1. (19) Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra.

vice of God, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things againſt the next grand ſolemnity; as for the reſt, the greater part of them diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring cities and country, where ſome of them had formerly dwelt, and where they probably found alſo ſome of their brethren whom Nebuchadnezzar had left there.

The feaſt.

By this time the month Tiſhri, which, as we have elſewhere ſhewn ††, was the firſt of the civil, and ſeventh of the eccleſiaſtical year, was at hand. The firſt day of it was the feaſt of the trumpets, becauſe the new year was to be proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument [n]. It uſhered in moreover two other great ſolemnities, namely the expiation day, or grand faſt, which was to be kept on the tenth [o], and the feaſt of tabernacles, which begun on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-ſecond of the month [p] incluſive. The greateſt part of that of expiation, ſuch as the high-prieſt entering on that day into the moſt holy place, &c. they were forced to ſet aſide for want of a temple; however, they failed not to come from all parts to the ſolemnity, and to faſt, pray, &c. and to offer the proper ſacrifices on the altar, which they had by this time repaired, ſo that from this day they ceaſed not to offer the morning and evening, and all other ſacrifices preſcribed by the law of Moſes.

Expiation faſt.

Feaſt of tabernacles celebrated.

The feaſt of tabernacles coming five days after that of expiation, they erected them booths at Jeruſalem, and celebrated that feſtival with the uſual ſolemnities, and ſo ſet about in good earneſt to reſtore the worſhip of God in that metropolis.

In this ſolemn aſſembly, it was reſolved to ſet about the rebuilding of the temple, towards which every one chearfully contributed according to their power; the whole amounted to ſixty-one thouſand drachms of gold, and five thouſand minas of ſilver (I), beſides an hundred veſtments for the prieſts to officiate in. This was indeed a ſmall ſum toward ſuch a vaſt and expenſive undertaking; and therefore we do ſuppoſe it to have been a free will addition of their own, to a much greater one which had been contributed by their brethren, who choſe to ſtay in the places of their diſperſion. This money was put into the hands of proper officers, who were to overſee the work, who immediately hired workmen, ſent to Tyre and Sidon for cedars from Libanus, purſuant to Cyrus's decree, and employed the firſt year in preparing the materials for the building [q].

In

†† Ibid, 194, 199. [n] Ibid. [o] Ibid. 218. [p] Ibid. 193.
[q] Ezra iii. 5. & ſeq.

In the ſecond month of the following year, which was the third of Cyrus's reign, and the ſecond from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of Zerubbabel their governor, of Jeſua the high-prieſt, and of the whole congregation. It was accompanied with the ſound of their trumpets, and other muſical inſtruments, the prieſts and muſicians ſinging ſome pſalms proper to the occaſion, and all the people ſhouting for joy at the laying of the firſt ſtones. But whilſt the younger ſort were thus expreſſing their joyful zeal upon this occaſion, many of the prieſts, levites, and heads of families, who had ſeen that famous building in its ſplendor fifty-three years before, could not forbear ſending the loudeſt cries of grief at the ſight of that which they were now going to build; inſomuch that the acclamations of the one, and the ſighs and groans of the other, were ſo intermixed, that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh them from each other (K) [r].

Year of the flood 2465. Before Chriſt 534.

The foundation of the temple laid.

[r] Ezra iii. 12.

(I) Every drachm of gold being computed to be worth about ten ſhillings of our money, and every mina of ſilver, about nine pounds ſterling, the whole amounted to ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred pounds. This was indeed a great ſum, if we ſuppoſe it to have been all contributed by that ſmall number of poor people juſt returned from a long captivity; and therefore it is generally thought, that it included likewiſe the offerings of thoſe who ſtaid behind, and who, as we have ſeen above, did all contribute largely towards it; but then this ſum will appear vaſtly too ſhort, conſidering the vaſt number, richneſs, and uſual munificence of thoſe that ſtayed; beſides, it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, that had this been the whole that had been collected both in and out of Paleſtine, they would have ſo readily ſet about ſo magnificent a building; for which ſeveral millions would ſcarcely have ſufficed.

It ſeems therefore more probable to us, that this collection was raiſed among them who returned, and were then at Jeruſalem; and conſequently, that though the bulk of them might be as poor as the Jewiſh writers make them, yet there were ſome conſiderable ones, who were both opulent and liberal enough, to add this offering of ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred pounds to that which had been contributed by their brethren abroad, and which was thought ſufficient to ſet about that noble edifice.

(K) That there was a real and even conſiderable diſparity between the old and new temple, is very certain, ſince God is pleaſed to comfort them for it, and to promiſe to raiſe the glory of

WHILST the work was carrying on, the Samaritans (L) came to Zerubbabel and the Jewiſh congregation, and expreſſed

of the latter above that of the former by the preſence of the Meſſiah (20).

This difference, however, cannot be underſtood of its largeneſs, ſince the new was built upon the foundation of the old. Of the two the decree of Cyrus ſeems to allow this new one three times the breadth of that of Solomon; this being but twenty, and that ſixty, cubits broad (21); but our learned Prideaux has ſufficiently proved that the dimenſions were the ſame, only differently taken viz. the one from in to in, and the other from out to out.

The Jews indeed tell us, that the ſecond temple wanted five conſiderable things, which were the chief glory of the firſt (22); and theſe were, 1ſt, the ark or mercy-ſeat: 2. the divine preſence, called by them the Shekinah: 3. the holy fire upon the altar: 4. the urim and thummim: and laſtly, the ſpirit of prophecy. And they are certainly in the right; but then it doth not appear from the ſacred hiſtorian, that theſe were the things which the Jewiſh elders bewailed, at the foundation of this ſecond temple (23).

It ſeems therefore probable, that their grief did ariſe from the unlikelihood that it would ever be raiſed to the grandeur and magnificence of the old one, ſeeing the one had been built by the wiſeſt and richeſt king, and conſtantly adorned by ſome one or other of his poſterity; the other was now begun by ſome few exiles juſt returned from their captivity: the one in the time of profound peace and greateſt opulence; the other in time of adverſity and oppreſſion from their enemies round about: the former was built of the moſt curious and coſtly ſtones, and timber, and other materials wrought with the moſt exquiſite art, and overlaid with a prodigious quantity of gold; inſomuch, that the overlayings of the moſt holy place, which was but thirty foot ſquare every way, is ſaid to have amounted to ſix hundred talents of gold (24), that is, to four millions three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling. What likelihood therefore was there, that this, which was moſtly built of the materials that were dug up out of the ruins of the former, would ever come up to it? Laſtly, there were in the old one many ſumptuous galleries, buildings, gates and other ornaments, which were not in this, nor were added to it till Herod's time, that is, about five hundred years after, as ſhall be ſeen in its proper place.

(L) Theſe were not of the ſeed of Iſrael, but the poſterity of that mixed multitude, whom Shalmanezer, king of Aſſyria, ſent from

(20) Haggai ii 3. & ſeq. (21) Conf. 1 Kings vi. & Appen. to vol. iv. cum Ezra vi. 3. (22) Talm. Jeroſol. in Taanith, c. 2. & Babyl. in Joma. c. 1. Vid. Prid. Part I. lib. iii. (23) Ezra iii. 12. (24) 2 Chron. iii. 8.

preſſed an earneſt deſire to join their aſſiſtance in it, ſeeing they had worſhipped the ſame God ever ſince the time of Eſarhaddon king of Aſſyria, who had ſettled them there. But whether the Jews ſuſpected the ſincerity of their offer, or out of contempt to a people who were not of the ſeed of Iſrael, but only imperfect worſhippers of God; Jeſhua, Zerubbabel, and the whole congregation, refuſed to let them bear any part in the undertaking, alledging, that the decree of Cyrus being only directed to thoſe who were of Iſraelitiſh deſcent, it would be a diſhonour to their nation to admit any ſtrangers to be partners in the work [s]. Whether this refuſal was really juſtifiable or not, we will not pretend to determine, ſince the ſcripture doth no where either praiſe or diſcommend it (M). Sure it is, that it proved the ſource of a bitter and irrecon-

Why obſtructed by the Samaritans.

[s] Ibid. Chap. iv. 1. & ſeq.

from Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, Sepharvaim, and other provinces, to inhabit thoſe parts, out of which he had carried the ten Iſraelitiſh tribes, as we have ſeen in a former volume †; they therefore took the name of Samaritans from Samaria the capital of that kingdom, but by the Jews they were called Cuthim from Cuthah, one of the provinces out of which they came (25).

Theſe had, ſoon after their ſettlement in and about Samaria, been taught the worſhip of the true God, but they likewiſe retained, each of them, the worſhip of their own Gods, ſo that their religion was a mixture of judaiſm and heatheniſm. Samaria having been then totally deſtroyed by Shalmanezer according to the prophecy (26), they did not think fit to rebuild it, but went and dwelt at Shichem, near mount Gerizzim, and made it their capital (27).

However they ſeem to have rebuilt and repeopled the old city, at leaſt in ſome degree, by that time the Jews were returned from Babylon, ſince both Ezra (28) and Nehemiah (29) make mention of the inhabitants of Samaria, and in this ſituation they were when they came to offer their aſſiſtance to Zerubbabel.

(M) the Jews, out of their innate hatred to the Samaritans, do one and all commend the zeal of that aſſembly, in refuſing to admit them to the work; and they think, that the reſentment which that people ſhewed immediately after, is a ſufficient token of the inſincerity of their offer, eſpecially ſeeing they are ſaid no-where to have forſaken the old worſhip of their country gods. We do not

† vol iv. p. 147. & not. (25) 2 Kings xvii. 23. & ſeq. (26) Mic. i. 6. (27) Joſeph. antiq. lib. xi. c. 8. (28) Chap. iv. 17. iv. 2. & al.

irreconcileable hatred between these two nations, the sad effects of which the Jews soon felt in the immediate obstruction of

not know of one christian commentator that hath not given into this Jewish notion, or has been at the pains to examine this refusal in a different light, notwithstanding its having proved so fatal to them, and so detrimental to their religion.

We shall therefore for once take the liberty to inquire how far they may be justly blamed for this refusal, and so be answerable for all that long train of mischiefs it brought after it.

First, then, the sacred historian doth no-where intimate, that they came to offer their assistance out of any hostile design, which he would scarcely have omitted, had that been the case; but plainly tells us, that they came and offered their assistance to the Jews. It is true, he calls them the adversaries of the Jews, for such they became when rejected by them; but it proves not that they were so before; besides, we have shewn heretofore, that the word צַר Tzar, here used, doth often signify a rival or competitor *, and may be as capable of a good sense as of a bad one, and why not in this case?

For the Samaritans had been long since instructed and initiated in the law of Moses, and been worshippers of the God of Israel; and as for the idolatries which their forefathers had intermixed with it, we think it more than probable, that they had long since forsaken them, upon reading the severe prohibitions that are interspersed in the pentateuch, which they had in their hands. This seems beyond dispute, not only from the confession they made before the Jewish congregation (30), but also from the constant behaviour, even after their rupture with the Jews, since we do not find them any-where taxed with idolatry, nor find the least monument or relic of it, though in every thing else diametrically opposite to the Jewish nation; though, if this had been the case, the admitting of them into their commonwealth, and partnership in the work, might probably have proved an effectual means of curing them of it; and it was indeed their duty to endeavour it; because.

2dly, The law of Moses obliged them to incorporate into their church and state all, except two or three nations therein excepted, that would become circumcised, and observers of the law (31). And might it not be in right of this law, that the converted Samaritans claimed their admittance into the work? especially since,

3dly, As servants of the God of Israel, they knew, that after the temple was once rebuilt, they would be equally obliged with the Jews to come and worship there, and there only; and if they were thus equally intitled to and desirous of enjoying the benefit of the temple, why might they not be equally zealous to contribute towards

* See Vol. iii. 255. sub fin. not. & conf. 1 Sam. i. 6. & ii. 32. (30) Ezra iv. 2. (31) Exod. xii. 48, & alib. pass.

of their undertaking, and by numberleſs ill offices, which the incenſed Samaritans did to them, and of which we ſhall give a further account in the ſequel of this chapter.

THE

towards the rebuilding of it? There could be then no juſt pretence for excluding them, ſince even heathens were allowed to ſend their offerings both to the temple, and for maintaining the divine worſhip there. Now, is it not more than probable, that if the ſtiff Jews had admitted them to any ſhare in the undertaking, though it had been only to contribute towards the charges of rebuilding, they might have found them as hearty friends to them, as their haughty refuſal made them enemies?

We have ſeen in a former volume how Joſiah, one of the beſt kings that ever reigned in Judah, thought theſe nations worthy to be invited to the ſolemnities which were celebrated at Jeruſalem, and with what zeal he deſtroyed all the idolatrous monuments that were in that kingdom (32); and was not his example very well worth imitating, eſpecially at this juncture?

If it be aſked how this zeal of the Samaritans, if it had been ſincere, came to be ſo ſoon turned into the bittereſt rancour, we need not now go far to ſeek for an anſwer. It is plain, firſt, they thought themſelves unjuſtly uſed by their refuſal, ſince even the law of Moſes condemned it; and in the next place, the Jews anſwer was couched in ſuch haughty and contemptuous terms, as plainly gave them to underſtand, that if ever they came to be again maſters of themſelves, inſtead of being looked upon as brethren, and ſervants of the ſame God, they muſt expect to be uſed with the ſame heavy hand as the Canaanites and other conquered nations had been by the former kings of Judah and Iſrael. It was natural therefore for them to uſe all proper endeavours to prevent it, which they did, by oppoſing all their meaſures to the utmoſt of their power; and their firſt ſtep was to obſtruct the rebuilding of the temple, which the Jews reſenting and retaliating, the enmity improved to ſuch a degree, that no two nations ever hated or were more cruel to each other upon all occaſions, than the Jews and the Samaritans. All which might in all probability have been prevented, had the former complied at leaſt in ſome meaſure with the requeſt of the latter.

Upon the whole then we think, that, inſtead of commending them for their zeal, we may much more reaſonably look upon all the misfortunes which the Samaritans made them ſuffer, to have been ſent them as a puniſhment for their uncharitableneſs.

The only thing we can ſee may be objected againſt what has been ſaid is, that the Jewiſh congregation had ſome inſpired perſons among them, ſuch as the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (33), whom they probably conſulted before they gave a definitive

(32) Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxxiv. ult. xxxv. paſſ. Vid. & ſup. vol. iv. p 163. & ſeq. (33) Ezra v. i.

THE firſt ſtep the repulſed Samaritans took to obſtruct the work, ſince they knew they could not procure a reverſion of the king's decree, was to bribe underhand ſome of his head miniſters and officers, to repreſent the Jews as a rebellious nation, and their rebuilding the temple as dangerous, and tending to ſhake off their obedience to him. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly ſtopped, in a great meaſure, not only during the remaining five years of Cyrus's life, but alſo during the reign of his ſucceſſor (N); however,

anſwer to the Samaritans; and if ſo, their refuſal muſt have been conformable to the will of God. But the text doth no-where ſay they did conſult them; and they might indeed do as Joſhua had formerly done with reſpect to the Gibeonites (34), think the caſe too plain to require it; and ſo forgetting that charity which the Moſaic law commands towards its proſelytes * *, they might only liſten to their natural contempt for all that were not of the ſeed of *Iſrael*; however that be, the event ſhews this their refuſal to have been the unhappy ſource of endleſs evils, in which the Jews did almoſt conſtantly bear the bigger ſhare, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew.

(N) This ſuppreſſion of the work is ſuppoſed to have given occaſion to Daniel's three weeks faſting and praying, which we read of (35), in the third year of Cyrus's reign, and which began on the third day of the firſt month (36), and at the end of which he ſaw the famous viſion of the Perſian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, contained in the three laſt chapters of that prophet, and which ſeems to have been the laſt he ever had.

And indeed, if we compare what he ſays in the cloſe of them, with his great age, it is reaſonable to believe he did not outlive it long, ſince he was then in the ſeventy-third year of his captivity, to which, if we add but fifteen, the age he was of when carried into Babylon, and leſs than that he cannot be ſuppoſed to have been, he muſt then have been near ninety years old; however, whether he died when we ſuppoſe him, or lived any time longer, we hear no more of him, except in the talmudic writings.

What the Jews opinion is, concerning him and his writings, has been ſeen in a former volume †. But Ezekiel, and even Joſephus, give him much the preference to the other prophets (37); and what is of more weight than all, our ſaviour himſelf (38) acknowledges him to have been a prophet; and if the Jews

ſince

(34) Joſh. ix. 14. ** See before, vol. iii p. 326. (35) Dan. x 1 & ſeq. (36) Vid int. al. Uſſer, ſub A. M. 3470. † Sup. vol. iii. p. 475 note O. (37) Ezek. xiv. paſſ. Joſeph lib. x. c 12. (38) Matth. xxiv. 15.

however, while Cyrus lived, the Jews did still keep on gathering materials for the work, in hopes of better times; they were still assisted in it by the Tyrians and Sidonians, who furnished them with cedars from Libanus, with masons, carpenters, and other workmen; and these being as it were pent up in their maritime cities, received in return a proportionable quantity of corn, wine, and oil from the Jews, as their ancestors had formerly done from king Solomon [t]. But Cyrus was no sooner dead, than the Samaritans, encouraged by the ill disposition of his successor Cambyses, called in scripture Ahasuerus [u], instead of their former sobdolous practices, declared themselves openly against the Jews, and against their undertaking; and writ in the most pressing terms to that monarch to put an immediate stop to it. Cambyses, however, probably out of respect to his father's decree, would not seem to revoke it, but privately gave them leave to obstruct the execution of it, so that the work, though it was not wholly suppressed, went at least very heavily on during his whole reign, which lasted but seven years and five months.

C 2 Cambyses

[t] Conf. 1 Kings v. 8. & seq. & Ezra iii. 7. [u] Ezra iv. 6. See also vol. v. p. 79.

since then had not been fatally blinded, they must have been forced to own that they had found him a very true one to their cost. But this will best be seen in the sequel of their history.

In the mean time, we cannot forbear observing, concerning his prophecies, whether those that relate to the Messiah or to those foreign empires above-mentioned, that they are the cleareſt and most circumstantiate of any; insomuch, that Josephus, in the place above quoted, rightly observes, that he did not only foretel future events, as the rest of the prophets did, but did also determine the time in which they should come to pass.

And this wonderful agreement between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies that foretold them, appeared so exact and irrefragable, that Porphyry could no other way elude the force of it, than by supposing the latter to have been written after the former (39).

Besides those prophecies of his, which were originally written, partly in Hebrew, and partly in Chaldee, the Latin version has some other pretended pieces of his, which were, however, never admitted by the Jews into their canon, and are therefore thrown out by the protestants among the apocrypha; of this kind are the history of Susanna, of Bel and the dragon, &c concerning which the reader may see all that is worth knowing in the authors quoted in the margin (40).

(39) Vid. Hieron præfat. in Daniel. (40) Id. ibid. & in Dan. xiii. Calmet præfat. in eund. Prid. Connect. part i. lib. iii.

Year of the flood. 2477. Before Christ 522.

Cambyſes being dead, and one of the magi having mounted the throne (O), as has been elſewhere related *, the Samaritans failed not to renew their accuſation againſt the Jews to that uſurper; they repreſented to him, that that nation had been always famed for rebellion, for the truth of which they appealed to ancient records; and added, that if they were ſuffered to go on in the rebuilding of their city and temple, which they were then about, they would not be long ere they ſhook off the yoke, and refuſed to pay him either tribute or obedience, and that their example might ſoon be followed by other provinces on that ſide of the Euphrates, and occaſion a general revolt. The uſurper, who had been one of the chiefs of the ſect of the magi, againſt whom the Jews were known to be diametrically oppoſite in point of religion, did not want any great arguments to induce him to ſuppreſs them, but ſent an immediate decree to them to deſiſt from their enterprize, and charged the Samaritans to ſee it executed. Theſe therefore, having received the order, went ſtraightway with it to Jeruſalem, and by virtue of it cauſed a total ſtop to be put to it, till the Jews obtained a freſh decree in the ſecond year of Darius his ſucceſſor's reign, that is, about two years after.

The building obſtructed by the Samarians.

The Jews puniſhed with dearth.

THE Jews by that time had been ſo diſheartened, partly by the conſtant oppoſition of the Samaritans, and partly by this laſt decree, that though this laſt ceaſed with the diſcovery and death of the uſurper, yet did they not ſhew the leaſt readineſs to reſume their enterprize, till God had puniſhed their indolence with a great dearth, and let them know by his prophet Haggai, that it was upon that account that both their harveſt and vintage had failed them [w]. This was indeed an effectual argument to awake the zeal of that ſelfiſh people, who had by this time taken care to ſeat themſelves in commodious and ſumptuous houſes, without giving themſelves any further thought about the houſe of God. The prophet was therefore ſent to the governor, to the high-prieſt, and to the reſt of the heads of Judah, to upbraid them with their ingratitude [x], and at the ſame time to aſſure them, that if they would now ſet

* vol. v. p. 95. [w] Haggai. i. 6. & ſeq. [x] Ibid. verſ. 4.

(O) This is he whom Ezra calls Artaxerxes or rather Artaſhſhaſhta (41); he is differently named by profane hiſtorians, as Smerdis by Herodotus; Mardys by Æſchylus; Spendadates by Cteſias; and Oropaſtes by Juſtin †.

(41) Ezra iv. 7. † See before, vol. v. p. 95,

set about the work in good earnest, God would not only make it prosper in their hands, but that he would make the glory of this second temple to exceed by far that of the first [y]. This reproof had at length the desired effect, and the people, roused up by these promises and threats, resumed and pursued the work under the eye and guidance of Haggai and Zechariah [z]. The work resumed.

In the mean time, the Samaritans, who kept a watchful eye over them, being surprized that they should dare to go to work again, in spite of the decree they had obtained against them, went and applied themselves to Tatnai, whom Darius had made governor of Syria and Palestine, and acquainted him, that this enterprise was resumed, not only against the king's order, but to the manifest detriment of his realm; they expected, probably, that this new governor would have immediately suppressed that work; but he, being a man of more temper and moderation, came directly to Jerusalem, accompanied with some of his counsellors, and with one Shetharboznai, who is supposed to have been governor of Samaria, and inquired of the Jews by what authority they ventured upon that work. Zerubbabel and Jeshua undertook to answer for the rest, and acquainted him with the decree they had formerly obtained from Cyrus, and at the same time produced the sacred vessels which that monarch had ordered to be restored to them in order to renew the worship of God in Jerusalem. Tatnai, having received this answer, thought the matter of too great consequence to interfere with, till he had sent a full account of it to Darius, and desired that search might be made concerning that decree. It was accordingly found among the records that were kept in the palace of Ecbatan †, where Cyrus was at the time of his granting it, and Darius, out of respect to that great monarch, two of whose daughters he had then married, readily confirmed it by a new one, in which all the grants of the old were repeated and ratified, with this severe penalty annexed, that whosoever should presume to contravene or obstruct it, his house should be pulled down, and a gallows made of the timber of it, and the offender hanged upon it. The execution of the decree was committed to Tatnai and Shetharboznai, and was brought to them accordingly much about the beginning of the fourth year of Darius's reign (P), and

Tatnai comes to Jerusalem.

Darius's decree.

Year of the flood 2481. Year before Christ 518.

[y] Ibid. ch. ii. 4. & seq. [z] Ezra v. 1. & seq. Zachar. i. 1. & seq. † De hac vid. vol iv. 446. vol. v. p. 81. & 102. Vid. & Ezra v. 3. & seq. [a] Ezra vi. 6, & seq. Vide & Joseph. antiq. l. xi. c. 4.

(P) The learned Usher seems to place this decree one year sooner; but if we consider that it was about the beginning of the third

and by them communicated to the Jews [a].

The temple finished.

It was then that the building began to rise apace, since they were now not only free from any obstructions from their enemies, but were supplied by the king's order, with all necessaries towards the expence of it, out of the treasury of that province; and this addition of the king's bounty, joined to the offerings which both they of Palestine and their brethren abroad paid towards it, caused such a dispatch in the work, that it was completely finished in three years, that is, in the sixth year of Darius, and in the month Adar, which is the last of the Jewish year, answering in part to our February *. The dedication of that sacred building was celebrated with suitable solemnity and joy, and with abundance of sacrifices; after which they prepared themselves likewise for the approaching festival of the passover [b], to which many of their brethren from other provinces assisted, having heard of the success which that long-wished-for enterprize had met with; and from this time we reckon the complete restoration of the Jews mentioned in the first note of this chapter. Accordingly, when those that dwelt in Babylon sent about this time to Jerusalem to inquire of the prophets, whether they might not thenceforward desist from keeping the fasts of the fifth and seventh months (Q), Zachariah, among other things contained in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies, tells them, that they had now kept those fasts seventy years [c]. In memory of this decree, which, we observed, was given from Shushan, or Susa, the Jews gave the name of Shushan to the eastern

* See before, vol. iii. p. 206, & note. [b] Ibid. vers. 15. ch. vii. 6. Ezra vi. 16, ad fin.

year of that monarch, that Tatnai sent to the king about it, one may reasonably allow six months for the messenger's going and coming from Jerusalem to Shushan in Persia, since, as we have seen a little higher, Ezra was four months in coming from Babylon; and less than other six months can hardly be allowed, before they could obtain, in so great a court, an order for searching the records, going from Shushan to Ecbatan, procuring an authentic copy of the decree, bringing it back to Darius, and obtaining a confirmation of it (42).

(Q) These were fasts which the captive Jews kept in those two months in memory of, first, Jerusalem being first besieged by Nebuchadnezzar: Secondly, Of its being taken by him: Thirdly, Of its being burnt with the temple: And, Fourthly, For the murder of Gedaliah: All which fasts they still keep to this day, though they have somewhat changed their place in their calendar.

(42) Vide Prideaux, ubi supra.

eaſtern gate of the outward temple wall, and cauſed a baſs-relief of that metropolis to be ſet up over it, which continued there till its total deſtruction by the Romans [d].

In the mean time, the mortification which the envious Samaritans received from the king's decree in favour of the Jews, and the wonderful diſpatch with which they had finiſhed their temple, did but ſerve to augment their rancour againſt them; their being obliged to pay, not only towards the rebuilding of that edifice, but towards the ſacrifices and oblations that were daily to be offered up there, for the proſperity of the king and the whole realm, and towards the maintenance of the prieſts who officiated there [e], was what they ſeemed to reſent above all the reſt; and therefore, as ſoon as the temple was finiſhed, though the outbuildings were ſtill unrepaired, and continued ſo for many years, they made it a pretence for with-holding the uſual tribute, pretending, that it was to ceaſe as ſoon as the building was finiſhed. This obliged the Jews to ſend a deputation to Darius, at the head of whom were Zerubbabel, Mordecai, and Ananias, to complain to the king of it. Darius received them with his uſual benevolence, and after a full hearing iſſued out a freſh decree, commanding his officers at Samaria to cauſe the uſual tribute to be paid to the temple, and for the future on no pretence whatever to give the Jews any cauſe of complaint upon that article [f]. After this they met with no further obſtacle during the reſt of that monarch's reign, which laſted twenty-eight years longer, nor during the twelve years of his ſucceſſor; but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high-prieſts in matters of religion, and in thoſe of ſtate by the heads of the tribe of Judah, though ſtill in ſubjection to the kings of Perſia, and ſubordinate to his governors on this ſide of the Euphrates (R). Xerxes had no ſooner ſucceeded his father, than he confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the Jews. This was not without a ſingular mark of the divine providence, ſince the temple of Jeruſalem was the only one that obtained this particular

Samaritans refuſe to pay to it.

Xc 476. Year of the flood 2541. Year before Chriſt 458.

[d] See Lightfoot's proſpect of the temple, ch. 3. [e] Ezra vi. 8. & ſeq. [f] Vide Joſeph. antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4.

(R) Theſe particulars we have from Joſephus, who adds, that Zerubbabel was the perſon who anſwered the wiſe queſtion propoſed by the king, which we have in the apocryphal book of Baruc. But we ſcarce think it worth inſerting here, though the ſame author tells us, the rebuilding of the temple and the reſtoration of the Jews were granted him as a reward for his merit and judgment. The canonical books are ſilent as to all thoſe particulars, and we ſhall ſtick cloſe to them as far as they go.

lar regard for that prince, whilſt he was plundering and deſtroying all the reſt that came in his way. But he was in both caſes fulfilling the prophecies of Iſaiah [g] and Jeremiah [h], which had long ſince foretold both the downfall of the heathen idols and temples, and the reſtoration of the Jewiſh one, under the protection and favour of Cyrus and his ſucceſſors. Joſephus adds from a paſſage out of an ancient poet (S), that the Jews aſſiſted Xerxes in his wars, and that he had a band of them in his army [i]. It is true, the meaning of the poet has been much canvaſſed by very great critics; but whether or no he intended the Jews by it, it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that they, who were ſo well known for their valour, fidelity, and attachment to that prince, ſhould be the only people excuſed from the war, when his army was compoſed of all the other nations of the Perſian empire. In the third year of his reign, according to the Alexandrian chronicle, died the Jewiſh high-prieſt Jeſhua in the fifty-third year of his high-prieſthood, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Joiakim [k]; and Xerxes, being murdered in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, was ſucceeded by his third ſon Artaxerxes, whom we have elſewhere ſhewn to have been the Ahaſhuerus of ſcripture, the huſband of Eſther †, and conſequently the greateſt friend the Jews ever had, either before or ſince their reſtoration.

Artaxerxes or Ahaſhuerus favours the Jews.

How he came to be ſo above all his predeceſſors, we chiefly learn from the book of Eſther, whoſe hiſtory there related is ſo well known, that we ſhall content ourſelves with giving our readers as ſhort a ſummary of it as is neceſſary for the

[g] Ch. xxi. 9. [h] Ch. x. 11. li. 44, 47. & alib. paſſ. [i] Cont. Apion. l i. [k] Nehem. xii. 10. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. c. 5. † Vol. v. p. 154. & ſeq. & note.

(S) The paſſage is out of Chærilus, and is to this purpoſe, That a ſtrange people, who uſed the Phœnician dialect, and dwelt in the high and hilly grounds of Solyma, near to a great lake, marched under his (Xerxes) ſtandards. The Jews ſpeaking then the Syriac language, Solyma being one of the names of Jeruſalem, and its being ſituate upon hills, and near the famous lake Aſphaltites, it was natural for Joſephus to underſtand the people here mentioned to have been the Jews. Some great critics, however, (43) have pretended to apply it to the Solymi of Piſidia, againſt whom Salmaſius has undertaken to vindicate the Jewiſh hiſtorian (44), who ſeems indeed to be moſt in the right,

(43) Scalig. not. ad fragm. Bochart. Phaleg. part. ii. l. i. c. 6. Cuneus de repub. Hebr. (44) Oſſileg. Ling. Hellen. Vid. Prid. ubi ſupra.

the thread of our hiſtory. Eſther or Hadaſſah was an orphan of the tribe of Benjamin, brought up and adopted by her uncle Mordecai; this laſt was a deſcendant of thoſe who had been brought captives into Babylon with Jeconiah king of Judah, and, by his conſtant attendance at the palace-gate, ſeems to have been one of the king's porters. He had had intereſt enough to introduce his niece into the palace, among other beauties who were to be candidates to ſucceed the repudiated Vaſhti; and ſhe had already ſo captivated the Perſian monarch, even before he had ſet the diadem on her head, that ſhe could obtain any thing from him, which her uncle bid her aſk of him; it being a peculiar privilege of thoſe virgins, whenever their turn came to appear before the king, to obtain whatever they aſked of him [1]. It is therefore reaſonably ſuppoſed, that it was by her intereſt that Ezra, a very learned and zealous Jew, of the houſe of Aaron (T), obtained

Ezra ſent into Judæa.

[1] Eſther ii. 18. & ſeq.

(T) He calls himſelf here, according to the Hebrew idiom, the ſon of Seraiah (45), who was the high-prieſt, whom Nebuchadnezzar cauſed to be ſlain at the taking of Jeruſalem (46); but had he been his real ſon, he muſt then have been at leaſt a hundred and thirty-two years old, ſuppoſing him to have been an infant when his father died (47), and ſo wholly unfit for ſuch a journey and employ; whereas we find him capable of reading the ſcriptures to the people from morning to noon, one whole week, and of aſſiſting Nehemiah in his office thirteen years after (48), when he muſt have been at leaſt a hundred and forty-five years old.

But ſince he there alſo calls Azariah the ſon of Merajoth, though it appears from the book of the Chronicles (49), that there were ſix deſcendants between them, what ſhould hinder, but he may himſelf have been ſome deſcents off Seraiah, though it doth not appear how many?

What reputation he was in at the Perſian court, may be gathered from the commiſſion itſelf, which is ſo extenſive in favour of the Jewiſh nation, as well as of Ezra himſelf, that a leſs intereſt than that of Eſther can hardly be ſuppoſed to have procured it to him; it was to this effect (50):

"Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra, the prieſt of the "law of the God of heaven, peace, &c. It is our decree, "that whoſoever of you, whether prieſts, levites, &c. ſhall "be

(45) Ezra vii. 1. (46) 2 Kings xxv. 18, & ſeq. (47) Comp. the Marg. Chronol. in both places. (48) Nehem. viii. 2, & ſeq. (49) 1 Chron. vi. 7, & ſeq. (50) Ezra vii. 12, & ſeq.

tained an ample commiſſion from Artaxerxes to return to Jeruſalem, with as many of his nation as were willing to go with him, and there to regulate or reform all matters, whether of church or ſtate, as he ſhould ſee fit [m]. This commiſſion was granted to him in the ſeventh year of that monarch's reign, in virtue of which he began his journey from Babylon on the firſt day of the month Niſan, anſwering to the middle of March; he ſtaid ſome days near the river Ahava for the reſt of his company, and during that time, being willing to take ſome Nethinims with him to Jeruſalem, to ſerve there as formerly in the temple, he ſent ſome of his retinue to Iddo, who was chief of thoſe that dwelt near the place Caſiphia (U), from whence he gathered about two hundred

Year of the flood 2541. Before Chriſt 458.

[m] Ezra vii. 6. & ſeq.

"be deſirous to return to Jeruſalem, be permitted to go ſafely
"thither — We give you power to ſettle and reform every thing
"according to the law of your God, and to convey thither all
"the money, veſſels, &c. which we, our counſellors, as well
"as the prieſts and others of your nation that ſtay in the pro-
"vince of Babylon, ſhall freely offer for the ſervice of the
"the temple of your God, which is at Jeruſalem, or to diſpoſe
"of it in any other way you ſhall think fit — and that what-
"ever other charges Eſdra ſhall think neceſſary for the houſe of
"God, ſhall be forthwith furniſhed to him out of our revenue
"on the other ſide of the Euphrates, as far as a hundred talents of
"ſilver, a hundred meaſures of flour, wine and oyl, &c.
"And we do likewiſe forbid our governors in thoſe provinces
"to levy or demand any toll or taxes on any of the prieſts, le-
"vites, ſingers, &c. of the temple; and we impower you,
"Eſdra, to appoint judges, magiſtrates, &c. according to the
"wiſdom with which God has endowed you, to judge that peo-
"ple on that ſide the river, and to condemn every offender to
"death, baniſhment, or any leſſer puniſhment, according to
"the nature of his crime."

(U) It is not eaſy to gueſs what place this was: the text calls it בְּכַסְפְיָא הַמָּקוֹם, Caſiphia hammakom, Caſiphia the place. Some have taken it for the Caſpian mountains, ſituate between Media and Hyrcania, in the mines of which theſe captive Nethinims are ſuppoſed to have been ſent to work; if ſo, it is no wonder they ſhould be ſo ready to embrace the benefit of the king's decree.

Joſephus paſſes by this whole affair, and is ſo out both in his chronology and hiſtory, that he makes this decree, as was that which Nehemiah obtained thirteen years after, to have been both granted by Xerxes, contrary to the Hebrew text, which calls him Artaxerxes; but this is not the only place where that hiſtorian is out.

hundred and twenty of them, besides some priests and levites[n]; after which having proclaimed a solemn fast, to implore the divine protection, they set forward, and arrived at Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month, or the middle of July, that is, after a journey of four months.

His commission.

At his arrival he opened his commission before the whole Jewish assembly, and there delivered to the priests the offerings which had been made by the king, nobles, and by the Babylonish Jews (W); after which, having sent to acquaint the governor of Syria and Palestine with the power he had received from the king, he set about putting it in execution; he began with appointing judges and magistrates, to reform every thing that was contrary to the law of Moses, and, pursuant to his commission, impowered them to punish offenders, not only with fines, imprisonment, and other lesser punishments, but even with banishment and death, according to the nature of the crime[o]. Ezra continued in the faithful discharge of his authority thirteen years, that is, till he was succeeded by Nehemiah, who was sent thither with a fresh commission from the same monarch. But before that, the Jews having received fresh tokens of the king's favour upon his raising Esther to the diadem, Ezra relying upon the protection of two such powerful friends as the new queen and Mordecai, who now engrossed the king's favour, gave himself up wholly to the care of the Jewish affairs, and to reform some crying abuses, which had crept in among those, who were returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel.

Reforms the church and state.

One of these was the intermarriages, which not only the common people, but even priests, levites, and heads of families

[n] Ibid. ch, viii. 15. & seq. [o] Ibid. vii, 25, 26.

(W) These offerings amounted to (1) a hundred talents of gold, besides twenty basons of gold, amounting to a thousand darkonim (or darics, which were equivalent to our jacobus); (2) six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver, to the weight of a hundred talents more, and two vessels of some fine copper then reckoned as valuable as gold.

From this new reformation made by Ezra in the Jewish church and commonwealth, the learned Prideaux begins the computation of Daniel's weeks; but as this is a subject quite out of our province, we refer those readers who are curious about it to consult the book itself (3).

(1) Ibid. ch. viii. 25, & seq. (2) Vid. Prid. part i. l. ii. (3) Connect. part i. l. v.

lies, had made with some of their idolatrous neighbours [p], by which they had introduced a mixed mongrel breed of Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Samaritans, and other strange nations among the true Israelites; to rectify this, Ezra issued out a proclamation, and ordered all that were returned from the captivity to appear before him at Jerusalem on a set day, under the penalty of being excommunicated and forfeiture of all they had. As soon as they were assembled, he upbraided them in the severest terms for their crimes, so strongly forbidden by the Mosaic law; after which he obliged them to take a solemn oath, that as many as had been guilty of it should put away both their strange wives and the children they had by them. But as the thorough cognizance of the matter was like to take up some considerable time, and the court of the temple was still uncovered and exposed to the rains that fell then abundantly, he appointed commissioners to make strict search into every family, and to oblige all delinquents to comply with the covenant which Ezra had exacted from them. This scrutiny was accordingly begun on the first day of the tenth month, and ended on the same day of the first month, when the number of delinquents was found to amount to a hundred and fourteen, some of whom had children by these strange wives [q].

Abolishes mixt marriages.

His next great work in pursuance to his commission was, to reform the whole state of the Jewish church, by restoring its discipline and rites, according to its ancient pattern under the former prophets. In order to which, his first care was to collect and set forth a correct edition of the sacred books, and then to reduce the observance of the Mosaic law to that standard. This circumstance we find neither expressly mentioned in the sacred historians, nor in Josephus; but we have it from the Talmudists and other ancient Jews, who add a great many others, which, not carrying the same probability with this, we shall for that reason give an epitome of in the margin (X). But as for this of his collecting and reviving the

Collects the sacred books.

[p] Ezra ix. 1, & seq. [q] Ibid. cap. ult. vers. 17. & seq.

(X) They tell us, 1st, that he was assisted in it by the grand synagogue or sanhedri, which they pretend to have been originally instituted by Moses in the seventy elders, and to have been since increased to a hundred and twenty; we have already confuted the greatest part of this assertion in a former volume, to which we refer the reader †. 2dly,

† vol. iii. p. 6. not.

the ſacred books, making ſome ſmall additions to them, and fixing the canon of the Old Teſtament to twenty-two books, as they are now received by the Jews and proteſtant chriſtians; we have many reaſons to confirm it. He was excellently well verſed in them; his extenſive authority enabled him to gather up all the beſt copies that could be met with, either at Jeruſalem or among the diſperſed Jews; he was himſelf inſpired, and had the aſſiſtance of two or three prophets (Y) in the work. The then confuſed ſtate of the Jews

2dly, In this ſynagogue they place among the principals of them the prophet Daniel and his three friends, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, whom they pretend to have been ſtill alive, and to have returned from the captivity, though neither he, Ezra, or Nehemiah, mention any thing about any of them.

Laſtly, and to mention no more, they place at the tail of this ſynagogue Simon the juſt, between whom and the time in which we ſuppoſed Daniel to have died there elapſed near two hundred and fifty years. The method they take to skip over this difficulty is equally abſurd, and only expoſes their ignorance of chronology; and this makes the judicious dean above quoted rightly ſuppoſe, that this pretended aſſembly of a hundred and twenty was only a ſucceſſion of men, who put every one a helping hand to complete what Ezra had ſet on foot; and that Simon the juſt, who is the laſt there named, and was really ſo in point of time, was the perſon who gave the finiſhing ſtroke to that great work (4); for that it was ſo far completed in Ezra's time, as to have had no addition or amendment made to it afterwards, is ſcarce credible.

1ſt, Becauſe we find in Nehemiah * the genealogy of Jeſhua the high-prieſt is carried down to Iadua, and mention made of Darius the Perſian, or Codomanus, who were recenter by at leaſt a hundred years; and in the third chapter of the firſt book of the Chronicles, Zerubbabel's genealogy is carried down ſo far as muſt neceſſarily reach to the time of Alexander the Great.

2dly, Among the various readings noted in the margin of the ſacred books which are attributed to Ezra, and are known by the name of Keri and Ketib, we find ſome in thoſe of Ezra and Nehemiah, which cannot be ſuppoſed to have been put in by them, but by ſome of their ſucceſſors in the work

3dly, We may add, that Nehemiah and the Chronicles fall very ſhort of that correctneſs of ſtyle and method that we find in the other books of the Old Teſtament, and, for the reaſons above alledged, were hardly admitted into the canon, till about the time of Simon the juſt above-mentioned.

(Y) Theſe were Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, to which the Jews add, as we hinted in the laſt note, Daniel and his three companions.

(4) Connect. ubi ſupra. * Ch. xii. 10, 22.

Jews required ſuch a collection and reviſal of the ſacred writeings, and ſome ſuch thing we find done ſoon after Nehemiah's arrival in Judæa, when Ezra brought forth the ſacred volume, and read and expounded it to all the people from morning till noon, during the whole ſeven days of the feaſt of tabernacles [r]. Laſtly, the whole current of Talmudiſt writers, and all the ancient and modern Jews [s], (except the Samaritans, who reject all but the pentateuch, as ſhall be ſeen in due time; and Joſephus, who perhaps did not think proper to tell the world that the ſacred writings ſtood in need of ſuch a reviſal and amendment) aſcribe this work to Ezra, as preſident of the ſanhedrin, and chief director and overſeer of the whole, in which they have been followed by no ſmall number of ancient fathers [t], and by far the greateſt part of modern writers. We may further add, that there is no other way of juſtifying that great and zealous man, for leaving the city and outworks of the temple in that defolate ſtate in which Nehemiah found them at his coming [u], conſidering that he met with

[r] Nehem viii. 2. & ſeq. ad fin. [s] Vid. Seld. de ſynder. Buxtorf. Tiberiad & Auct. ab eis citat. [t] Clem. Alexandr. Storm. l. i. Iren. l. iii. Baſil. epiſt. ad Chilon. Iſidor. Orig. l. vi. & al. mult. [u] Nehem. i. 2. ii. 14. & ſeq.

companions. As for Malachi, they pretend, that he was the ſame with Ezra; that this laſt was his proper name, and מלאכי Malachi, which ſignifies my angel or meſſenger, to have been that of his office, as being the perſon or prophet ſent by God to reſtore the Jewiſh church to its priſtine ſplendor and ſtandard.

St. Jerom and ſome other antient writers have maintained the ſame notion (5): ſure it is, that Malachi is rather a common than a proper name, and that in Ezra's time, prophets were called by that name (6); and accordingly, ſeveral antient fathers quoted Malachi under the title of the angel or meſſenger of God (7).

What ſeems to confirm that he was an aſſiſtant to, if not the ſame with, Ezra, is his reproving the people for marrying ſtrange wives (8), of their oppreſſion for their poor brethren (9), and ſeveral other abuſes which were then rectified by Ezra and Nehemiah.

(5) Comment. in Malach. & alib. plur. (6) Haggai. i. 13. Malach. iii. 1. & alib. (7) Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. Tertul. cont. Judæos, c. 5. Orig. in Joan. & al. (8) Ch. ii. 11. (9) Ibid. v. 10. & alib. paſſ.

with no other obſtacles, that we read of, from the Samaritans, but all poſſible encouragement from the Perſian court; but the ſuppoſition, that he thought it of greater moment to beſtow his time and care in this new and correct edition of the ſacred code, than to buſy himſelf in repairing the outworks of the city and temple. It is in the time of this reviſal that he is ſuppoſed to have exchanged the old Hebrew character, for the more beautiful and commodious Chaldee now in uſe, and to have invented the Maſſorah (Z), vowel, and

(Z) By the term Maſſorah or Maſſoreth, which ſignifies tradition, is meant the unwritten rule or canon by which the reading and writing of the ſacred books was fixed. We have already ſeen elſewhere, that the Jews affirm it to have been given by God himſelf to Moſes, who delivered it to Joſhua, Aaron, &c. by whom it was tranſmitted by oral tradition, through a long ſucceſſion of holy and inſpired men, down quite to Rabbi Judah, ſurnamed Hakkadoſh, or the holy, who wrote it in the book which they call the Miſhna; all which we have formerly confuted †, as a ſeries of Rabbinic fictions.

Others, with more probability, attribute it to this Ezra, who, in the comparing of the ſeveral copies, out of which he was to compile his new authentic one, found himſelf under a neceſſity of correcting ſeveral errors which had crept in, through the ignorance and careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers, and obſerving likewiſe here and there a different reading, which might be well enough preſerved, he put the one, perhaps that which he thought the beſt, in the text; and this the Jews call Keri; the other he put in the margin, to intimate, that it was otherwiſe written in ſome copies; and thoſe marginals were called Cetib. It were, however, abſurd to ſuppoſe, that they were all inſerted by him, ſince, as we hinted in a former note, we find ſome of them, not only in the book that goes by his name, and is juſtly attributed to him, but in ſome of a later date; beſides, many of thoſe marginals are really trifling, and ſome of them far beneath the dignity of ſuch an author. Thoſe who underſtand the Hebrew tongue may ſee an inſtance of this in the places quoted in the margin (11)

As for the vowel points, which are ſaid to have been invented by him, in order to fix the true ſenſe of words, we have heretofore ſhewn them to be of much more modern date ‡. But as to the gramatical ones, eſpecially the athnach and ſilluc, or ſophpaſuk, ſo called, becauſe this laſt concluded every period, called by the Jews paſſuk, it is moſt likely, they were deviſed either by, or

(10) Prid. ubi ſupra. † vol iii. p. 165, note B. & alib.
(11) 2 Kings xviii. 27. Iſaiah xxxvi. 12. ‡ vol. iii. p. 456. & note.

and other points, concerning which we have given a full account in a former volume †.

ANOTHER

† vol. iii. p. 447. & note 456. & seq.

or very soon after, him; for, the Hebrew being almost forgotten during their captivity, and the Chaldee being become the current tongue, there was a necessity that those parashas or portions of scripture that were read in the temple and other synagogues, should be expounded to them by proper interpreters; and this the Talmudists (12) tell us was done verse by verse in the law, which gave occasion to the invention of those points, in order to direct the readers when to stop; but when they were afterwards forbid by Antiochus Epiphanes to read the law (13), and had substituted the lecture of the prophets instead of it; the sense in these generally running a greater length, they were obliged to read and expound three whole verses at a time.

However, when the Maccabees had by recovering their liberty restored the ancient reading of the law, they continued still reading also the prophets, and expounded the former verse by verse, and the latter every third verse; in process of time they added likewise the other books called by them כתובים Cetubim, or hagiographa; and this probably gave rise to the distinction of legal, prophetical, and hagiographical books, often mentioned in the gospel (14), and by Josephus (15).

How these periods of verses were marked in their books, is not easy to guess. If the Jews were then as superstitious as they have proved since, it is certain they could never suffer them to be inserted in any shape into the text, which they look upon as polluted by every adventitious point or dot, though ever so accidental. It is indeed a question whether they were so scrupulous in ancient times; but then, if Ezra, or any of his successors, ever admitted those stops, lines, points, or in any other form, it will be a wonder how they came afterwards to be expunged; for it is plain there are none such admitted into their synagogues.

But the difficulty may be easily removed, by supposing, that they only left a blank space between period and period; or, as Maimon imagines (16), that they finished every verse or period with a break, and began the next line with a new verse. But as they found these breaks to run to too great a length in many places, and caused their books, those we mean which they had for their private use, to swell to too great a bulk, they invented the

(12) Misham tract. Megill, c. 4. Vide & Valton prolegom. c. 3. & auct. ab eo citat. (13) El. Levit. Tishbit. (14) Luke c. ult. v. 44. Acts xiii. 15. & alib. (15) Cont. Apion. l. 1. (16) Ex Talmude in Bava Batra, cap 7, & 9.

Another, and very useful, improvement which he and his inspired associates are generally, and with great probability, believed to have made to this new edition of the sacred books, is the interspersing here and there an explanatory clause by way of parenthesis, and making such other additions to the text, as were necessary to explain, illustrate, or confirm it. Of this nature some suppose the account of Moses's death, and the excellent character given to that great lawgiver in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, to have been; but it seems to us more probable, that this was inserted much earlier, namely by Joshua, or some of his cotemporary writers, in order to inspire the people with a singular respect and credit both to him and his writings. However that be, we meet with a great number, that, being manifestly inserted long after the facts, cannot well be ascribed to any but Ezra, or some of those prophets that assisted him in the work; thus we find in several of the historical books concerning some antient monuments, such-like words as these added by way of testimony, *which remain unto this day* [w]; nay, many others of the like nature the reader may see in the margin (A). To Corrects them.

[w] Deut. iii. 14. Joshua x. 27. & alib.

the two grammatical points, which are now in use, and which the reader may find in all their pointed books.

But this was not the sole use of these grammatical points. Those who are acquainted with that tongue need not be told how necessary they are in fixing the sense in many places, nor how it may be, and is often rendered obscure, unintelligible, or even contrary by the misplacing of them. We have formerly given a notable instance of it **, from which the reader may guess of the rest; and shall dwell no longer upon it.

(A) Thus it is said in Genesis (17), that *the* Canaanites *did then dwell in the land*; which words could not be inserted till they had actually been extirpated out of it; and in another place of the same book (18), it is said, *these are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king in* Israel, which last words must of necessity have been inserted long after Moses's time. The large iron bed of Og king of Basan, said in Deuteronomy to have been still to be seen in the metropolis of the Ammonites (19), plainly intimates, that that prince had been killed long before this last clause was added. Lastly, and to mention no more, the twenty-fifth chapter of the Proverbs, which begins with these words, *The proverbs of* Solomon, *which the men of* Hezekiah

** vol. iii. p. 458, note D. (17) xii. 6. (18) Ch. xxxvi. 3. (19) Deut. iii. 11.

To the same end he is supposed likewise to have added some new names of places to the old ones, which were become obsolete. Thus Abraham is said to have pursued the confederate kings as far as Dan, the name which the Danites gave long afterwards to Laish [x]. The same was done to Bethel, antiently called Luz, to Hebron, whose original name was Kiriath-Arba, and to many more, by the help of whose new names we come to the knowledge of the places there mentioned, which we could never have known by their old ones.

Restores the divine worship.

THE last work of this great man was the restoring of the worship of the temple, according to its antient form before the captivity; to revise and amend the Jewish liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thanksgivings, proper for the festivals that were super-added after their return from their captivity; such as the dedication of the new temple [y], of Purim [z], and the like; and as the psalms entered into almost every part of their worship, and were to be sung alternately (B), as we have seen in a former volume, it is not to be doubted, but he took the same pains in collecting the whole book, and giving it the same revisal which he had to the rest. Whether he digested them in the same order we have them now in, as is generally believed by Jews and Christians, and whether he was

[x] Conf. Gen. xiv. 14. & Jos. xix. 47. Judg. xviii. 29. [y] Ezra vi. 16. [z] Esther ix. 29. ad fin. vol iii. p. 435. & seq.

king of Judah *copied out*, plainly shews, the words were added some considerable time after the last named king, who was twelve generations off Solomon.

(B) That is, not by hemistics, as Meibonius and some others seem to have imagined, but by whole verses, as they are now sung in our cathedrals; for, first, some of those verses there are, which, as a learned prelate has lately observed against him (20), manifestly consist of three members, and so are incompatible with the method of singing by hemistic.

But what seems to us more decisive is, that in some other acrostics (21), whose verses are consequently determined, the letter ו vau not being admitted to begin the sixth verse, but being thrust in the middle of the fifth, just after the athnach, they substituted a verse after the last alphabetical one, which begins in them with the letter נ, which can hardly be supposed to have been done, but to make the number of verses even, that the same side of the choir might not begin and end the same psalm, which addition would have been needless, had they been sung by hemistics.

(20) Hare prolegom. page 4 and 5. (21) Psalm xxv. & xxxiv.

was the author of thoſe which were manifeſtly compoſed during the captivity [a] and after their return from it [b], ſuch as we take thoſe which are ſtyled gradual to have been (C); and laſtly, whether he lived to finiſh all theſe things, or left them to be completed by his ſucceſſors, we will not pretend to determine. One thing the ſecond book of Maccabees informs us, that Nehemiah founded a library at Jeruſalem, in which he depoſited the acts of the kings, of the prophets, and of David [c], which ſeems to intimate, as if the reviſion of them had been completed before that time.

It is no leſs uncertain, whether this reviſion of the ſacred books reached ſo far as the reſtoring of the poetical parts to their antient metre, or whether they contented themſelves

[a] Pſalm cxxxvii. [b] cxxvi. [c] Chap. ii. 13.

(C) Concerning the title of theſe, which are fifteen in number, beginning at the hundred and twentieth, various have been the conjectures of the learned; its original import is a ſong of degrees or ſteps, which ſome interpreters miſtaking, have rendered a ſong of excellencies, or a moſt excellent ſong (22). The Chaldee paraphraſt turns it, a ſong of the ſteps of the abyſs, alluding to an old Jewiſh tradition; that when they came to lay the foundations of the ſecond temple, ſuch a ſtream of water guſhed out, as roſe fifteen cubits, and would in all probability have overflowed the country, had it not been quaſhed by virtue of the ineffable name of God, written upon the fifteen ſteps of the temple.

Hence interpreters have imagined, that theſe pſalms had their names from the fifteen ſteps on which they were ſung; but in what part of the temple, whether within or without, they can by no means agree. Others took the hint from thence, that they were ſung on ſome high deſk, or raiſed place, to which the ſingers went by ſteps; but where is there any foundation for this?

But if we conſider, that the whole tenor of thoſe pſalms conſiſts chiefly either in fervent prayers for their return from their captivity, or thankſgiving for having obtained it; and that the terms, aſcent, and to aſcend, are frequently uſed to expreſs their return into their own land (23); as it was indeed a high hilly ground, is it not more natural to ſuppoſe thoſe pſalms to have been compoſed ſome a little before, and ſome preſently after, and all upon the ſubject of this happy מעלית, aſcent or return from Babylon to Jeruſalem (24)? So Shir Hammealoth will properly ſignify the ſong of the return, or of thoſe that returned.

(22) Jun. Tremel. Muiſ. & al. (23) Vid. int. al. Ezra i. 3, 5, & ſeq. ii. 2. vii. 9 Nehem. vii. 5, 6. Pſalm. cxxii. Jerem. xxvii. 22. & alib. Ezek. xxxix. 2. & alib. (24) Vid. Calmet. præfat. in Pſ. Grad.

with ſuch a punctuation and diviſion of verſes as would beſt fit them for the ſervice of the temple. The generality of writers is for the latter; but there is one reaſon which ſeems to us very ſtrong for the former, namely, that thoſe pſalms, which were compoſed after the captivity, appear to us to run much in the ſame cadence with thoſe which had been written before it, and many of them, whatever ſome difficult critics may fancy to the contrary, ſeem to be in no caſe inferior to them; which ſeems a plain intimation, either that the rules of Hebrew poetry were not loſt at Babylon, or that they were recovered after their return, though they have been in vain ſought for ever ſince the total diſperſion of that nation, as we have fully ſhewn in the place laſt quoted out of the firſt volume of this hiſtory. However, ſince that time the reverend prelate above quoted has favoured the learned world with his metrical edition of the pſalms, by which he has at leaſt convinced us that the Hebrew metre is not ſo irrecoverably loſt as we then imagined. It is true, we are far from thinking that he has actually diſcovered it; we ſhall hereafter give our reaſons for it in the margin; but this we are bound to ſay in juſtice to his extenſive learning, the indefatigable pains he has taken in that work, and the irrefragable arguments with which he has exploded the greateſt part of the Maſſoretic traſh, which has been hitherto an inſurmountable impediment to ſuch a diſcovery, to ſay nothing of the many ſagacious rules and judicious criticiſms, which the reader will find in that edition; that if his lordſhip has not quite paved the way to it, he has at leaſt blown up thoſe diſcouraging obſtacles that obſtructed it; ſo that we may now hope, that, by the help of this elaborate piece, thoſe who have both time and genius for ſuch an enterpriſe, will be now encouraged to follow ſo noble an example, from the preſent proſpect of ſucceſs, which they muſt have deſpaired of without it. Having ſaid thus much in juſtice to that excellent piece and its learned author, we ſhall now, with his lordſhip's good leave, and with that honeſt freedom which the dignity of the ſubject demands of us, offer our reaſons, why we think that his new-found metre comes infinitely ſhort of what it appears to us to have originally been, and conſequently that the greateſt part of the alterations and corrections made for the ſake of it, and which are to be found in every page, are ſo many deviations from the original. And ſince we find that many of our readers expect we ſhould give our opinion of this learned performance, we doubt not, but if we clear the ſacred text from the corruptions which our learned prelate thinks

An account of biſhop Hare's edition of the pſalms.

thinks he had corrected in it; and the Hebrew poetry from being such a low, crawling, and imperfect thing as this edition makes it, not only they, but much more his good lordship, will be pleased with it; and that merit of the cause will plead for the length of the following note, into which we shall for order and brevity's sake insert all that we have to say upon that subject (D).

(D) In speaking of the sacred Hebrew poetry in a former volume *, we ventured to affirm, that it was unreasonable to suppose, that an art, which, with respect to its noblest part, the strength of expression, loftiness of thought, beauty of metaphors, and imagery, was almost at its height in Moses's time; and had been so excellently well cultivated during so many centuries after, should yet be so uncouth and imperfect with respect to the metre, as Le Clerc and some other critics have made it; the latter being but a mere jingle, and within the compass of a much more ordinary genius. And this argument we think will hold much stronger against that even heavy and inelegant bitony, which our learned prelate has given us for it; and especially,

2dly, If we take in another part of his lordship's affirmation, namely, that it admitted of no distinction of long and short syllables, but used them all indifferently, as the nature of the verse, which is there affirmed to consist of no other variety than trochaic and iambic, required. For this once allowed, we may safely say with the poet, that Nil non erit versus, and that there is no period in the Old Testament from Genesis to Malachi, that may not be thus versified, not to say, any other book in any other language; for proof of which, if the reader will but be at the small pains we have been induced to take, he may with ease reduce the whole common prayer book, either English, Latin, or Greek, into the same kind of verse, and without those frequent alterations, which his lordship is forced to make in the Hebrew text.

We may add, that quantity is in many cases so necessary and obvious to fix the sense of what is said or sung, that it is absolutely impossible the sacred poets should have been thus totally negligent of it.

But, thirdly, That neither poets nor musicians, from Moses to David, should have stumbled upon a variety of metres, answerable to the variety of subjects treated of in the psalms; but that the penitential ones, than which nothing can be more grave or solemn, as to the expression, should run on in the same merry pace with the eucharistical, encœnical, epithalamical, and others of a more chearful nature; or that David, bewailing and begging pardon for his secret sins, should express himself in the same

* vol. iii. p. 421, & seq.

We return to Ezra, who, having been ſucceeded by Nehemiah, after he had governed the Jewiſh church and nation thirteen

ſame leaping anacreontic ſtrain, as when he ſpeaks of the mountains ſkipping like rams, and the little hills like young ſheep (25), credat quicunque vult.

Laſtly, If the book of pſalms, a book ſo highly eſteemed, and in ſuch conſtant uſe among all the Jews, can be once ſuppoſed to have been ſo mutilated, as to ſtand in need, not only of all that vaſt quantity of corrections which are here introduced for the ſake of that metre, but of a great many more, which that learned prelate owns he could not reſtore; it is to be feared, whatever his lordſhip may think to the contrary, its authority will ſoon dwindle into nothing, eſpecially, if that be admitted, which his lordſhip affirms in ſeveral places of that work, that a great number of thoſe corruptions have been introduced into the text, not by the inadvertency and ignorance of tranſcribers, but by the ſuperſtition, or even malicious intent, of the Jews themſelves. But ſuch a ſevere charge againſt a people, who, for ought appears to the contrary, have rather ran into the other extreme, ought to have been backed by ſome ſtronger proofs, than the bare ſtructure of this new-found metre, which is at beſt built upon a tottering foundation, and in many caſes upon a wrong one, as will, we hope, appear, by what follows.

Theſe were ſome of the main reaſons that induced us to inquire further into the grounds of this new metre; and here we own, that his lordſhip could not have fallen upon a better way to come at his intended diſcovery, than that of framing his rules from the acroſtic pſalms, whoſe verſes, being confined within their alphabetical limits, take away at once all occaſion of expatiating. But the misfortune was, that he made choice of ſo ſhort a one for his ground and pattern, which conſiſting but of ten verſes, and by its ſtructure appearing to have been deſigned, like ſome others of the like nature, to be committed to memory for frequent uſe, could not afford that variety of meaſure, &c. which is to be found in acroſtics of a greater length, ſuch as the 25th, 34th, 37th, and eſpecially the 119th.

This laſt, his lordſhip juſtly obſerves, comes indeed vaſtly ſhort of the poetic elegancy of the reſt, with reſpect to the diction; but as to the metre, it affords ſuch a beautiful variety of it, that it ſeems to contain an epitome of the whole Hebrew metre; and we doubt not, but if his lordſhip had beſtowed the ſame pains in framing his rules from it, he might not only have given us a more noble idea of the ſacred poetry, but likewiſe ſaved himſelf the endleſs trouble of diſtorting the text, to make it ſquare with his

(25) Compare in this new edition, Pſalm xix. 14, with cxiv. 3, & ſeq.

thirteen years, aſſiſted him in ſome parts of his office ſome few years, after which we hear no more of him. Joſephus tells us [d], that

D 4

[d] Antiq. l. xi.

his own. All which put together gave us juſt cauſe to think, that his fondneſs for this new diſcovery had made him overlook ſeveral great beauties and excellencies in the Hebrew metre, which a cloſer and leſs partial examination might eaſily bring to light.

We had not gone far in this inquiry, before ſome of his metrical emendations gave us a manifeſt proof of it, and ſet us upon a much better ſcent. We obſerved, that his lordſhip was often forced, for the ſake of the verſe, to curtail a triſyllable into a biſyllable, or to ſtretch the latter into the former; but more particularly the names of God, Jah, Jahvoh, and Elohim, by exchanging them ad libitum, and contrary to the text, according as the verſe required one, two, or three ſyllables, even as far as eighteen times in one pſalm (26).

This, we obſerved, was conſtantly done in verſes whoſe hemiſtics ran either in the ſame number of ſyllables, except only in theſe names of God, as in the following;

(27) באלוהים אהלל דבר
ביהוה אהלל דבר

or in parallel verſes of different pſalms; in the one of which the word Javoh, and the other Elohim, and ſometimes Adonai, did occur (28), cæteris paribus. This made us apprehend at firſt, that if there was really any ſuch metre in the pſalms, his lordſhip was miſtaken in reading the word יהוה Jahvoh, which ought to have been a triſyllable, in order to anſwer to Elohim and Adonai.

But finding upon further examination, that Elohim was in ſeveral places ſet to anſwer to other words, which were certainly biſyllable, as in the following (29),

Joduca	hammim	Elohim
Joduca	hammim	Cullam

What could be a ſtronger proof than this, that Elohim, conſiſting of two ſhorts and a long, was equivalent to the two long ones in Cullam, and conſequently that the Hebrew metre admitted not only of long and ſhort ſyllables, two of the laſt of which were

(26) In Pſalm lxviii. (27) Pſalm lvi. 11. (28) Conf. Pſalm, xiv, 3, & liii. 3, lvii. 10, & cviii. 3, & alib. pluries. (29) Pſ. lxviii. 3.

Ezra's death and character.

that he died and was buried at Jeruſalem; but the reſt of of the Jews affirm, that he returned into Perſia, and died there

were equal to one of the former; but alſo, that it conſiſted of triſyllables, biſyllables, and monoſyllables, or what the proſodiaſts call ceſures? Such as are in the Latin pentameters, and in the Hebrew iambics. We have not room in a note to multiply examples; the reader may, by comparing the following ones, which are exactly according to the text, with thoſe of our learned author, as he has been forced to diſtort them from it to reduce them to his metre, eaſily gueſs, to what a vaſt number of needleſs emendations this one ſingle error of the Hebrew poetry conſiſting only of biſyllables, without diſtinction of quantity (30), has given birth, which might otherwiſe have been happily avoided.

Ezkòr Màhlè-lè iàh
Ezkeràh mikedem philekà
raukà Màjìm Elohìm
raukà Màjìm jakilù (31)
Hùſhàh lèhèz-ratì
Adonài tèſhù-hati (32)
B'elohìm ahàl-lèl dà-bar
B'jahvoh ahal-lel da-bar (33).

Nòdàh Bìhudàh Elohim
Biſhraèl gadòl Shemò
aſhiràh lihvòh bekhajài
azamràh lelohàh behodi
Elohim berób Khaſdecà
honneni beemeth jiſhecà

Thoſe that are converſant with the Hebrew tongue and ſacred poets, will eaſily feel the advantage of admitting this variety of feet, not only with regard to its ſuperior elegance to a dull conſtant bitony, but alſo towards the further diſcovery of the Hebrew metre in verſes of unequal hemiſtics; ſome of which run to ſuch lengths above others, even in thoſe acroſtics abovementioned, that they contain often double, and ſometimes treble, the number of ſyllables.

This indeed our author looks upon as ſuch a diſgrace to the Hebrew poetry, that, right or wrong, he endeavours to avoid it every-where, as much as poſſible; ſometimes by the addition of one or more words, at other times by ſtriking them out (34), by eliſions, paragogics, and ſometimes by ſplitting a long word between two hemiſtics, or ſometimes by ſplitting an hemiſtic into two, contrary to the conſtant ſtructure of the pſalm (35); and yet if we were to frame a judgment from the three laſt quoted pſalms, xxxvii. cxix. and cxxxvi, one would be apt to think, that the ſacred poets thought theſe tranſitions, from a long to a very ſhort hemiſtic, an ornament; and ſuch it is thought by all, in

(30) Vid. Prolegom. p. 4. & 27. (31) Pſalm. lxxvii. 12, & 17. (32) xxxviii. ult. (33) lvi. 11. (34) Pſalm xxxvii. 20, 25, & ſeq. cxix. paſſ. (35) Pſalm. cxxxvi 9.

there in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. They bear ſo great a veneration for him, that they look upon him as

in odes, epitaphs, and ſuch-like, which ſeem therefore to us to come neareſt to the Hebrew genius and metre, not only of the pſalms, but of the other poetic pieces of the Old Teſtament *.

Now this kind being ſo oppoſite to the trochaic and iambic, which his lordſhip had pitched upon for his ſtandard, we need not wonder, that he has ſucceeded no better in his endeavours to bring it to it, ſince that could not be done but by conſtant ſtretching, diſlocating, amputation, and other ſuch-like violent methods, which his lordſhip, among many other learned men, hath juſtly objected againſt Le Clerc and others, who have attempted this diſcovery.

It is not the deſign of this note to recover the ancient Hebrew poetry, a taſk for which we have neither time nor abilities; but to reſcue it from that contempt into which both it and the Hebrew text muſt unavoidably fall, if it ſhould once be ſuppoſed, that the former conſiſted only in a dull, ſleepy, and uncertain bipedality, and that the latter has been ſo corrupted and mutilated, partly by Jewiſh ſuperſtition and malice, and partly by the ignorance and inadvertency of tranſcribers. And therefore, though what has been ſaid ſeem to us ſufficient to vindicate it in both caſes, yet, as the laſt is a matter of ſuch great moment, we ſhall take the liberty to animadvert upon ſome few more of his lordſhip's metrical emendations, that the reader may ſee how little reaſon he had to ſay, Ex metro liquidò apparet; fruſtra ergo ſunt omnes hic interpretes (36). We ſhall begin with the fiftieth pſalm, out of the firſt verſe of which he has ſtruck the two names of God, El and Elohim, into the title, upon no other authority than the laſt mentioned. Could his lordſhip indeed have backed it with one ſingle inſtance of a pſalm, intitled, Mizmor El Elohim, or ſhewn that there was any abſurdity or inelegancy in the expreſſion, El, Elohim, Jahvoh, or Jehovah, the God of gods, or the Mighty God; ſuch a change might have paſt for an amendment; but to reject ſo noble an expreſſion for the ſake of a metre, which is at beſt as yet but in embryo, is a criticiſm which few of his readers will digeſt.

But were it really for the ſake of the metre, that his lordſhip rejects this triplicate name of God, how eaſily might it have been remedied by lengthening the verſe without any violence to the text! As,

El Elohim Jahvoh dibber, vajicra,
Erets mimiſrah ſhemeſh had meboo

or by any other way, rather than ſtripping the original of ſo lofty an expreſſion. But if his lordſhip, or the reader, is by this time

* Vid. int. al Exod. 15, & Lament. c. 3. (36) Note in v. 1. Pſalm. 1.

as a second Moses, a restorer of the sacred books and Massarah, and, in a word, one every way worthy to have been their

time reconciled to that variety of metre we have endeavoured to establish above, the whole verse may be still made to run more elegantly, and conformably to the rest of the psalms, thus;

El elo-hìm Jàh-vòh dìb ber
Vàjicra èretz mìmmìz rah
Shèmèsh vè hàd meboo

But his lordship seems to be fond of spying out difficulties in the original, that he may have an opportunity of exercising his critical talent. We shall give three pregnant instances of it; the first is in the eigth and ninth verses of the fortieth psalm; this place, obscure and intricate as his lordship calls it, after some additional words and a new disposition of the original ones, he leaves much more dark and unintelligible, and less elegant and grammatical than he found it, as the reader may see by comparing it with the text.

Now all this trouble might have been saved, and the text not only cleared, but exactly adjusted, to the place, where the epistle to the Hebrews quotes it (37), by the single addition of the letter כ caph before the word בְּמִגְלַּת bimgillath, and which may easily be supposed to have been omitted by reason of its similitude to the ב beth, or even by the bare changing the one for the other, and reducing cemgillath instead of bemgillath; and then the verses will run thus, and in the bishop's own metre,

As a-marti hinneh bati
then said I lo I come
(kebim-gillath Sepher Catub
(as in the volume of the book it is written
halai) lahsoth rezo-neka
of me) to do thy will
Elo haikha-phasti
O my God, I am well pleased with it
Vetho-rathca betoc Mehai
And thy law is within my heart.

The altering the points in the verb khaphazti, and making it the substantive khephzati, will render it still more elegant; and the sense will be, O my God, and my delight; or, O God, thou art my delight, and thy law is within my heart.

The next is in the sixty-eighth psalm, verse 14; where the author not being able to light upon a better sense than that whic

th

(37) Heb. 10. 7.

their law-giver, had not that honour been bestowed on Moses[e]. They join the books of Ezra and Nehemiah into one, and make

[e] Vid. Sed. Hol. Cabbal. R. Abr. Levit. Seph. Juchas. Shalsheleth. & al plur.

the vulgate and our version gives it, *Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove*, &c. has been forced to insert the words tehiu and ce, and to double that of Jonah with the addition of the כ in the first. Now all this might have been saved, and the sense made not only much plainer, but more elegant, by reading יגפה instead of כגפי, which is but a small alteration in comparison of his; and then the sense will be plainly this; Though ye have lain among the pots or rather, according to the parallel in Genesis xlix 15. Though ye sink between two burthens, yet shall the dove (emblem of innocence) escape with her wings covered with silver, and her feathers with the purest gold.

The last is in psalm cxxxviii. v. 2. the latter part of which running thus in the text,

Ki higdalta hal col Shemca imratheca ;

which not being altogether so intelligible, his lordship rectifies by adding the word Shem before Shemka, and casting out the last word, as absurdly added and without sense, and for a proof of it sends us to the parallel of St. Paul (37).

I hope his lordship will not think imratheca, thy word, to have been here maliciously added by the Jews, since, if we understand the apostle right, he speaks there of Christ the word, the logos made flesh, and crucified, and for which God has given him a name above every name. If, therefore, instead of striking it out, his lordship had only expunged the pronoun ך after Shem, without any farther alteration, the sense would have much better tallied with St. Paul's quotation thus: For thou hast magnified thy word above every name. His lordship could not be ignorant, what is universally understood by the Hebrew Imrah, the Chaldee Mamre, the Greek Logos, and the Latin Verbum, when applied to that divine Person.

It is true, if we admit the original word imratheca, the verse will be one syllable too long for the foregoing; a misfortune which often happens in the text, but which his lordship is never at a loss to obviate, either by an elision or a paragogic, though, for our part, we should rather chuse to remedy it by the rule heretofore given of making two short syllables equal to a long one.

Much

(37) Philip. ii. 6.

make him the author of it: and he was certainly so of the first, since he speaks of nothing in it, but what was done in his

Much of the same nature is the correction of Psalm lxxiv. v. 3. where his lordship strikes out of the verse the words lemasshuoth netzakh, *perpetual desolations*, as absurd and contrary to the context, (in which the psalmist begs of God to put an end to them) and fills up the chasm with the word Calleh, which he fetches out of the eleventh verse, where he pretends it to be redundant.

His lordship, we believe, is the first that thinks it nonsense for a man to pray to God to put an end to his perpetual, that is, constant, and hitherto uninterupted, misfortunes; besides, the word נצח netzach, it is well known, doth not always imply the duration, but often strength, greatness, violence, and insurmountableness of a thing; and therefore not only very applicable to the then dreadful desolations of the sanctuary, but also very fit to be humbly represented to that God whose hand alone could remedy them.

But there is still another and much more natural way of clearing the original, than that of his lordship's, by supposing the verb to have been originally נצה netzah, fly, which the transcribers, not understanding, changed it for the other, which was more known to them. The expression of lift up thy feet, which alludes to a bird just going to take flight, confirms this sense, which will run thus, lift up thy feet, and fly to those dreadful devastations, which thy enemies perpetually commit in thy holy place.

But this not being perceived by the transcribers, in order to make their netzakh run smooth with the rest, they changed the order of the words, which probably ran thus:

Harimah pahameka
Netzah lecol Malshuoth
Herah ojeb bakkodesh.

A for the word כלה, which his lordship fetches from the eleventh verse, we think it fully as well where it is, and where it is properly the participle pahul of the verb כלא to shut, or inclose, the א elided by reason of the feminine, the hand, there said to be shut up in the bosom. See a parallel in *Psalm* lxxxvii. v. 9.

From these few examples the reader may see the ill consequence of too great an attachment to a favourite system: but the mischief has not stopt here; and the notion, that the text was so corrupt, that nothing but these violent means could possibly recover it, has spread itself to other places, where the metre did not want those emendations. Thus his lordship tells us, in his notes on Psalm cvii. v. 25 and 29, that the words jahmed and

jaken

his time and under his eye, and almoſt every-where ſpeaks of himſelf in the firſt perſon; but if he wrote the ſecond, ſome additions

jakem had manifeſtly changed places. We had indeed long before ſuſpected ſome error in the laſt verb, but never dreamt of this way of rectifying it. However, it appeared ſo plauſible to us at the firſt reading, that we readily jumped over the difficulty of accounting how two ſuch words, that ſtood at the diſtance of four verſes, or eight hemiſtics, aſunder, ſhould, contrary to the plain ſenſe of the text, be jumbled into each other's place; and we tranſpoſed them according to his correction in our manuſcript pſalter.

But we had not often read over the expreſſion jahmed ruakh ſeharah lidmamah, before we obſerved a manifeſt abſurdity in it, ſince that verb in this conjugation doth not ſignify to make to ſtand ſtill, but to cauſe to ſtand, to act; and could not conſequently belong to the latter, but to the former of the verſes, where it was raiſed to cauſed the ſtorm there ſpoken of; and we accordingly replaced it where it ought to be.

The difficulty then was how to rectify the word jakem, which, as it is there written, muſt be owned to be nonſenſe, unleſs we we take it in the ſame figurative meaning, which it is known to have in 1 Sam. iv. 15. and 1 Kings xiv. 4. and elſewhere But here the thirty-third and thirty-fifth verſes of the ſame pſalm furniſhed us with a much more plauſible ſalvo than his lordſhip's improbable tranſpoſition, it being much more likely that a tranſcriber ſhould miſtake or overlook one letter for another, than that he ſhould thus tranſpoſe two diſtant words againſt all ſenſe; and thus we writ יָשֵׁם jaſham, to turn, inſtead of יָקֵם jakem, to raiſe, *Jaſhem Seharah Lidmamah turneth the tempeſt into a calm*, will then anſwer to *Jaſhem Nèharoth l'Midbar*. verſe 33. *he turneth the rivers into a dry wilderneſs*, and *Jaſhem Midbar l'agam Majim*, verſe 33, *a dry wilderneſs into a ſtanding water*.

If our reader, however, ſhould miſlike this verb, either on account of its occurring three times within ſo ſmall a diſtance from each other, or becauſe it is not elegant enough to anſwer the context, he may find ſome more noble ones in the verbs יקם, to break, יקה, to blunt יקע, to tire, whoſe laſt letters being ſo near like the ם, might eaſily be miſtaken for it, the verb קוּם being more familiar to them, than the others, which occur but ſeldom.

But after all, we very much queſtion, whether any other change need to be made than the bare tranſpoſition of the particle ל from demamah to ſeharah, and ſo יָקֵם לִסְעָרָה דְּמָמָה will properly ſignify, He makes the calm to ſucceed the ſtorm, an expreſſion no ways irregular or inelegant. The reader, however, may ſee by this one inſtance, how many eaſier ways that text might

additions must have been made to it since his death; but the difference of style seems to prove it of another hand, as well as

might be rectified, than that which the learned author has pitched upon.

We shall end this note with one animadversion more on that learned prelate's edition, by which the reader will plainly see, that his lordship is not always so happy as to take the best sense of the psalmist. We observed in a former volume *, that some of the figures in that sacred book are so high and compound, that they were not easily perceived by every reader.

Our learned bishop's singular opinion of the rudeness of the Hebrew poetry, hath made him not only overlook many of them, but even quarrel with some, which, had he been otherwise prejudiced, might have challenged his admiration. One of them, for instance, is in Psalm lxxii v. 16. This noble psalm is intitled to Solomon; but what is contained in it is generally understood to regard the reign of the Messiah: but be that reign whose it will, here is foretold, among other great blessings, such an uncommon plenty, that Pissath bar, a little handful of corn, sown on the tops of the mountains, naturally the most barren, should outvie the fertile Libanus for increase. One would wonder how a person of his profound judgment could be dissatisfied with so elegant a phrase; and yet he tells us in his note, that unless the word pissath be allowed here to have a contrary sense, that is, to signify a great abundance, he shall suspect it to have crept in instead of some word of the like import; which would be in fact losing all the beauty of the expression, as much as if his lordship had said, that the fertile vallies ought to be inserted instead of the barren mountain tops; for where would be the wonder, that a great heap of corn, or a fertile ground, should bring forth a plentiful crop?

Of the same nature is that noble expression of the psalmist †, where he compares himself to bammetim khopshi, to a corpse secluded even from among the dead, alluding to the Jewish way of burying; for as the graves of the dead polluting the living, who came near them, so those who died a violent death, or under the anathema, were to have a grave separate from the rest, lest they should pollute even their fellow dead; and that this is the allusion here intended, is plain by the verses immediately following, and implied in the word khalalim, which should properly be rendered, not wounded, but profane, abominable, and which, mijadeca nigzaru, are cut off from thy hand, plainly shews, ‡; but his lordship, having overlooked this beautiful figure, has struck out the word bammetim, as spoiling the sense as well as the verse how rightly, let the reader judge.

Thus

* vol. iii. p. 422, sub fin. note L. † Psalm lxxxvii. 6

‡ Concerning those burials, see before, vol. iii. p. 341, & seq.

as that of the two books of Chronicles, which it is not, however, improbable, he might have had the reviſal of; as for the other two books falſely attributed to him, and known by by the names of the firſt and ſecond books of Eſdras, they are juſtly rejected; however, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of each in the margin. (E).

Nehemiah,

Thus much we thought incumbent upon us to ſay of that learned and elaborate work, which, if it has not anſwered the end which its noble author propoſed, may yet be read, as it was by us, with great pleaſure and profit, not only on account of numberleſs judicious criticiſms and obſervations which the reader will find in it, but as it will adminiſter the greateſt helps that ever were, as yet, thought on, by any of the learned, towards the recovering of the ancient Hebrew poetry. As to the reſt, we dare believe, it will be no ſmall pleaſure to that learned and pious prelate, to find the diſcovery of his miſtakes turn ſo much to the credit and vindication of the ſacred text and of its inſpired penmen.

(E) The firſt book of Eſdras is no other than the firſt book of Ezra, with a variety of fabulous circumſtances, particularly that of the three young men of Darius's guard, who, for their exquiſite wiſdom in anſwering his queſtions, are there pretended to have obtained, among other marks of his favour, the liberty of returning to Jeruſalem and of rebuilding the temple (29). The Greek church is the only one that holds it among the canonical books.

The ſecond book is acknowledged by neither Jews nor Chriſtians, being a work which carries the manifeſt marks of impoſture. It is falſely pretended to have been written by Ezra himſelf, though filled partly with rabbinic fables, ſuch as the account of the ſix days creation, particularly of Behemoth and Leviathan, two monſtrous creatures, deſigned for a feaſt to the elect after the reſurrection (30), and partly with ſome goſpel notions, corrupted and fitted to the author's taſte. Of this nature are the nearneſs of the day of judgment, the appearance of the Son of God to him, and many more not worth repeating.

Mohammed has alſo ſtuffed his Koran with ſome monſtrous fables; he not only owns him to have recovered the ſacred books, which had been in a great meaſure loſt, but affirms that he wrote them with five pens at once. He adds, that this miracle not convincing the incredulous Jews that he had rightly performed the taſk, one of the company told the reſt, that one of his anceſtors had formerly hid a fair copy of them in the cleft of a rock; which being fetched and compared with this new one of Ezra, they found ſuch an exact agreement between them, as convinced them that he

(29) Ch. iii. & ſeq. (30) Ch. vi. 40, & ſeq.

Nehemiah ſent into Judæa. Year of the flood 2554. Before Chriſt 445.

Nehemiah, cup-bearer to the king of Perſia, a Jew (F) of great learning and piety, had heard, by ſome of his nation lately come from Jeruſalem, of the ruinous condition which that city ſtill ſtood in, notwithſtanding the favours which that monarch had heaped on the returned Jews; being therefore backed by the queen, who is expreſly ſaid to have been at the table, when he made his petition to him [f], he obtained a commiſſion from him to ſucceed Ezra in the government of Judæa, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with freſh orders to Sanballat and others of his officers on this ſide of Euphrates, to furniſh him with all neceſſary materials out of the king's treaſury. Nehemiah, having gathered a freſh ſupply of men and women to return with him into Judæa, departed under an eſcorte which the king had granted, and arrived

[f] Nehem. ii. 6.

he had been ſupernaturally aſſiſted in it; ſome other fables he adds, which the reader may find in D'Herbelot (31).

The eaſtern chriſtians believe, that Ezra, having ſwallowed down ſome of the mud of the well, wherein the ſacred fire had been hid before the captivity, was immediately inſpired, and enabled to write all the ſacred books afreſh (32). This ſeems to be partly taken out of the ſecond book of Eſdras, where that fabulous author tells us, that having begged of God to direct him how to recover thoſe loſt volumes, God gave him to drink of a liquor of a fiery colour; by the help of which he was enabled to dictate them to five ſcribes at the ſame time, who were forty days in writing two hundred and four volumes (33).

(F) The text calls him barely the ſon of Hachaliah (34), without informing us of what tribe he was. Some therefore from a paſſage in the Maccabees (35), where he is ſaid to have offered ſacrifices, and from his being reckoned at the head of the prieſts that ſigned the new covenant with God (36), have affirmed him to have been of the family of Aaron.

But as there is nothing concluſive in all this, and ſeems expreſsly contradicted by his ſaying in another place, that he was not a fit perſon to ſhelter himſelf in the temple (37); the far greater part ſuppoſe him to have been of the royal family of Judah (38); and this is ſo much the more probable, becauſe we find none but ſuch promoted to thoſe high ſtations about the king's perſon; but never read of a prieſt that was ſo, till a long time after, and upon a quite different account, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(31) Biblioth. orient. ſub voce Ozair. Ben. Seraiah. Vid. & Koran. cap. Bacra. (32) D'Herbel. ubi ſupra. (33) Ch. xiv. 22, & ſeq. (34) Nehem. i. 1. (35) Lib. ii. c. i. 18. 21. (36) Nehem. x. 1. (37) Ibid. c. vi. 11. (38) R. Abrab. in Cabbal. Euſeb. Iſid. & Genebr. & al.

rived at Jerusalem, where he kept himself in private three days, at the end of which he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found to answer exactly the report that had been made to him of it at Shushan. On the morrow he sent for the heads of the people, and in the great assembly opened his commission, which he told them he would immediately put in force, and set about the finishing of the wall; he divided the work between a number of great families, each of which undertook a part of a stated extent, and was to build it at their own charges; and the new governor plied them so close, that in fifty-two days they had all completed their task, notwithstanding the many discouragements which he met with, both from within and from without [g].

The wall finished.

For while the work was going on, they were forced to bear with many a bitter sarcasm from Sanballat, a Horonite (G), governor of Samaria, and some others of his officers; but this was nothing to some of their underhand plots to obstruct it; for they went so far as to hire some treacherous Jews to dishearten both the governor and people, with the specious pretence that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. Nehemiah soon found out the cheat, but foreseeing that his enemies would not fail to use force, if their subdolous practices failed, ordered the people to arm themselves even while they were at work, placed strong guards to defend them, and trumpeters at convenient distances from each other, that at what quarter soever they should chance to be attacked, the rest, upon hearing the alarm, might come immediately to their assistance. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorer sort, who were to bear the greater share of the labour, had been so impoverished by continual extortions from the rich, even long before his arrival, that they had already been forced to mortgage their lands, sell their sons and daughters, and submit to so many other hardships, that they were quite disabled from pursuing it. Nehemiah, who expected nothing less than to hear of such horrid cruelties being committed by the Jewish rulers, upbraided them in the severest

[g] Ibid. iii. & seq.

(G) Probably so called, because he was a native of Horonaim, a city of Moab; their other two principal enemies were Tobias the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian; all consequently ill-affected to the Jews, but now doubly so, since they were likely to be dispossest by them of many a good estate, which they had seized on during their captivity.

vereſt terms; and partly by perſuaſions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to reſtore all their ill-gotten wealth to the poor owners, and at the ſame time took care, that they ſhould be ſupplied with all neceſſary ſuſtenance while they continued in the work [h]; by theſe means he defeated the meaſures of the Samaritans. As ſoon as the wall was finiſhed, he cauſed the dedication of it to be celebrated with the uſual ſolemnities by the prieſts and levites (H) [i], and left the government of the city to his two brothers, Hanani and Hananiah [k], whilſt himſelf returned, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, into Perſia (I), to obtain a new commiſſion, the old one extending no farther than the rebuilding of the city wall, which was now actually done.

Is conſecrated.

HITHERTO Jeruſalem, large and ſpacious as it was, remained ſtill but thinly peopled, the far greater part having ſettled themſelves in the country round about; and whenever any buſineſs called them into the city, they ſeldom failed

[h] Ch. v. paſſ. [i] Ch. xii. [k] Ch. vii.

(H) This noble ceremony, which is deſcribed in the chapter above quoted, conſiſted in the purification of the prieſts and people, that they might partake of the ſacrifices that were to be offered on that ſolemnity. After this they aſſembled themſelves at one of the gates, whence dividing themſelves into two bands, the one of them took to the right, and the other to the left, and marched in a ſolemn proceſſion round the wall, till they met each other at the temple; they were followed by the prieſts blowing their trumpets, and with other ſingers and muſicians.

As ſoon as they were come to the temple, the two choirs placed themſelves oppoſite to each other; and while they were ſinging ſome pſalms proper to the occaſion, the prieſts offered a great number of ſacrifices, eſpecially of oxen, after which they ſpent the remainder of the day in feaſting and mirth.

(I) This is indeed the moſt probable of the two, as the learned Prideaux obſerves (39); for as his commiſſion was only to repair the wall of the city, the only thing he had begged of the king, it is likely he went to have it inlarged, before he undertook any thing new; beſides, it is not very likely, that he would have it committed the government of the city to any one whilſt himſelf was there preſent.

His great intereſt at the Perſian court might then give ſuch diſpatch to his buſineſs, and his return to Jeruſalem might be ſo ſudden, that he did not think it material to mention it in hiſtory.

(39) Connect. lib. vi. ſub. an. A. Chr. 445.

ed returning at night to their habitations. This Nehemiah had indeed forbidden while the wall was building; but after it was finiſhed, they returned to their uſual courſe. This therefore obliged him to provide for its ſafety, by cauſing a greater number of people to come and ſettle in it. He perſuaded at firſt the nobler and richer to build them houſes there, which they the more gladly complied with, becauſe their country ſeats were very much infeſted with thieves and banditti, who made frequent excurſions againſt them. After this they took in all that willingly offered themſelves to come and ſettle there; but theſe not proving ſufficient, he was obliged to take every tenth family by lot; ſo that by this time the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, it began to reſume ſomething of its former luſtre [l]; and Herodotus, who ſaw it ſoon after this time, compares it to Sardis, the metropolis of Aſia Minor [m] (K). The city peopled.

WHILST Nehemiah was thus employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying the genealogies both of prieſts and people (L), Ezra, who had by that time finiſhed his collection of the ſacred books, was preparing himſelf, and ſome other learned prieſts, to make a ſolemn lecture of them to the whole nation, on the next approaching feſtival, which was that of the trumpets, uſhering in the new year. To this end a capacious ſcaffold or desk was raiſed in one of the largeſt ſtreets of the city, that the people, who came from all parts of the land to the feaſt, might conveniently hear it. Ezra was ſeated in the midſt with the ſacred volume before him, and on each ſide ſtood The law publicly read and expounded.

[l] Nehem. xi. [m] l. iii.

(K) Herodotus calls it Cadytis; but whoever reads what the learned Prideaux has ſaid on that ſubject (40), will eaſily think with him, that it could be no other than Jeruſalem.

(L) This had been done once before ſoon after the return, as we have heretofore hinted; but not ſo clearly, but that there were ſtill many families of prieſts, levites, and of the people, who could not make out their claim to their tribes, and were then ſuſpended. It is therefore likely, that ſome of them were ſince enabled to make out their title, and were then inſerted in this new regiſter, together with thoſe who came up with Nehemiah. Several of the old families, that came up upon the firſt edict, might be by this time extinct; all which is probably the cauſe of the difference we find in the genealogies of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

(40) Sub an. 610. & 445.

six priests well versed in the Hebrew and Chaldee, who did interpret in the latter what he read in the former; and this was done, as we observed before, verse by verse, and was continued from morning till mid-day. Nehemiah then, reminding them of the joyful festival they were then celebrating, dismissed them for that day, charging them to spend the remainder of it in feasting and mirth, and to make their poor brethren partake of their joy. This caution was so much the more necessary, because he observed, that the people shed abundance of tears at the hearing of the law, which he interpreted to proceed from such a remorse of their past deviations from it, as was likely to damp the mirth of that solemnity [n]. As the people shewed a more than common desire to have this lecture and exposition continued to them, Ezra complied with their request, until he and his assistants had gone through the whole pentateuch. The grand festival of tabernacles being likewise near at hand, it opportunely happened, that that part of Leviticus, in which it is injoined, was read some days before; by which they were make sensible, how short they had been till then of its due observation, so that the next they kept was observed with greater strictness and solemnity, that it had been since the time of Joshua (M) [o].

Feast of tabernacles.

But

[n] Nehem. viii. pass. [o] Ibid. vers. 12, & seq.

(M) It is supposed to have been at this solemnity, that the notable discovery happened of the sacred fire related in the book of Maccabees (41), and which we have hinted in a former volume. The Jews affirm, that Jeremiah, or some other prophet, had caused it to be hid in a dry well a little before the taking of Jerusalem (42); the memory of it having been still preserved to that time, Nehemiah caused it to be fetched out for the divine service.

But when they came to uncover the well, they found no fire there, but only a thick mud, which being brought, however, and poured upon the wood of the altar, and victims that were laid on it, all on the sudden the sun, which had hitherto been overcast, began to shine upon it, set the wood on fire, and consumed the burnt-offerings. Nehemiah caused the rest of the mud to be fetched, and poured upon some large stones, which were immediately covered with flames, but these were presented absorbed by those that flew from the altar thither.

This

(41) 2 Macc. i. 18, & seq. (42) Ibid. vers. 19, & cap. ii. 1, & seq.

But this was not all the advantage which Nehemiah reaped from this lecture of the law to such a great concourse of people; there appeared such a lively concern in them whenever any point of the law was read, of which they knew themselves transgressors, that he made use of that happy disposition to extort from them a general confession of all their sins, and a solemn promise and vow to rectify all that was amiss for the future; and this was accordingly complied with by all the people, especially with respect to the four following heads; namely, 1. Not to make any intermarriages with the Gentiles, and to disannul the old ones (N): 2. The observation of sabbaths, sabbatic years, and those divine commands which related to them, such as letting their land rest, release of servants, and the like: 3. The punctual payment of their yearly tribute to the temple, both for the repairs and the maintenance of the divine services in it; and 4. The exact payment of their tithes, first-fruits, vows, &c. to the priests and levites [p]. The solemnity concluded with a generous collection, which he caused to be made among them for the service of the temple; in which, to shew a noble example to the rest, he gave himself a thousand drachms of gold, fifty dishes, and five hundred and thirty-two priestly vestments. Josephus adds, that he built several houses for the priests, in order to oblige them to reside at Jerusalem [q]. Sure it is, that, whether his place of cupbearer had raised his fortune to such a height, which is not improbable, or whether he had a considerable patrimony, to enable him, he did many generous and public-spirited things in Judæa; Year of the flood 2557. Before Christ 442.

[p] Ibid. c. ix. & x. [q] Antiq. l. xi. c 5.

This wonderful accident being afterwards related to the king of Persia, he ordered the place where the fire had been kept to be surrounded, and to be looked upon as sacred and inviolable. It raised still more his esteem of the Jewish nation and religion, and his respect shewed itself in the considerable presents which he made to the priests and temple. In memory of this wonderful discovery, the Jews instituted a feast, which they called the feast of the new fire.

(N) Either those which they had contracted since the general repudiation, which had been made under Ezra, or perhaps had been contracted before it, but the offenders had refused or neglected to perform that covenant; for sure it is, that, as soon as this feast was over, they set about this work afresh, and obliged as many of those offenders, as were found to have strange wives (43), to repudiate them.

(43) Nehem. x. pass.

dæa; among which that of maintaining a noble table and ſplendid equipage, at his own coſt, without exacting the tribute aſſigned for the maintenance of a governor, was none of the leaſt. Having thus with great credit and honour completed the tenor of his commiſſion, he returned into Perſia, according to his promiſe to the king [r], after having enjoyed the government of Judæa twelve years.

DURING his abſence, which laſted but five years, it is almoſt incredible, what abuſes were crept into the Jewiſh church and commonwealth; ſo ſoon were that perverſe nation liable to forget their moſt ſolemn vows, and the miſeries which their breach of them conſtantly brought upon them. Eliaſhib, whether the then high-prieſt, or ſome other of the ſame name, who was overſeer of the temple chambers [s], had married his grandſon to the daughter of Sanballat the profeſſed enemy of the Jews (O), and had had ſo much baſe complaiſance for him, as to allow his friend Tobias the Ammonite, another ſworn enemy, a large apartment in that ſacred place, from which even the Iſraelites, who were not of the tribe of Levi, were excluded. To this end, he cauſed thoſe chambers, wherein the tithes of corn, wine, and oyl, meat-offerings, &c. uſed to be repoſited, to be emptied for his accommodation. This miſchief was followed by another: The prieſts, ſeeing the temple profaned by that ſtranger, their apartments given to his retinue, and gutted of that which was laid up for their maintenance, forſook the place, and went to live elſewhere,

The temple profaned.

[r] Nehem. ii. 6. [s] De hoc vid. Commentat. & Prid. ubi ſupra, ſub. an 428.

(O) The text ſeems to intimate at leaſt a double alliance between the Jews and this Ammonite, beſides that mentioned above; for Tobias had married the daughter of Shecaniah the ſon of Arach, one of the chiefs of the Jews, and his ſon had married the daughter of Meſhullam the ſon of Berachiah (44), one of the chief overſeers in the rebuilding of the temple (45). All which, being expreſsly forbid by the Moſaic law, and contrary to the ſolemn covenant they had ſo lately taken againſt ſuch unlawful marriages, plainly ſhews their inſincerity, and that it was not the fear of God, but of their governors, whether judges, kings, or deputies, that kept them within bounds; no wonder then, if God did ſo often ſuffer them to fall under the heavy hand of thoſe very enemies, and to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed by means of thoſe very alliances which they contracted, contrary to his expreſs commands as the ſequel will ſhortly ſhew.

(44) Ibid. vi. 18. (45) Ibid. iii. 4.

where, where they could; and this cauſed an intermiſſion of the divine worſhip. It is not improbable, that Nehemiah, who even at that diſtance he was then from Jeruſalem, kept ſtill a watchful eye over it, was ſoon informed of theſe abuſes; ſo that having procured a freſh commiſſion from Artaxerxes, he returned to Jeruſalem at the end of five years from his departure. A leſs authority than his, or a man of leſs zeal, could hardly have ventured to reform an abuſe, in which ſome of the greateſt perſons were concerned; but the baſe cowardice of the prieſt and the impudence of the Ammonite were too flagrant and impious to be ſuffered by a man of his character. As ſoon therefore as he was come to Jeruſalem, and had been a witneſs of the fact, he expelled the gentile ſtranger out of his apartment, cauſed all his furniture to be thrown out, the place to be purified, and the prieſts and holy things to be reimplaced as formerly.

The ſabbath profaned.

ANOTHER ſhameful abuſe, which had crept in during his abſence, was an almoſt total diſregard of the ſabbath; they threſhed their corn, preſſed their wine and oyl, bought and ſold from the Tyrians and other ſtrangers, who affected to bring their mercantile wares into that city on that day, rather than on any other of the week; and were baſely ſuffered to do ſo by thoſe magiſtrates, whoſe buſineſs it was to have hindered it. To prevent this practice for the future, Nehemiah, having reproved thoſe magiſtrates in the ſevereſt terms, ordered the gates of the city to be ſhut every friday night about ſun-ſet, and not to be opened again till the ſabbath was quite over; by which means thoſe ſtrangers, having been diſappointed twice or thrice, and been threatened from the walls with ſome further puniſhment, deſiſted from coming any more on that day. What aggravated the folly and baſeneſs of the Jews is, that they had among them three conſiderable prophets, who rebuked them ſeverely for their crimes, and warned them of the dreadful puniſhments which their ſhameful neglect of God's laws would bring upon them.

The worſhip reſtored.

THESE were Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi, of whoſe remarkable prophecies the reader will find a ſhort ſummary in the margin (P); but what the authority of the prophet could

(P) Zechariah, for the number, excellency, and preciſeneſs of his prophecies, is emphatically termed Sol inter prophetas minores; he was cotemporary with Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi, if this laſt be not the ſame with Ezra He began to propheſy about two months after Haggai, and with him to encourage the rebuilding of the temple, by aſſuring them of the divine protection and bleſſing on the work.

not do, that of the governor's presence soon brought about; so that besides those abuses we have already observed, he rectified a number of others, which were no less enormous; one of which was the ceasing of the divine worship through the avarice of the people, who refusing to pay the priests and levites their tithes and other dues, had forced them to seek their living out of the temple and city. All these Nehemiah restored to their former regularity, and reformed every thing that was amiss, not probably all at once, as one might be apt to think from their being mentioned together in one chapter [t], but at several times, and as opportunity served.

All these enormities, introduced within the short interval of his absence, being manifestly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of the Mosaic law, did soon point out to him, that the only way to remedy them, was to inforce the frequent lecture and exposition of it, not only in Jerusalem, but also in all other cities and places of Judæa, as it had been formerly done with good success by some of the pious kings of

[t] Nehem. c. ult.

But these prophecies are inconsiderable, in comparison of those which foretel the coming of the Messiah in the plainest terms; the cruel war which Antiochus Epiphanes waged against the Jews, and God's severe judgments against that tyrant; the Jewish war with the Romans, and the death of the Messiah; the annulling of the old Mosaic covenant, and the new one substituted by and under Christ; the thirty pieces of silver; the siege of Babylon by Darius, as Jeremy and Isaiah had done long before him; from which it is supposed the Jews took timely warning, and retired out of it. Lastly, he speaks gloriously of the state of the christian church; of the conversion of the gentiles to it; of the persecutions which the christians should endure; and the severe punishment of their persecutors, and other such-like events contained in the ninth and following chapters of his prophecies.

Some learned critics of our church (46) have indeed suspected the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, which are a continued discourse or prophecy of the same events, to have been of Jeremiah, because a formal passage out of it is quoted by St. Matthew under his name (47). Some other reasons they give for this their conjecture, which the curious may read in those authors.

But the general opinion is, that the name of Jeremy has crept into that place of the evangelist, instead of that of Zechariah. How long he prophesied, and what death he died, is no-where said, the Mohammedans confound him with Zecharias the father of John the Baptist.

(46) Hammond. in Matth. xxvii. Mede, l. iv. epist. 31.
(47) Matth. xxvii. 9, 10.

of Judah. Theſe lectures were probably read at firſt in ſome great ſtreet or market-place, ſince we read of no buildings erected for that purpoſe before this time (Q); but as they quickly

As for Malachi, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak before, the current of his prophecies runs intirely againſt the vile abuſes that were crept into the Jewiſh church and ſtate, ſuch as mixed marriages, breach of the ſabbaths and ſabbatic years, oppreſſing the poor, defrauding the prieſts and levites of their tithes, and ſuch other enormities, which were afterwards reformed by Nehemiah.

(Q) We have formerly ſhewn †, that before the captivity, they uſed to aſſemble themſelves at the ſchools of the prophets on the ſabbaths, new moons, and other feſtivals, to have the ſcriptures explained to them; but as to ſynagogues, we read nothing preciſe concerning them.

Thoſe that think they had them before the captivity, do indeed object a paſſage out of the pſalms (48), in which it is ſaid, that the heathen had deſtroyed col mohadde el, or, as our verſion renders it, all the ſynagogues of God; but the word mohed ſignifies properly a congregation, ſo that the place here mentioned, might ſignify no more than oratories, or what the Greeks called proſeuchia (49), or any of thoſe places where the prophets read or made lectures to them. However that be, it doth not appear, that if they had any ſuch places for the reading and expounding of the ſcriptures, they were under ſuch ſtrict regulations, and in ſuch numbers, as we find them after Nehemiah's time.

As to the regulations of theſe new ſynagogues, they may be reduced to the three following heads; 1. They were to be under the inſpection of certain rulers, called from thence rulers of the ſynagogue, and by the Greek Jews archiſynagogoi. 2. They had their ſtated times for coming to them, viz. on the ſabbaths, and other feaſt and faſt-days, and on mondays and thurſdays; they had alſo their ſtated hours for each day. 3. They had proper miniſters appointed, ſome to read and expound the current ſection out of the ſacred books, others to read the liturgy, others to ſing, &c. and theſe provided they were in every reſpect elſe qualified for thoſe offices, might be choſen out of any tribe; only they took care, to have always one or more of the prieſtly order to preſide and take care that the ſervice was performed with due order and decency.

The perſon who was appointed to read the liturgy, was called ſheliach zibbor, that is, the angel or meſſenger of the congregation, becauſe he offered up the prayers of the people to God, or was the mouth or repreſentative of the congregation to Godward; and as a meſſenger from God to men was called an angel of God, ſo

† vol. iii. p. 471. d. (48) Pſalm lxxiv. 8. (49) De his vid. int. al Selden. de Synedr. Sigon. Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 8. Cunæ. Baſnag repub. Prid. Connect. an, 444, & auct. ab eo citat.

quickly found the inconvenience of it in cold and rainy weather, it is not without good reaſon ſuppoſed, that this obliged

ſo one from men to God was ſtyled an angel of the people; in this ſenſe the chriſtian biſhops were called the angels of the churches; this perſon was always one of the rulers of the ſynagogue; he was alſo called khakam, or wiſe, learned, as were alſo the other rulers, and preſided in their aſſemblies, and ſome in their courts of Judicature.

Next to him was the khazan, who either read or looked over thoſe who offered themſelves to read the ſections of the day, and corrected them when they read wrong; this officer had the ſacred books, and other utenſils, under his care, and had a ſciamas or ſervant under him, who had the keys and overſeeing of the ſynagogue, but the khazan's chief buſineſs was to expound the portions of ſcripture that were read on that day, or to appoint or permit any other to do it for him, or to preach a ſermon on ſome proper ſubject.

Thus, when Chriſt was entered into the ſynagogue, we read that the book of Iſaiah was preſented to him, which he read, and expounded to the congregation (50); the like was alſo done by the apoſtles (1). This khazan was likewiſe the perſon who gave out and began thoſe pſalms and hymns that uſed to be ſung by the whole congregation.

2. As to the number of theſe ſynagogues, they muſt have far exceeded thoſe before the captivity, if any ſuch then were; ſince Maimon tells us, the rule was, that where-ever there were ten Batelnim, or Iſraelites of full age, there was to be a ſynagogue (2); and theſe were ſo multiplied in our Saviour's time, that the city of Tiberias had no leſs than twelve, and in Jeruſalem the Jews affirm them to have amounted to four hundred and eighty (3); if theſe laſt are not ſomewhat inlarged, as Lightfoot ſuſpects, who thinks that theſe ten Batelnim were the elders and miniſters of that ſynagogue (4). 'Tis plain, however, that they were in great number, not only in Jeruſalem and Paleſtine, but alſo in all other places of their diſperſion. And even in that metropolis, we find the Alexandrians, Cilicians, Cyrenæans, Aſiatics, Libertines, who had their own ſeparate ſynagogues (5); from which we may infer, that there were many others which belonged to Jews of other nations; and the Jews tell us, that every handicraft had alſo their ſeparate ones (6); but this we will not vouch for.

We

(50) Mat. xiii. 54. Luke iv. 16, & ſeq. (1) Acts xiii. 15. (2) Tract. Tephil. c 2. ſect. 1. (3) Gemar. Moggill. c. 3. Ketuboth, c. 13. Beracoth, & alib. Vid. Maim, ubi ſupra. Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabb. ſub voce בטלן. (4) Centur. Geogr. c. 36. (5) Acts vi. 9. (6) Gemar. ubi ſupra.

obliged them to build some convenient places to assemble in, which have been since known by the name of synagogues and schools. For the same purpose the Chaldee paraphrases, known by the name of targums, were also introduced much about the same time, to facilitate the knowledge of the Mosaic law and of the other sacred volumes, among those who were unacquainted with the original; but as these were not finished till a considerable time after Nehemiah's death, we shall take a more proper time to speak of them. Thus far had this great man carried on the reformation of the Jewish church and state. As for the unworthy son of Joiada, whom Josephus calls Manasseh, instead of complying with the governor's orders of parting with his strange wife, he retired with her to Samaria to his father-in-law, and drew a great many other rebellious Jews after him, who had been guilty either of the same, or any of those enormous crimes which were then reforming at Jerusalem, and went and settled themselves under the protection of Sanballat the Samaritan governor (R).

How,

We should stretch this note too far, were we to give an account of the liturgy, ceremonies, and other particulars relating to those synagogues; the reader may see them in the authors quoted in this note; and especially in dean Prideaux, who has collected all that is worth knowing concerning them, and to whom we refer those who want a fuller account of them (7);

(R) The long interval between the Sanballat, who obstructed Ezra in the rebuilding of the temple, and this, whose daughter was married to Manasses, has made some writers split him into two; the one called by Ezra the Horonite, and not mentioned by Josephus; and this, whom the latter calleth a Cuthean, who went over to Alexander, especially because he is there affirmed to have come over to his father-in-law in the reign of Darius Codomanus †.

This is indeed too glaring an anachronism to be admitted; for whoever compares the time in which Nehemiah returned from Jerusalem into Persia, viz. in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, or before Christ four hundred and forty-two, and the reign of Darius Codomanus, An. 336, must see that he could never have reached to this last; so that either we must admit two Sanballats, and two sons-in-law of the priestly race, or suppose, that Josephus has misplaced him in the reign of Darius Codomanus instead of Darius Nothus, and in the high-priesthood of Jaddua instead of that of Joiada, where the text places him (8).

This

(7) Connect l. vi. sub. an. 444. (8) Nehem. xiii. 28.

Nehemiah's death.

How long Nehemiah lived after he had made this reformation, whether he continued in his place of governor, and whether he died in Judæa or in Persia, neither the text nor Josephus informs us; only the latter says, that he died in an advanced age [u]; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he must have been at least seventy years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of Darius Nothus, died the high-priest Eliashib, after he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity forty years; he was succeeded by his son Joiada, called by Josephus Judas [w], the unworthy father of that Manasses whom Nehemiah had forced to retire into Samaria for the sake of his beloved wife (S). Whilst that governor lived

[u] Antiq. l. xi. sub. fin. ult. cap. 5. [w] Id. c. 6. vid. Nehem. xii. 10.

This is what the learned Prideaux (9) has taken a great deal of pains to prove; we shall refer the reader to him, because the argument would carry us too far. We shall only observe by the by, that upon his supposition, the Manasses, whom the same Josephus makes to succeed his nephew Eleazar (10), will not be the Manasses, who married Sanballat's daughter, and was expelled by Nehemiah (11).

As for Sanballat being called Cuthean by Josephus, and Horonite by Ezra, the latter we have shewn to have been given him from Horonaim the place of his birth, and that of Cuthean was a name of reproach, by which not only that historian, but all the Jews, called the Samaritans.

(S) Josephus adds (12), that Sanballat, to compensate him for the loss of his right to the Jewish priesthood, which his birth intitled him to, promised to make him high-priest of Samaria, and to bestow on him the highest place in the whole province. In order to which, he would cause a temple to be built on mount Gerizim like unto that of Jerusalem, of which he should have the high-priesthood.

Accordingly, as our author goes on, that governor having gone over from the Persians to Alexander the Great, obtained of him, as a reward for his services, leave to build that temple, and made his son-in-law high-priest of it, so that all the apostate Jews repaired to it; which still more increased the hatred of those of Judæa, who from that time looked upon them as schismatics.

This story carries as flagrant an anachronism (unless we suppose two Sanballats) as that we spoke of in the last note; that author tells us farther, that Manasses succeeding afterwards to the high-priesthood

(9) Ubi supra, sub. an. 410. (10) Ant. l. xii c. 3. ad. fin. (11) Nehem. xiii. 28. (12) Ant. l. xi. c. 7. 8. &c.

lived, he ſupported his character by the moſt exemplary zeal for religion, juſtice, and the good of his nation; and the dignity of his office by a magnificent hoſpitality. The uſual proviſion of his table was an ox, ſix fat ſheep, with fowl, fiſh, wine, and other things in proportion; at which he entertained, beſides an hundred and fifty of the head rulers, who eat conſtantly with him, all the ſtrangers of any diſtinction, who came from other countries to Jeruſalem; all which he ſupported at his own private charge, and without receiving any of the allowance which was uſually paid to the governors of that province, which had preceded him. After his death, the face of that government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of Judæa, but the country ſeems to have been joined and ſubject to the prefecture of Syria, from which the high-prieſts received their authority, as ſhall be ſeen in the next ſection. All that need be added to this is, that dean Prideaux concludes the ſeven firſt weeks of the ſeventy of Daniel's prophecy with this laſt reformation of Nehemiah abovementioned, which was finiſhed, according to him, in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus. The reader may ſee his proofs for it in that learned author [x].

Year of the flood 2590. Year before Chriſt 409.

[x] Connect. l. vi, ſub. an 409.

prieſthood of Jeruſalem, in right of his great uncle (or, as others read it, nephew) came and took poſſeſſion of it; but he doth not inform us how or whether he renounced his ſchiſm, nor how he was received by thoſe of Judæa (13). We ſhall give a further account of the building of this Samaritan temple in the next ſection.

(13) Lib. xii. c. 3.

SECT. II.

The ſtate of the Jews under the High-prieſts and Maccabees.

HITHERTO we have had Ezra and Nehemiah for our guides; after them we have no canonical books concerning the Jewiſh nation, ſo that we ſhall be forced to fetch all our intelligence from thoſe of the Maccabees, and to fill up all the chaſms out of Joſephus; for as for prophane authors, they were ſo little acquainted with the Jews, that we have little or nothing from them, but what falls in occaſionally.

sionally with other parts of their history. Judæa being now become more strictly a province of Syria, and under the prefecture of it, the governors committed the administration of the Jewish state to their high-priests, so that from this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befel their nation, to a set of men, who aspired to that high dignity more through ambition and avarice, than any real zeal for their religion, or the welfare of their country.

Year of the flood 2626. Before Christ 373.

This epocha begins with a signal instance of it, which is the more remarkable, because we have it from Josephus [a], who is not often apt to turn accuser of his brethren.

JOHANAN succeeded his father Joiada in the high-priesthood [b], about the thirty-fourth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Bagoses was then governor of Syria and Phœnicia, and had contracted an intimate friendship with Jeshua the brother of the pontiff, and had promised him a grant of the high-priesthood, some few years after Johanan's investiture. Jeshua, whom our historian calls Jesus, came immediately to Jerusalem, and acquainted his brother with it; their interview was in the inner court of the temple, where the dispute arose to such a height, that Johanan, in striving to throw him out of that holy place, gave him a mortal wound. Bagoses, being informed of it, repaired immediately to the place, and upbraided the Jews in the severest terms for thus making a shambles of the temple of their God; he next offered to enter into that holy place, but being obstructed by the priests, he asked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcass which did lie there; and without staying for an answer, he forcibly entered in; and being fully informed of the fact, he imposed a heavy mulct upon the temple (A), which was not taken off, till the death of

[a] Ant. l. xi. c. 7. [b] Nehem. xii. 11, & 22.

(A) This fine, which our historian says, was fifty drachms, to be paid out of the sacred treasury for every lamb that was offered in the temple, can hardly be thought considerable enough to extort such a complaint from him, if it was only confined to those two lambs that were offered in the daily sacrifice. For fifty drachms amounting but to a little above thirty-one shillings of our money, seven hundred and thirty lambs, the number offered every year, would amount but to eleven hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings.

Some therefore have thought there was an error in Josephus, and that the fine was five hundred instead of fifty drachms, though all the copies have it fifty; but even this would be still too inconsiderable,

of Artaxerxes, which happened about ſeven years after, had changed the face of affairs. However, they were not altogether free from troubles in the reign of his ſucceſſor; for Ochus having conquered the greateſt part of Phœnicia, as we have ſeen in a former volume †, marched directly towards Judæa, beſieged and took Jericho, and carried off a great number of Jews captives, part of which he ſent into Egypt, and part into Hyrcania, along the Caſpian ſea [c]. Whether they had engaged with the Phœnicians againſt that prince, or by what other way they had diſobliged him, our authors do not tell us, nor whether his reſentment ſtopped here, or was felt in any other part of Judæa. About ten years after, that is, in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, died Johanan their high-prieſt in the thirty-ſecond year of his high-prieſthood, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Jaddua; and three years after Ochus was poiſoned by Bagoas, who ſet up his youngeſt ſon Arſaces on the Perſian throne, who was ſoon after ſucceeded by Darius III. *

Year of the flood 2648. Before Chriſt 351.

Johanan ſucceeded by Jaddua.

In the fourth year of this prince's reign, the Jews gave him ſuch an inſtance of their loyalty, as plainly ſhewed they had not forgot what they had ſuffered from Ochus for ſiding with his enemies. Alexander the Great having reſolved upon the ſiege of Tyre, and being informed that the Tyrians, a nation wholly given to trade, received all their proviſions from Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, ſent to Jaddua, the then high-prieſt, to demand that ſupply of them, which they were wont to pay to the Perſians. Jaddua modeſtly excuſed himſelf from complying with his demand, alledging, that his oath of fidelity to Darius did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. Alexander, provoked at this refuſal, had

† vol. v. p. 200, & ſeq.

[c] Joſeph. ex Hecat. contr. Appion. l. i. Solin. Syncel. & al.

* See before, vol. v. p. 202.

ſiderable, conſidering how he inveighs againſt it as a great oppreſſion: beſides, thoſe governors were ſeldom ſo moderate in their fines, eſpecially were the crimes was ſo enormous.

We may therefore more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was to be levied on all the lambs, not only of the daily ſacrifices, but on thoſe of all the other feſtivals, which amounted to a much greater number, as the reader may ſee by what has been ſaid in a former volume, and on all thoſe that were offered by private perſons, whether by way of free-will offering, or upon any other caſes, wherein the law required it †.

† See before, vol. iii. p. 183, & ſeq. 226, & ſeq.

had no sooner completed the siege of Tyre, than he marched straight to Jerusalem, resolved to punish the Jews with as great severity as he had done the Tyrians. He was advancing with full speed towards their metropolis, when the high-priest and the rest of the people, sensible of their imminent danger, had recourse to God, and by their prayers, sacrifices, and other acts of humiliation, obtained a gracious promise from him, that he would protect his temple and people from the approaching calamity. It was communicated to Jaddua in a dream, in which he was commanded to go and meet the threatening conqueror, in his pontifical robes, at the head of all his priests, in their proper habits, and attended with the rest of the people dressed in white garments. Jaddua obeyed on the next morning, and having caused the gates of the city to be opened, marched in solemn procession at the head of his attendance, to an eminence called Sapha, or rather Tzaphah, because it commanded the prospect of the whole city and temple.

As soon as the venerable prelate was got near enough for Alexander to view the magnificence of his dress, especially the sacred name of God engraven on the front of his mitre, he was seized with such an awful respect, that, to the great surprize of his retinue, who were already glutting their eyes with the prospect of a rich plunder, and a dreadful slaughter, the monarch advanced towards him, and with a religious kind of veneration bowed to him, embraced him, and paid an adoration to the sacred inscription on his forehead. Whilst the Syrians, Phœnicians, and others that were present, stood amazed at the sight, Parmenio, with his usual familiarity, ventured to ask him the reason of his unexpected behaviour, and was answered by the king, that this respect, which was not paid to the priest, but to his God, was an acknowledgment for a vision of the like nature, which he had favoured him with at Dio, in which he promised to him the conquest of Persia, and encouraged him in this expedition by a person with much the same aspect, and the same venerable dress with the pontiff now before him. He then gave orders to march on to Jerusalem, and was attended thither by the high priest and his retinue, and conducted to the temple, where he caused a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the Jews. Here the priests shewed him the book of Daniel, wherein it was foretold, that a Greek should in time conquer the Persian empire; and Alexander, understanding it of himself, went away highly satisfied with what he had seen and heard. On the next day he called the Jews toge-

ther,

ther, and asked them what requeſt they had to make to him, and was anſwered by the high-prieſt, that they only begged of him, the liberty of living according to their laws, to have the free exerciſe of their religion, and to be exempt from tribute every ſabbatic or ſeventh year, ſeeing they were forbidden by their law to ſow or reap in thoſe years. The ſame favour they likewiſe begged of him in the behalf of their brethren, who dwelt in Babylon and Media; all which being readily granted by the conqueror, he offered the Jews to receive into his army all that were willing to liſt under his ſtandards, and to grant them the free exerciſe of their religion, which drew a great number of them into his ſervice [d].

Samaritans addreſs Alexander.

THE Samaritans on the other hand, leſs ſcrupulous about their oath of fidelity, had ſhewed themſelves more complying to that monarch's demands; and, beſides other ſupplies, had ſent him eight thouſand men to aſſiſt him at the ſiege of Tyre. As ſoon therefore as they were informed of the king's diſpoſition towards the Jews, they began to entertain ſome hopes, that this was a proper time to apply to him for ſome ſuch-like grants for themſelves, to which their late ſervices, they thought, did better intitle them, than the Jews diſobedience to his orders. Beſides, they were always ready to claim kindred with them, whenever matters went well on their ſide; but as ready to drop, or even renounce it, whenever they ſaw them in any danger or diſgrace. Scarce therefore was the king got out of Jeruſalem, before they came in great pomp to invite him to honour their city and temple (B). Alexander did ſeemingly give

[d] Antiq. l. xi. cap. ult. and ſee before, vol. viii. Chap. 2. Sect. 5.

(B) Joſephus expreſsly mentioning this temple, doth plainly ſhew, that it was built long before Alexander; and not, as he elſewhere tells us, by leave of that monarch obtained by Sanballat, whilſt he was with him at the ſiege of Tyre; for that ſiege laſted but ſeven months; and ſuppoſing that he had ſtopt another two months at the ſiege of Gaza, as the ſame author pretends, yet all this put together would ſcarce have ſufficed to lay the foundations of ſuch a great building, much leſs for finiſhing it.

But the learned Uſher obſerves, it is not likely, that he ſhould take Gaza in his way from Tyre to Jeruſalem, becauſe this laſt did lie at ſome days journey's diſtance on this ſide of Gaza, ſo that in that caſe he muſt be ſuppoſed to have paſt it by, and then returned to it again with his army; and who can believe, that he would penetrate ſo far into Judæa, and leave Jeruſalem untaken,

give them a gracious reception, but put off the deſired viſit till his return from Egypt. They then petitioned that they might, like their brethren of Judæa, be exempted from the tribute of every ſeventh year, ſince, like them, they neither ſowed nor reaped in thoſe years. They were thereupon asked, what country they were of? and upon their anſwering that they were Hebrews, but called Sichemites by the Sidonians, the queſtion was put peremptorily to them, whether they were Jews? But they, afraid, perhaps, to anſwer in the affirmative, in a place where they could be ſo eaſily confuted, did then diſown the title; and the king, who had not leiſure then to inquire further about it, diſmiſſed them with a promiſe, that he would examine their claim after his return. He did ſo accordingly, and granted them the ſame exemption as he had the Jews; for thoſe Samaritans who had aſſiſted him

eſpceially when he breathed nothing but revenge againſt that metropolis (14)?

Add to this, that all other writers of Alexander's wars tell us, that he went directly into Egypt after the taking of Gaza However, granting he ſpent thoſe two months in that ſiege, what are nine months towards rearing ſuch a building? For this and ſome other reaſons, there have not been wanting thoſe who have looked upon this conteſt between the Jews and Samaritans, as an invention of the Jewiſh hiſtorian, trumpt up to give a kind of preference to his own nation.

But this is perhaps ſaying too much; however, a temple there was built upon mount Garizzim, which, if finiſhed in Alexander's time, muſt have been began long before his coming into Judæa, let the Samaritans have their permiſſion from which ſoever of the Perſian monarchs; though, if we were to venture our conjecture, might it not have been obtained from Ochus, and about the time when the Jews had incurred his diſpleaſure, either for ſiding with the Phœnicians, or for ſome other miſdemeanor; and might not the Samaritans, who watched all opportunities to get the better of them, have ſo far ingratiated themſelves into that exaſperated prince's favour, by renouncing, as uſual, all kindred with them, as to obtain a grant to build a temple for themſelves?

This once ſuppoſed, there will be time enough for that work to be finiſhed by or even before Alexander's time, and the Sanballat of Nehemiah may have probably lived to have laid the foundation of it. This will likewiſe in ſome meaſure account for Joſephus's anachroniſm, which may be no other than a wilful overſight, it being a leſs diſgrace to his nation to repreſent this grant as obtained, not for any misbehaviour of theirs, but for the ſervices done by the Samaritans.

(14) Vid. Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3673. Prid. ſub anno 332.

him at the ſiege of Tyre, having likewiſe ſignalized themſelves in Egypt, which that prince conquered with a ſurprizing quickneſs; it is not improbable, this immunity was granted to them as a reward for their ſervices. In the mean time, the temple at mount Garizzim proved the ſource of continual evils to the Jews, and the conſtant aſylum of their apoſtate brethren, who never failed to go over to the Samaritans, as ſoon as they found themſelves in danger of puniſhment for any enormous crimes[e].

Jews ſettled at Alexandria.

ALEXANDER at the ſame time was no leſs kind to the Jews, a great number of whom, at his return into Alexandria, he ſettled there among other nations, and endowed with many privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, and admitting them to the ſame franchiſes and liberties with his own Macedonians[f]. But what gave them the greateſt advantage over their Samaritan rivals was, an inſurrection made in their capital againſt his favourite Andromachus, whom he had made governor of Syria and Paleſtine. The Samaritans, upon ſome diſcontent againſt him, ran in a tumultuous manner to his palace, ſet it on fire, and burnt him in it; which ſo exaſperated that monarch, that he cauſed all that had a hand in that atrocious deed to be put to death, and the reſt to be driven out of the city which he repeopled with his own Macedonians, and granted the reſt of their territories to the Jews[g]. From this time, thoſe that ſurvived the ſlaughter having ſettled themſelves at Shechem, that city became the metropolis of the Samaritan ſect[h]. As for thoſe eight thouſand, who had ſerved under him, he ſent and ſettled them in Thebais, the remoteſt part of Egypt, to prevent their raiſing any freſh inſurrection among their countrymen. As for the Jews, they continued ſtill in his favour both in Paleſtine and out of it, only thoſe that were in his army were like to have forfeited it, by their ſtiff refuſal to aſſiſt at the rebuilding of the temple of Belus, which that monarch had began. They urged in vain, that their law, of which they were promiſed the free exerciſe, forbad them to have a hand in ſuch an idolatrous work; they were made to undergo ſome ſevere puniſhments, but, to his ſurprize, they bore them with ſuch invincible conſtancy, that being more overcome by it than by their other pleas, he diſcharged them from his ſervice, and ſent them

Samaritans expelled. Year of the flood 2668. Before Chriſt 331.

[e] Hecatæus Abder ap. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. ii. & bell. Jud l. ii. c. 36. Vid. & Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 8. [f] Id. ibid. [g] Id. ibid. Euſeb. Chronic. [h] Joſeph. contr. Apion. l. ii.

into their own country [i]; and he himself dying soon after, left his empire in the confused state we have seen in a former volume *. Four years after him died also Jaddua the Jewish high-priest, in the twentieth year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by his son Onias, who enjoyed that dignity about one-and-twenty years.

Jaddua succeeded by Onias.

WITH Alexander died the prosperous state of the Jews, and their country, being situate between Syria and Egypt, became subject to all the revolutions and wars, which his ambitious successors waged against each other; being successively invaded and captivated by the Syrians and Egyptians, and constantly oppressed under either government. At first it was, as we have seen elsewhere, given, together with Syria and Phœnicia, to Leomedon the Mitylenian, one of Alexander's generals [k], and confirmed to him by a second partition treaty; but he being soon after stripped of the other two by Ptolemy, Judæa was the only one which stood firm to him from a sense of their oath of allegiance; so that the Egyptian king was forced to invade it with a powerful army, and accordingly did lay close siege to Jerusalem. The place, being strongly fortified by art and nature, might have found him work enough, had not a superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath prevented the besieged making any defence on that day; which being understood by the king, he caused it to be stormed on the sabbath, and took the city accordingly without any opposition [l] (C). This did not, however,

Jerusalem taken by Ptolemy.

[i] Joseph. ex Hecat lib. i, cont. Apion. * vol. viii. Chap. 2. Sect. 6. and Sect. 7.

(C) This is the account we have from the authors quoted above; and we shall meet in the sequel with some other instances of the Jews chusing to be all massacred, rather than fight or fly on the sabbath; but Josephus, loth to expose this weakness of theirs, has given this transaction another turn, and pretends, that Ptolemy, having been peaceably admitted into the city, under pretence of offering some sacrifices there, did immediately break his articles, and possess himself of it.

There is indeed nothing in that prince's character, but what shews him to have been capable enough of such perfidy; but it is not so probable, that the Jews, so strongly attached to his enemy, could be weak enough to admit him into their city, especially with an escort sufficient to subdue it; besides, it is plain, that he treated them, not like friends that had given him an amica

ble

however, prevent his treating them with great severity; he carried near a hundred thousand of them captives into Egypt, but reflecting soon after on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the sacred regard they paid to their oaths, and being by the taking of Jerusalem become master of Judæa and Samaria, he committed the keeping of several considerable garisons both here and in Egypt to them; and having made them swear allegiance to him, and to his heirs and successors, he endowed them with the same privileges they had enjoyed under the Macedonians. Of those whom he carried away into Egypt, he chose about thirty thousand of the stoutest to fill his garisons, the rest he sent, some to assist them with provisions, others into Libya and Cyrene (D), which he had lately subdued [m]. Appian adds, that he demolished the walls of Jerusalem before he returned home [n]. However, he shewed such kindness to those Jews that came to settle in Egypt, that great numbers of them, being attracted, partly by the fertility of the country, and partly by the great privileges they enjoyed, flocked thither from other parts [o].

By this time the Samaritans, who daily increased in number, strength, and wealth, by the continual concourse of apostate Jews, made Shechem their metropolis, inlarged and

[k] Chron. Alex. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Ant. l. xi. c. ult. See also vol. vii. ubi supra. [l] Agathar. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i Arist. in libel. de 70 interp. [m] Id. Ibid. [n] Appian. Syriac. p. 119, & seq. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

ble entrance, but like a victor that subdued them by force of arms.

(D) From the latter of these were descended the Cyrenean Jews, among whom was Jason, author of the history of the Maccabees in five books now lost, but of which the second book of the Maccabees is an epitome (15); of the same country were those Cyrenean Jews mentioned by St. Luke (16), and that Simon who helped to bear the cross of Christ (17).

This Jewish colony grew in time so numerous, as to have a thousand of them put to death for one mutiny in Vespasian's time; and yet in a succeeding reign, they proved strong enough to master the whole province, and, as Xiphilinus tells us in the life of Trajan, to massacre two hundred thousand inhabitants of other nations.

(15) Vid. 2 Maccab. ii. 23. (16) Acts ii. 10. vi. 9. (17) Matth. xxvii. 32, & alib.

beautified it, and, as we hinted before, made it the head of their ſchiſmatic ſect; and as they were neither ſo ſcrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor ſo tenacious of the precepts of the Moſaic law, as their rivals of Judæa were, they ſeldom made any ſcruple to ſide with the ſtrongeſt, and, if occaſion required, to comply with the will of their princes, even in things which were abſolutely forbidden by their law. This policy, which they never loſt ſight of, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew, not only freed them from the many perſecutions which the Jews underwent, but made them fare much better under every government than they, ſo that from this time, not only thoſe who fled from puniſhment from Judæa, but a much greater number came over to them to avoid, either perſecution on account of their law, or the tyranny and oppreſſion of their governors. As therefore this ſect became ſo numerous and powerful, as to make a conſiderable figure in the Jewiſh hiſtory, our readers will doubtleſs expect to be informed how far their religion agreed or differed from that of the Jews; and by what ſtrange arguments they have, ever ſince their ſeparation, endeavoured to prove their claim of precedence to, and to retort the imputation of ſchiſm upon, them, ſince we have already ſeen that they were originally a mixture of Cutheans and other foreign nations, ſent thither by the Aſſyrian kings inſtead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them, and now become a more mixed and mongrel nation, by the conſtant reſort and incorporation of all the renegate Jews. This digreſſion, if it be really ſuch, is ſo much the more neceſſary here, becauſe it will be impoſſible without it to dive into thoſe perpetual jars and diſputes that have been ever ſince, and are ſtill carried on, between thoſe two nations with the utmoſt irreconcileable hatred. However, that we may contract as much as poſſible, we ſhall only give here what is moſt material concerning their tenets, and throw all their fabulous authorities and pretences, as well as thoſe of the Jews againſt them, in the margin (E). The following

An account of the Samaritans.

(E) We ſhall begin with the account which the Samaritans give of their origin, in oppoſition to that which we have from the ſacred books, concerning them: 1ſt, They boaſt themſelves deſcended from Joſeph by Ephraim; they pretend, that when Joſhua entered into the promiſed land, he cauſed a temple to be built upon mount Garizzim, and appointed Kuz of the ſeed of Aaron to officiate as high prieſt, from whom they boaſt to have an exact genealogy and uninterrupted ſucceſſion, down to this very time

following articles therefore are a ſhort ſummary of their faith in common with, and in oppoſition to, that of the Jews.

F 5 1ſt, They

time. They neither own Jeroboam's ſchiſm (18), nor the tranſmigration of the ten tribes (19), but give the following account of their going out, and returning into the land.

The kings of Jeruſalem and Syria, ſay they, having revolted againſt Bachtnezzar (ſo they call Nebuchadnezzar), he came and took Jeruſalem, and went from thence to the Shechemites, whom he ordered to leave that country in ſeven days under pain of being all maſſacred, which they did accordingly. The ſtrangers whom he ſettled in Judæa and Shechem ſoon after could not live there, becauſe the faireſt fruits of the land were tainted with a mortal poiſon; the king of Babylon having thereupon conſulted ſome of the ancient inhabitants, was anſwered, that the only remedy to that evil, was to ſend the Hebrews thither again; which that prince having agreed to, a place of rendezvous was appointed for the Jews and Shechemites, to return together, each into his own land.

Here a diſpute aroſe between them, whether they ſhould go and rebuild the temple of Jeruſalem, or that of Garizzim. Zerubbabel was for the former, and Sanballat for the latter, and each pleaded the ſanction of the pentateuch, and each pretended that the copy of his antagoniſt was corrupted, that of the former being expreſsly for Jeruſalem, and the other for Garizzim.

To end the diſpute, they agreed that that copy, which withſtood the fiery trial, ſhould be the authentic one; upon which Zerubbabel having flung his own into the fire; it was immediately conſumed, whereas that of the Samaritan chief came three times untouched out of the flames.

This miracle, they add, having determined the controverſy in their favour, the king honoured them with rich preſents, and ſent Sanballat at the head of his ten tribes, to take poſſeſſion of mount Garizzim, where he rebuilt the temple in diſpute. This account they give us out of an old Samaritan chronicle, which they pretend to be of great antiquity and authority; but thoſe who have examined it, tell us, that it was written in the reign of ſome of the chriſtian emperors, and after Conſtantine (20), unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have been continued from time to time. However, let the chronicle bear what date it will, it is plain by the Samaritan woman's queſtion to our Saviour (21), *Our fathers worſhipped on this mountain, and ye ſay, that* Jeruſalem *is the place*, that they claimed this authority long before; and accordingly, their pentateuch, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, among

other

(18) 1 Kings, ch. xii. & ſeq. (19) 2 Kings, ch. xvii.
(20) De hac, vid. int. al. Hottinger. lib. Joſue, ſeu chron. Samarit. in exercitat. Antimorin. (21) John iv. 20.

Their religion.

1ſt, They believe in one God, and in his ſervant Moſes, and that Garizzim is the only place of God's worſhip. The Jews, ſay they, follow other teachers, other precepts, taken from their other books, traditions, and expoſitions; we ſtick cloſe to the five books of Moſes, and reject all other writings, all other authority and interpretation, and guide our faith and practice ſolely by the precepts of our law-giver. Accordingly they never admitted any other books but the pentateuch (F).

2dly, They always circumciſe their males on the eighth day,

other interpolations, has changed the word Ebal for that of Garizzim, where-ever thoſe two mountains come in competition.

The Jews, on their ſide, have not been ſparing of their fictions, as if they had choſen to confute their antagoniſts by this way, rather than by the authority of the ſacred books. Joſephus tells us of much ſuch another conteſt that happened in Egypt, between thoſe of his nation and the Samaritans about theſe two temples; and which aroſe to ſuch a height, that it was like to end in a ſedition, had not Ptolemy Philometor put an end to it in the following manner (22).

He ordered the contending parties to bring their cauſe before him, and to have it pleaded by proper perſons, with this condition, that thoſe who were caſt ſhould loſe their heads. There appeared but one advocate for the Jews, viz. Andronicus the ſon of Meſſalami; but he pleaded his cauſe ſo well againſt his two antagoniſts, whom our author names Sabbæus and Theodore, that he gained his point, and they loſt their lives (23).

Another ancient author (24), whom the Jews pretend to have lived before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but by his mentioning of the Saracen empire, muſt have wrote at leaſt ſix hundred years after (25), tells us, that when Ezra and Nehemiah were rebuilding the temple, the Samaritans came with an army of a hundred and eighty thouſand men to beſiege Jeruſalem; but that thoſe two chiefs, having aſſembled three hundred prieſts, did pronounce the higher excommunication againſt them †. Theſe prieſts were followed by three hundred young men, who held each a copy of the Moſaic law in one hand, and a trumpet in the other, which they blew whilſt the prieſts were excommunicating them, upon which they were immediately put to flight.

(F) In conſequence of this, they reject all the prophetical and hiſtorical books, as written in favour of the Jews, and eſpecially of the houſe of David; they deſpiſe the Jewiſh pretence of oral tradition, and all their targums and talmuds.

(22) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6. (23) Vid. Baſnage. hiſtoir. des Juifs, tom. 2 part. 1, c. 1, & ſeq. (24) Rab. Eliezer, Pirke Abboth, c. 38. (25) Vid Prid. lib vi. ſub an. 409, & auct. ab eo citat. † De hac vid. ſup. vol iii p. 342, & ſeq. & note E.

day, never deferring it upon any account, as the Jews do, some of them till the hour of death (G).

3dly, They never allow themselves to have two wives, or to marry their nieces; but the Jews do both.

4thly, They are bound to wash themselves every morning, after either matrimonial converse, or any accidental defilement, so that they look upon every vessel and household stuff, they touch before such an ablution, to be polluted.

5thly, They observe the sabbath with the greatest strictness, never meddling with their wives on that night, lighting no fires, nor stirring from their houses, unless to go to the synagogue, where they read some portion of the pentateuch, offer up their prayers to, and sing the praises of, God.

6thly, Of all their solemn festivals, the passover is by them esteemed the chief; they likewise observe the other two, of pentecost and of tabernacles, with great exactness, and the grand fast of expiation with uncommon strictness.

7thly, They never offer any sacrifice but on mount Garizzim [p].

8thly, They boast a continued succession of priests from Ruz the son of Phineas, the catalogue of which is preserved by them with utmost strictness; and their high-priest always makes his residence at Shechem, now called Naplouse, from whence he issues out his directions to the whole sect for keeping their festivals, and whatever relates to the Mosaic observances (H). From this short scantling of their faith and practice,

[p] Vid. int. al. Basnag. ubi supra.

They value themselves for having preserved the ancient Hebrew character, and curse the new one, which was since introduced by Ezra, whom they brand with the name of impostor, and who, they pretend, substituted it to the Mosaic one, for the sake of those other books which he foisted into the Jewish canon (26).

(G) Especially in countries where they are not tolerated, such as France, Portugal, Spain, &c. and where, for fear of being discovered by the fear of circumcision, they wholly neglect it, and outwardly conform with the religion of the country for the sake of trade. Some of them, however, when they are grown either rich enough, or old and qualmish, will come over into England, Holland, &c. to be circumcised. As for those that die without circumcision, some of their friends generally come and circumcise them in their coffin, and lay the prepuce by them, after which the coffin is immediately nailed, and carried to the grave.

(H) This sect is still very numerous, not only in their metropolis, but in Damascus, Gaza, Cairo, and other parts of the Ottoman

(26) Vid. Basnag. ubi supra, cap. 3 & 4. l. vii. c. 25.

practice, one would be apt to conclude, that, except those points which related to their schism, they had been much stricter observers of the Mosaic law, than the Jews; but, whatever they may have proved in later times, we shall meet with such flagrant instances of the contrary in the sequel of this and the next section, as will easily convince how ready they were, upon the least danger of persecution or severe usage from their governors, to sacrifice their religion to their interest and safety. However, even in this one point of their schism, it is manifest, they were guilty of most flagrant forgery in corrupting their pentateuch in many places, in order to colour their setting up a new temple with some shew of divine authority. It is true, all the variations of this book are not of the same heinous nature, some of them seem even imputable to the ignorance of the transcribers from the new Chaldee of Ezra to the old Samaritan character, such as their often mistaking of letters, in the former by reason of their similitude, as the beth for the caph, the daleth for the resh, which in the Samaritan are very unlike. Others again may be looked upon as explanatory interpolations, such as we have observed, Joshua and his successors, down to Ezra and beyond, have thought necessary to add to the text. But there are certainly several notorious ones, which could not but be designedly made to support their cause against their Jewish antagonists.

Corrupt their pentateuch.

Ottoman empire, besides those which are dispersed into the northern parts of Europe and Asia. But so ignorant are those of Turky, especially of cosmography, whatever they may be as to their religion, that they took the English Jews to be of their sect, and England to be only a considerable city (27), as appears by a letter they wrote to them some time since, and mentioned by the author last quoted; but if they really held those tenets which the Jews attribute to them, they must have been no less ignorant in point of their religion. Among other errors they charge them with, that of believing the godhead to be a corporeal being would be sufficient to shew their stupidity, but Credat Judæus.

Epiphanius, who ranks them in the catalogue of his heretics (28), tells us, that they worshipped the Teraphims, which Rachael had stolen from her father Laban, and which they digged up from under the oak, where Jacob had buried them; but, it is likely, he took up this calumny upon some Jewish authority. He adds, that they were, like the Jews, divided into four sects (28), and gives us there the different tenets of each, but they are not worth dwelling upon.

(27) Id loc. ult. citat. (28) Hæres 9.

tagoniſts. The reader may ſee ſome few of them in the margin (I), enough, however, to convince him that this Samaritan is not the only true authentic copy, becauſe in the old Hebrew character, and that of Ezra only a tranſcript of it, becauſe in the new introduced Chaldee, as ſome learned men have thought, and particularly a modern one [q], who has given it by far the preference above the Jewiſh; thoſe who are acquainted with his notions, need not be told what induced him to this unaccountable partiality.

How and when this manuſcript came into the hands of the Samaritans, is hard to gueſs; the general opinion is, that it was brought into Samaria by the prieſt, whom Ezarhaddon ſent to inſtruct the new inhabitants of that country. The book was not unknown to ſeveral ancient fathers, particularly Origen and St. Jerom, who both underſtood the Hebrew tongue; but they have given us no light about it. The opinion of ſome learned moderns [r] is, that it was brought to Samaria by Manaſſes, Sanballat's ſon-in-law lately mentioned, and that it was tranſcribed from that of Ezra,

[q] Whiſton. [r] F. Simon. hiſt. crit. V. T. l. i. c. 10. Prid. ubi ſupra.

A modern traveller informs us, that in a letter they wrote to him (29), they acknowledged the book of Joſhua; but they meant moſt probably their chronicle we have lately mentioned, and which they ſtyle the book of Joſhua. However, a more righteous judge than the Jewiſh rabbies has ſummed up their character in few words, when he told them, that they worſhipped they knew not what, and that ſalvation was of the Jews (30).

(I) We have already taken notice of their ſubſtituting the word Garizzim to that of Ebal, in that place of Deuteronomy, where God commands the Iſraelites to build an altar (31); according to which corruption, they pretend that Joſhua actually built the ſaid altar on Garizzim, and that it is the ſame they have ſacrificed upon ever ſince.

2dly, They have interpolated, between the twenty-fifth and twenty ſixth verſes of the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, all that we read in the firſt of Deuteronomy from the ninth to the fourteenth verſe incluſive; and in the tenth of Numbers are inſerted the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth verſes of the firſt of Deuteronomy, between the tenth and eleventh verſes. All which are doubtleſs wilful corruptions to ſerve their cauſe. Theſe and all the other alterations in that pentateuch, the reader may ſee carefully collected by the learned Hottinger (32), and in the collations made in the laſt volume of Walton's polyglot.

(29) Ludolph's letter printed an. 1688. (30) John iv. 22. (31) Deut. xxvii. 4 & 5. (32) Exercit. cont. Morin.

Ezra, since we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inspired scribe is supposed to have made to those five books; and consequently could be of no older date, much less have been brought by that Hebrew priest above-mentioned (K). However, each system has its difficulties

(K) If it be asked, how he could instruct those strangers in the worship of God, unless he had brought some such book along with him from the place of his captivity? some answer, that he taught them no more than he knew by tradition (33); others distinguish between the whole pentateuch and an epitome of the law contained in some of the chapters of Deuteronomy (34), which is that which they suppose he brought with him to Samaria, since both kings and priests were bound to keep a copy of it written with their own hand. Their reason for so thinking is, that if they had had the whole pentateuch, it is hardly to be supposed they would have continued so long in their idolatry. But here they forget that even this epitome contains as strong and severe prohibitions and threatenings against it, as can be found in any other part of the Mosaic books; so that it is more likely their attachment to their country gods, rather than the want of proper books to instruct them, was the cause of their so long dividing their worship between the God of Israel and their own.

A late critic has made a bold, but strange, push to reconcile all these difficulties, by absurdly supposing the pentateuch to have been written on the other side of Euphrates, by the priest, who was sent from thence into Samaria, for the instruction of those strangers. To this end, he, it seems, thought fit to give them a short sketch of the creation, flood, and other occurrences, that happened before the giving of the Mosaic law; and that he wrote it in the old Hebrew, because he was unacquainted with the Chaldee; and that this happening precisely at the time, when the Jewish volume of the law was found out by the high-priest and brought to Josiah, he got a copy of it, and inserted it at the end of his own work, as very proper to bring men to the knowledge of the one true God; and lastly that the Jews, finding nothing to object against the author or his work, have adopted the latter as conformable to their law and history This critic has not ventured to set his name to his book, but sent it abroad under a fictitious title (35); however, Ex ungue leonem, he was not long undiscovered or unconfuted.

Upon the whole, the general opinion is, that this pentateuch was brought by the priest sent by Ezarhaddon into Samaria, and that after the rupture of the Jews and Samaritans, the latter wilfully corupted those places of it which made against them, and consequently, that the Jewish one is by far the more authentic of the two.

(33) Vid. Prid. ubi supra. (34) Vandal. epist. ad Morin. in Tractat. de Idololat. (35) Sentimens de quelque Theolog. de Hollande.

ficulties, which are not easily solved; all that we shall add concerning this book is, that besides this copy written in their old character in the Hebrew tongue, they had another written in the vulgar language spoken among them, because, like the Jews they had forgot the old Hebrew, and were accustomed to a mongrel mixture of Assyrian, Babylonish, and Chaldee. Besides this, they had a Greek version of it for the sake of their hellenistical brethren, as the Jews had the septuagint; and it is probable, that this was the version which is mentioned by several ancient fathers [s], since they cannot be supposed to have understood either the original one, or the vulgar version of it. The old Hebrew copy did afterwards remain unknown to the christians during near ten centuries. Scaliger was the first modern who got intelligence of it; after which it was brought over into Europe, and printed in the polyglots of Paris and London, the latter of which is by far the best and most correct, as well as the Latin version of it [t]; the further particulars of it we refer to the margin (L).

Two versions of it.

How brought into Europe.

[s] African. Euseb. Diod. Tarsens. & al. ap. Prid. ubi supra.
[t] Vid. Scalig. de emend. temp. c. 7. Usser. epist. ad L. Cappel. Walton. proleg. in Polygl. Morin. Prid. & al.

(L) Scaliger, having received from the Shechemites an account of this pentateuch, by a letter which he published anno 1636, acquainting him among other things with this pentateuch, did in another work (36) complain, that none of the learned of Europe had endeavoured to procure some copies of it, seeing it might probably be of great service in adjusting the scripture chronology. This awaked the curiosity of archbishop Usher, who, as he tells us in his letter to L. Capellus, had observed, that this book had been quoted by several ancient fathers and other writers, down to Gaza and Syncellus, and particularly by the learned Origen in his book against Celsus. From that time this great prelate spared neither pains nor cost, till he had procured five or six copies of it from Syria and Palestine, and compared them with the Jewish; and here he thought he had found out the person who had corrupted them, namely, one Dositheus, mentioned by Origen against Celsus; but this discovery has not been universally received. However, it is from his copies that Walton printed that pentateuch in his polyglot, since then several other copies were procured from the same place by other learned persons in Europe (38). Those who are willing to know more of the Samaritans and their pentateuch, may consult, besides the letters

(36) De emendat. temp. l. vii. (37) Prolog. ad Polyglot.
(38) Vid. Morin. exerc. 1. in Pentat. Samar. Calmet. Prid. & al.

We return to Judæa, which we left in the poſſeſſion of the king of Egypt, but which he was, about five years after, forced to abandon to Antigonus and his ſon, who came againſt him with a ſuperior army. Ptolemy contented himſelf with demanding the cities of Ace, Samaria, Joppa, and Gaza, and to carry off an immenſe booty, as well as a great number of inhabitants, whom he ſettled in Alexandria, and endowed with conſiderable privileges and immunities, as Alexander had done before him. He was then deſigning to make that city the metropolis of Egypt, and was ſo well ſatisfied with the faithfulneſs and uſefulneſs of the Jews, that he ſpared no encouragement to allure them thither; inſomuch, that vaſt numbers flocked continually to it from Judæa and Samaria, chuſing to live under ſo generous and friendly a prince in a foreign country, rather than in their own, under the tyrannical government of Antiochus (M)[u]. Thus was Judæa become the ſub-

Year of the flood 2687. Before Chriſt 312.

Jews flock to Alexandria.

ject

[u] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. & cont. Apion. l. i. & ii.

letters of Scaliger, Ludolph, and Uſher abovementioned, the authors quoted in the margin (39).

(M) Among thoſe Jews whom Ptolemy's kindneſs drew into Egypt, Joſephus (40) mentions Hezechias, one of the chief prieſts, a man of learning and probity, and about ſixty years of age, who became acquainted with Hecatæus the Abderite, a perſon trained up under Alexander the Great, and now in great credit at the Egyptian court. Him Hezechias did ſo well inform of the religion, laws, and cuſtoms of the Jews, that he wrote a hiſtory of that nation down from Abraham to his time. The book is now loſt; but Joſephus quotes ſo many paſſages out of him in favour of the Jews, that a heathen writer, who lived in Trajan's time, did very much queſtion either the genuineneſs of the book, or the ſincerity of the author (41). Had he been better acquainted with them, he would never have called either in queſtion; and it is more than probable, that Hecatæus's great opinion of them procured the nation greater favours from Ptolemy, than they might have otherwiſe met with.

The Jewiſh hiſtorian quotes another ſtory out of the ſame author, to ſhew how far his nation was averſe to the ſuperſtitions of the heathens. It is of one Moſollam a Jew, who was ſuch an excellent markſman, that he ſhot a bird dead with his bow, whilſt a ſooth-

(39) Hottinger, ubi ſupra, Cellar. Lightfoot hor. Hæbr. Prid. ubi ſupra. Baſnag, tom. 2. p. 1. c. 1. & ſeq. & al. (40) Lib. i. cont. Apion. (41) Herenn. Phil. apud. Origen. cont. Celſ. lib. 1.

ject of the diſputes of, and ſcene of war between Antigonus king of Upper Aſia, Seleucus king of Syria, and Ptolemy king of Egypt. The partiſans of this laſt pretended, that he had not undertaken to put Aſia under the government of Seleucus, but upon condition that Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia ſhould be relinquiſhed to him. Thoſe of Seleucus on the contrary maintained, that Ptolemy was no further concerned in the war, then to help him to conquer thoſe provinces allotted to him; in proof whereof they urged, that, after the defeat of Antigonus, Lyſimachus and Caſſander had aſſigned thoſe provinces to Seleucus [w]. Accordingly we find, that this laſt enjoyed that of Judæa ſome while, with a tax of three hundred talents of ſilver, upon condition that the Jews ſhould be governed by their own laws, and that their high-prieſts ſhould be their only governors [x].

This prince very much imitated the clemency and generoſity of the Egyptian king, a character which was quite oppoſite to that of Antigonus, who was of ſuch fierce nature, that he ſtuck at no cruelty, falſhood, or tyranny, that ſerved his turn. This made great numbers of the Jews to fall away likewiſe from that tyrant to Seleucus, who gave them much the ſame privileges and franchiſes that his competitor did in Egypt. He built ſixteen cities in Leſſer Aſia, which he, from his father, called Antioch, nine he called by his one name, and ſix by that of his mother Laodicea; three from his firſt wife Apamea, and one from Stratonice his laſt wife; in all theſe he ſettled ſuch conſiderable colonies of the Jew, eſpecially at Antioch in Syria, that they became almoſt as conſiderable a part of thoſe cities, as they were at Alexandria. Hence that nation came to ſpread themſelves over Syria and Leſſer Aſia, whilſt Judæa became ſtill thinner of its own inhabitants, till it was again recovered by Ptolemy; after which they came ſtill

[w] Vid. Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3721.

[x] Vid. Sulpit. Sever. hiſt. ſacr. l. ii.

a ſoothſayer in their company was perſuading them to obſerve its motion, and ſteer their courſe by that of the bird. This action having drawn ſome bitter invectives againſt our Jew from his ſuperſtitious fellow-travellers, he only laughed at their folly, for expecting to learn their fortune from a bird, that was ſo palpably ignorant of it own. Whether Moſollam was more minded to diſplay his ſkill in ſhooting, or exploding the ſuperſtition of other nations, 'tis but too plain, thoſe of his own were generally of another mind, with reſpect to foothſaying, aſtrology, divinations, and ſuch-like ſuperſtitious traſh.

ſtill over to him from the provinces of Antiochus, and ſtill increaſed the number of thoſe whom he found in Babylon; from all whom he received ſuch conſiderable ſervices, that he ſpared no favours nor encouragement to faſten them to his intereſt.

Year of the flood 2707. Before Chriſt 292.

Soon after the recovery of Judæa by Ptolemy Soter, died Simon the Jewiſh high-prieſt in the ninth year of his pontificate [y]. He had ſucceeded his father Onias, and had been ſo eminent for his ſanctity and integrity, which ſhone in all his actions, that he was ſurnamed the juſt. He was the firſt pontiff of that name, and the excellent character which the author of Eccleſiaſticus gives of him [z], ſhows how highly he deſerved the ſurname which his nation had given him. But he was no leſs remarkable for his other vertues, as a Jewiſh prince and governor, witneſs his repairing and fortifying the temple and the city with high and ſtrong walls, his famous ciſtern covered with braſs, which he cauſed to be made in Jeruſalem, as a reſervoir for water, and which was of ſuch capacious circumference, that the author compares it to a ſea; but his moſt conſiderable work was the finiſhing of the canon of the Old Teſtament, of which we have already ſpoken (N).

He

[y] Euſeb. Chron. [z] Ch. l. 1, & ſeq.

(N) It has been already obſerved, that the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and of the chronicles, could not have been inſerted into the canon by thoſe two inſpired writers; firſt, becauſe there are in them ſome marginal corrections, which muſt have been inſerted by ſome of their ſucceſſors; and, ſecondly, becauſe ſome genealogies are carried down vaſtly beyond their time, ſome even down to that of Alexander the Great.

The book of Eſther likewiſe ſeems to have been written after their time, and, as ſome think, the prophecies of Malachy. As therefore this Simon the Juſt is by all the Jews mentioned as the laſt of the great ſynagogue we have elſewhere ſpoken of, and was a man of ſuch eminent piety and learning, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he put the finiſhing ſtroke to the ſacred code, either by inſerting the books above-mentioned, or, if they had been received before, by reviſing and giving a final ſanction to them.

As for the genealogies, whoever continued them, that work ſeems to have been done before him. Had he been the author of them, it is likely he would have brought them down nearer his time.

However, from his pontificate is dated the completing of the ſacred canon of the Old Teſtament, which was thence-forward received

He left a ſon named Onias, but he being then but an infant, Eleazar, Simon's brother was ſubſtituted high-prieſt in his ſtead. He executed this office fifteen years, but with this difference; that whereas all the high-prieſts before had ſet as preſidents of the ſynagogue, or grand council of the Jews, Simon was ſucceeded in this laſt dignity by one Antigonus of Socho, a man of great learning and piety [a]. This man, who, the Jews tell us, was the maſter of Saddoc, the chief of the Sadducean ſect, taught, that our ſerving of God ought to be free either from ſlaviſh fear of puniſhment, or from ſelfiſh hope of reward; and be wholly diſintereſted, and flow from the pure love and fear of that Supreme Being. Hence his diſciple, being unable to reliſh ſuch a ſpiritual doctrine, took it into his head, that his maſter meant no more by it, than that there

[a] De hoc vid. lib. Juchaſin, Shalſhel. el. Levita. in Cabbala, & al.

received and conveyed without reviſal or correction; from this time the Jewiſh doctors applied themſelves wholly to ſtudy, explain, and comment upon them, and their expoſitions were in time received with as great ſubmiſſion as the ſacred books themſelves.

This is that Simon of whom the Talmudiſts tell us ſo many wonders, ſome of which we have formerly mentioned †, ſuch as that during his prieſt-hood the ſcape-goat was always broken in pieces down the precipice, which was an omen of God's acceptance; but after his death the Saracens uſed to catch and eat it; that the ribbon tied about the neck of it always appeared white, another good omen, but after him, it appeared oftener red, they tell us likewiſe (42), that during his time the weſtern branch of the ſacred candleſtic never went out; that the ſhew-bread, and two loaves of the firſt-fruits, uſed to be multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to ſuffice all the prieſts who were then upon duty; that two ſticks thrown on the fire of the altar kept it burning and clear all the whole day; with ſome other ſuch tokens of the divine favour, which ended with his death. All which, thoſe who are acquainted with the allegorical language of the Talmudiſts, are ſo far from underſtanding either as literal truths, or as fictions of thoſe writers, that they rightly look upon them as ſo many figurative phraſes to expreſs the flouriſhing condition of the Jewiſh religion and commonwealth, which from that time began to go from bad to worſe, till the brave Maccabees raiſed it again to its ancient luſtre.

† vol. iii. p. 221. ſub. fin. note T. (42) Miſhna in Joma. Maimon. in jom. hakephur.

Rise of the Sadducees.

were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so rife among the richer sort of Jews, that they monopolised all the great places in church and state, as we shall see in due time.

Antigonus by this became the head of a new kind of synagogue, which continued from this time to that of Jehudah Hakkodesh, the compiler of the Mishna, as the old one had from Ezra to Simon the just; the difference between them was, that the old one had bestowed their time and labour in collecting, revising, and completing the canon of the Old Testament; the latter was wholly employed in expounding and commenting upon it. These, therefore, whom the authors of the New Testament call by different names, such as doctors, scribers, lawyers, rulers, and such-like, affected to call themselves Tannaim, or traditionalists[b], because they handed down their expositions and doctrines by oral tradition to their disciples; and their authority once quoted in any of their schools upon any point, either put an end to the controversy, or the recusant was looked upon as an apostate from his master; and as all other disputes in political affairs were to be decided by the law of God, of which these Tannaim were the interpreters, so they were chosen also to assist, and some of the most considerable for learning, zeal, &c. to preside in all the courts of judicature, from the sanhedrin or great council of the nation, consisting of seventy-two, down to the more inferior ones, which they had in every city; and upon this account they were also called counsellors[c].

Of the Tannaim or Mishnical doctors.

Year of the flood 2715. Year before Christ 284.

Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, having suceeded his father in Egypt, the Jews found in him as great a protector, as they had in Ptolemy Soter; and with this advantage, that the son, being a great lover of learning, and upon the point of rearing his noble library at Alexandria, as we have elsewhere described *, did strive to oblige them with greater favours than any of his predecessors had done, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books, to be translated into Greek, and deposited there among that immense number of volumes which he had procured from all parts of the world. This version is that which is commonly known by the name of septuagint; our great Usher places the making of it in the seventh year of that monarch's reign; we have already mentioned something of it in the place above quoted, where we promised to speak more fully of it in this chapter. And indeed, when we

[b] Vid. Buxtorf, Lexic. Rab. sub voc תנן. [c] Vide Mark xv. 43. Luke xxiii. 50. Acts v. 34. * Vol ix. p. 203.

we conſider how much this performance has been celebrated, not only by the moſt learned Jewiſh writers, but alſo by the ancient fathers as well as many celebrated moderns; how much it has been cried up, as a work manifeſtly conducted by a miraculous providence, and as ſuch referred to and quoted both by our ſaviour and his apoſtles, and by all the primitive writers of the Chriſtian church; it will perhaps be expected, that we would be ſomewhat copious upon it. But when we reflect on the other hand, that all thoſe eminent writers have not only blindly followed their romantic leader, but have in many caſes embelliſhed his ſurprizing account of this tranſaction; that Ariſteas, the firſt broacher of this hiſtory, has only covered himſelf with the perſonage, if not with the name, of a heathen writer and an officer of Ptolemy's guards, that he might be the more liberal of his incenſe to the Jewiſh nation; that he is guilty of ſeveral flagrant anachroniſms and of a manifeſt falſhood, at the very threſhold of his account, in making Demetrius Phalereus, the pretended promoter of this great work, a great favourite of the king, when the contrary plainly appears from what we have formerly ſaid on that head in our third volume †; when we conſider that Joſephus, Ariſtobulus, a Jewiſh peripatetick philoſopher, Philo, the Talmudiſts, and other rabbies, either only copied, or in ſome caſes improved upon, him; and laſtly, that thoſe ancient fathers, Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyril, Chryſoſtom, Auſtin, Epiphanius, and others, have too greedily ſwallowed up the Jewiſh account of this pretended miraculous verſion, by reaſon of the preference which Chriſt and his apoſtles ſeem to have given it either to the original, or to the other verſions then extant, not perhaps ſo much upon its being more authentic than any of them, much leſs than the original, as becauſe it was the moſt in vogue, and beſt underſtood by the generality of the Jews; we hope, upon all theſe conſiderations, our readers will eaſily excuſe our not entering into ſo ſpacious a field, and be content with the ſuccinct account we ſhall now give him of it in the margin (O).

† Ibid. vol. ix. p. 293.

(O) The account we have of this verſion, out of the book which goes under the name of Ariſteas, and out of thoſe other authors who have followed him, is in ſubſtance as follows: Ptolemy Philadelphus, a great lover of learning, was inriching the noble library which had been begun by his father, when Demetrius Phalereus, who had the inſpection of that work, acquainted him

ALL that we shall add here will be two or three remarks concerning this work; the first is, that there was near that time

him, that there were certain books held sacred among the Jews, which highly deserved a place in his collection, if they could by any means be procured. He advised him at the same time of a method, in all likelihood the most effectual, to prevail upon the Jewish sanhedrin to send those volumes, together with a sufficient number of learned men to Alexandria, to translate them into Greek, namely by a general redemption of all the Jewish captives that had been taken during the late wars.

Upon inquiry, the number of them was found to amount to about a hundred thousand; at which Ptolemy was so far from being discouraged, that he caused an edict to be issued out for a total release, and the sum of twenty drachms per head to be paid for their redemption out of his own treasury; so that the whole amounted to six hundred and sixty talents. Josephus, who has only abridged that author, doth yet differ from him, in that he makes the price of every redeemed slave to have been a hundred and twenty drachms, and yet the sum total to have amounted but to four hundred and sixty talents, though there were, according to him, a hundred and twenty thousand persons released (1).

After this signal favour to the Jewish nation, the king sent a splendid embassy laden with presents to Eleazar, the then Jewish high-priest; who on his side readily complied with the king's request, and sent him, with the copy of the sacred books, written in letters of gold, seventy-two Jews, well skilled in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and a letter of thanks for his noble presents, in which he congratulated him on his glorious undertaking, and wished him good success in it.

Ptolemy received the interpreters with uncommon respect, and paid such a regard to the sacred volume, that he bowed himself seven times down to the ground before it; after which he entertained his guests with suitable magnificence seven days successively, assuring them, that he should esteem the day of their arrival as an addition to the glory of his reign. They were conducted three days after into the island of Pharos, which stood about seven furlongs from Alexandria, where Demetrius placed them in a sumptuous edifice, conveniently situated near the shore, and where they set immediately about the work.

Their method, according to Aristeas, was to set at it from six in the morning to three in the afternoon; after which they returned into the city, where they had their victuals and other necessaries prepared for them at the king's expence. Whenever any difficulty was started, they debated it in a full assembly; and when the point was settled, a fair transcript was made, and sent to Demetrius,

(1) Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

time a verſion made of the ſacred Hebrew books into Greek, and with which the Helleniſt Jews were ſo highly delighted,

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trius, till the whole verſion was finiſhed, which took up only ſeventy or ſeventy-two days.

Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, who was ſent on an embaſſy to Caius Cæſar, ſoon after our Saviour's death, has greatly improved the ſtory of Ariſteas, and ſpeaks of this verſion as altogether miraculous (2); for he adds, that upon comparing the ſeveral interpretations of thoſe ſeventy men, which, according to him, had been carried on by each of them ſeparately, there was not found ſo much as the difference of a word between them all; but that they had rendered every period, not only in the ſame ſenſe, but in the ſame phraſe, word, and order, throughout the whole; from whence he infers, that they were all divinely inſpired. He mentions nothing either of Ariſteas or Demetrius Phalereus, probably, becauſe he would not be ſuſpected of having copied and inlarged the former.

Juſtin Martyr, who has adopted this extraordinary addition of Philo (3), tells us, that Ptolemy had cauſed the interpreters to be ſhut up, each in a ſeparate cell, to prevent their communicating their thoughts to one another; that by the conformity of their ſeveral tranſlations, he might the more eaſily judge of the faithfulneſs of the whole verſion. He adds, that when they came to be compared together, there was ſuch an exact conformity between them all, that the king, who looked upon it as altogether miraculous, ſent the interpreters home laden with honour and with the richeſt preſents; and received their writings with that veneration which was due to books divinely inſpired. And as a further confirmation of the whole, he tells the Greeks, to whom he writes, that he had ſeen thoſe very cells, whilſt he was at Alexandria, and that thoſe that ſhewed them to him aſſured him, that they had the whole ſtory from undoubted tradition.

His account of this verſion is ſomewhat different, in another work of his (4), where he tells us, that Ptolemy ſent to Herod king of the Jews, for thoſe ſacred books; and that upon their being ſent in their original tongue and character, which were unknown in Egypt, he had been forced to ſend to him for ſome interpreters to tranſlate them into Greek; which being likewiſe complied with, copies of that verſion were ſtill every-where to be ſeen in the hands of the Helleniſt Jews in his time.

After this ample teſtimony of the good and learned martyr, we need not wonder if ſo many ancient fathers (5) have embraced the ſtory, and looked upon that verſion as divinely inſpired; and ſome of them have given it even the preference to the original, in

(2) In vit. Moſ. l. ii. & Legat. ad Cæſar. (3) Cohortat. ad Gentes. p. 14 & dial. con. Tryphon. (4) Apolog. 11.

that Philo tells us [a], they inſtituted an annual feaſt in memory of it, and made a yearly viſit, in ſolemn proceſſion to the iſle of

[a] In vit. Moſis.

In thoſe places were the difference between them could not be reconciled (6). Epiphanius, who lived about the middle of the third century, and pretends to have preſerved the letter which Ptolemy wrote to the Jews to obtain this verſion from them, has given us a copious account of it (7); and, to what has been ſaid by Ariſteas and the other authors above-mentioned, has added ſome other circumſtances by way of improvement; ſuch as, that there were but thirty-ſix cells, into which the interpreters were ſhut up by two in each; that they had no windows, but received their light from the top by ſky-lights; that each couple had a book given them to tranſlate, which when finiſhed, was conveyed to the next cell, and ſo on to the third, fourth, &c. and ſo on to all the reſt, by which means each book was tranſlated thirty-ſix times; that they were confined to their work from morning to evening; after which each couple was conveyed in a ſeparate boat to the royal palace, where they ſupped with the king; after which they were ſhut up, each in their ſeparate chamber, till the next day, when they were again conveyed to their reſpective cells.

When the whole book of the Old Teſtament had gone through the thirty-ſix couples, their verſions were read before the king by thirty-ſix readers, whilſt a thirty-ſeventh held the original in his hand, with which they were compared; and at the end were found to agree in every reſpect, both with the Hebrew and with each other, to ſuch a degree of exactneſs, that Ptolemy looked upon thoſe interpreters as divinely inſpired, and cauſed their ſeveral works to be depoſited in his library of Bruchium, which, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of Egypt (8), held the firſt, as that which was called Serapium held the ſecond, rank.

The Talmuds of Jeruſalem and Babylon agree in moſt of theſe particulars above-mentioned, but pretend that Ptolemy ſent for thoſe ſeventy-two Jewiſh elders, without acquainting them what work he deſigned to ſet them upon, till they were arrived at Alexandria, when he cauſed them to be all ſhut up, each in a ſeparate cell, and gave them the ſacred books to tranſlate. Some of thoſe ancient rabbies there quoted ſay indeed, that he ſent only for ſeven of them, which was indeed more than enough for the work; they all agree with the reſt, that God did ſo direct their pens,

(5) Iren cont. Hæreſ. lib iii. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. Hilar. in Pſ. ii. & cxxxi. Cyril. Hieroſol. Cathec. 4. Auguſt. civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 35. De conſenſ. Evangeliſt. c. 66, & alib. Philaſtr. Brixienſ. Hæreſ 90. Vid. Prid. Connect. ſub ann. 277. (6) Vid. int. al. Hilar. in Pſ. cxxxi. (7) In lib. de Ponder. & Menſur. N. 9, & ſeq. (8) Vid. ſup. vol. ix. p. 185.

of Pharos, where it had been made by the seventy-two Israelitish elders: whereas the more zealous Hebraising Jews, who

 looked

pens, that all their versions were exactly agreeable both to each other, and to the original.

Lastly, and to name no more, St. Clement of Alexandria (9) and Eusebius (10) quote some fragments out of one Aristobulus, a peripatetic Jew of Alexandria, who is said to have wrote a comment on the pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to Ptolemy Philometor, to whom he had been tutor. In which dedication he mentions this Greek version, which had been made by Ptolemy's command, and under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus.

The two fathers above-mentioned quote therefore this comment to prove the possibility of Pythagoras, Plato, and other Greek philosophers, having taken most of their philosophy out of the sacred volumes, since they had been translated so long before in that known language.

The reader may see by what has been extracted out of all those authors, both Jewish and Christian, that the story of this version has gained considerably by every hand it has gone through; and this improvement, as well as some other variations which are found among those writers, is one main argument why the far greater part of our modern critics reject it as a Jewish device, calculated to advance the glory of that nation.

But this is not the only plausible argument against it. We have observed in the text above some material objections that are justly urged against the pretended Aristeas, who is the first writer of this story, particularly, that he was a Jew in disguise, notwithstanding his pretending to be a heathen and one of Ptolemy's guards; and this appears first from his style, which is fraught both with hebraisms and with panegyrics on the Jewish nation. 2. The praises he gives to the Egyptian king and court, are not only apparently false, but seem also calculated to advance the credit of the Jews.

The vast expence which he makes Ptolemy to have been at to get this version perfected, and which, put together and computed at the most moderate rate, must have amounted to near two millions sterling; the sending for seventy-two elders, that is, six out of each of the twelve tribes, at a time when the names and tribes of Israel were absorbed into that of Jews, seems only a compliment on the sanhedrin, which consisted of that number, especially considering that a much smaller one would have sufficed for the work; the extraordinary answers which those interpreters are said to have given extempore to the king's questions; and lastly the story of Demetrius Phalereus being such a great favourite with that monarch, and the victory which the latter is there affirmed

(9) Stromat. lib. i. & v. (10) Canon. Chronal. & præpar. evang. l. vii. c. 13, viii. c. 9, &alib.

looked upon it as a vile profanation of their holy religion, conceived such horror against it, that they instituted a fast in memory of it. These even add, that the day on which it was began, proved as fatal to the Israelites, as that on which Jeroboam set up the golden calves at Dan and Bethel, and that the sky was covered with thick darkness three days successively [b]. The Samaritans have likewise laid claim to the glory of this version, and pretend that their high-priest, as well as that of the Jews, having been invited by Ptolemy to come at the head of a number of learned men to carry on the work, upon a review of both translations, that of the Samaritans had been preferred to the Jewish one, and placed in the library of the Egyptian monarch †.

But whether all the books of the Old Testament were translated at once, and by the same set of men, or, as some contend for, only the five books of Moses, we have no sufficient ground to affirm; the latter doth, however, appear the more probable of the two from the difference of style and exactness, which manifestly appears in them; for that of the pentateuch is not only more faithful and agreeable to the original, but seems somewhat more ancient, and in the Alexandrian dialect; whereas that of the other books is more loose and incorrect, and sometimes renders the same Hebrew word differently from that of the Mosaic ones, which seems to intimate, that they had been done by different hands, and at some distance of time. Thus much, however, is more than probable upon the whole, that if the first version went no farther than the pentateuch, the Hellenist Jews, who found so great a benefit from it, did not go long without having all the rest of the sacred volume translated in the same tongue.

The second is, that our learned Usher has fixed the time of this version to this year, as he believed the main part of the history, which we have of it under the name of Aristeas, to

† Lib. Josue. sup. Citat.

affirmed to have gained at sea over Antigonus, and which is mentioned by no other writer; all these put together, render the whole account very incredible. But our design is not here to confute it, but to direct our readers to those authors who have wrote more copiously on that subject, and which he will find in the margin (11).

(11) Dupin. Script. Ecclesiast. part. 1, c. 6, sect. iii. Simon. hist. crit. V. T. l. ii. c. 2. Usser, Hoddy, Prid Connect. sub. a. A. C. 277. Calmet sub voce Septante, & al.

to be true and genuine; for had he placed it later, it could not have coincided with the time of Eleazar, who is there mentioned as the Jewish high-priest, who sent the seventy-two translators into Egypt, and who died about the beginning of the following year; and had he placed it earlier, it would have been before Ptolemy had married his sister Arsinoe; whereas the Jewish pontiff is there introduced as complimenting that princess, in his letter to the king, as his sister and queen.

Our last and most material remark is, that whatever wonders and fables the Jews may have invented, and the Christians swallowed, concerning this version, yet it was not without the conduct of a divine providence, that these sacred books were translated into a tongue so universally known and spoken, so many centuries before the completion of those prophecies, which they contained, and which were in due time to be fulfilled by and under the promised Messiah. Had those divine oracles been kept still in the hands of the Jews, and in their original Hebrew, till the preaching of the gospel, they must have lost a very considerable part of their evidence; which by their being promulgated in so known a language, and dispersed so far and wide, is now rendered unquestionable and irrefragable. Without such a version and publication of that sacred volume, it would have been extremely difficult, notwithstanding the manifest impossibility of a combination between the Jews and the Christians, to have persuaded an unbelieving world, that those prophecies had not been stamped, after their completion, as Porphyry and other enemies of christianity absurdly affirmed: whereas this version and universal dispersion of them through so many distant parts of the known world put it beyond all question, that they were previous to their completion, at least by some centuries, and owe consequently their origin to persons divinely inspired. We have had occasion to speak of several of them in our former volume [c]; those that relate more particularly to the Messiah, will be best seen in the sequel of this chapter. We shall only observe with respect to the latter, that when the primitive fathers, who were ignorant of the Hebrew, did quote those prophecies from this septuagint version, the Hellenist Jews found themselves so straitly pinched by them, that they grew as much out of conceit with it, as they had before admired it. This dislike produced those Latin versions of it, which

[c] Vid. int. al. vol. ii. p. 484. & note. vol. iii. p. 470. & O. vol. v. p. 82. 311. note.

which were afterwards known by the names of their authors, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, and, not unlikely alſo, that diſcordance, which is found in the various manuſcripts of the Greek one, the ancienteſt and moſt correct of all which, in the judgment of thoſe who have thoroughly examined it, is that which is known by the name of Alexandrian, and is now in the king's library at St. James's. A further diſquiſition upon this head would doubtleſs be out of our province; and it is, we hope, ſufficient to have referred our readers in the foregoing note to thoſe critics who have treated of it more at large.

We return now to the reign of Ptolemy, under whoſe benign influence the Jews, enjoying all the tranquillity they could wiſh, made uſe of that interval to ſtudy and explain the ſacred books. They kept open ſchools, and Antigonus Sochæus was at the head of them; he died in great eſteem of his nation, though Sadoc and another diſciple, named Baithus, forſook him and his doctrine to ſpread their own new-fangled epicuriſm. He had two ſucceſſors, namely Joſeph the ſon of Joazer, who took the title of Naſſi or prince, and Joſeph the ſon of John, who took that of Ab-beth-din, or father or preſident of the ſanhedrin; and theſe did jointly read their public lectures at Jeruſalem [d]; the Jewiſh chronologers, laſt-quoted, place Antigonus's death about the end of the twentieth year of Ptolemy's reign.

Antigonus dies.

On the other hand, ſome other contending monarchs ſhewed no leſs a deſire to ingratiate themſelves to the Jews, particularly Antiochus, ſurnamed Theos, or the god, and grandſon of Seleucus, granted to thoſe of Ionia the ſame privileges and franchiſes with the Greeks. This prince held out a long and bloody war againſt Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was at length terminated by a treaty of marriage, wherein the former was to marry Berenice the daughter of the latter, and to repudiate his firſt wife Laodicea; but he having broken his contract by a ſeries of enormous murders, as we have elſewhere related † was became ſo odious to all his ſubjects every-where, tha Ptolemy Euergetes, who had ſucceeded his father in Egypt did eaſily diſpoſſeſs him of the provinces of Syria and Cilicia beſides ſeveral other cities of Aſia; all which did readily ope their gates to him upon his firſt appearing. Euergetes, in h return from all theſe conqueſts, paſt through Judæa in h way to Egypt; and coming to Jeruſalem, offered a gre numb

[d] Pirke, Abboth, Juchaſin, & al ſup. citat. † See befor vol viii. Chap 2. Sect. 9.

number of sacrifices at the temple there, as an acknowledgment for his late successes [e]. It is thought, that this preference, which that prince shewed to the God of Israel, before the deities of Egypt, was owing to his having been shewed the prophecies of Daniel, in which those great and swift conquests had been foretold. By this time, Onias II. the unworthy son of Simon the just, was entered into the pontifical office. During his minority, his uncle Eleazar, the brother of Simon, had been invested with that dignity, and enjoyed it near thirty years; it is during his pontificate that the septuagint version above-mentioned is supposed to have been made. When Eleazar died, Onias, though above thirty years of age, was, for some reason or other, set by from the high-priesthood, to make way for his great-uncle Manasses, the son of Jaddua the uncle of Simon the just; but Manasses being then very old and dying soon after, Onias, ascended the pontifical chair in the thirty second year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but in an unlucky hour for the Jews. Onias, who was of a base sordid spirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treasure, and was like to have ruined the Jewish state by his avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to save it [f].

Onias high-priest. Year of the flood 2750. Before Christ 249.

JUDÆA had till then been taxed at the yearly tribute of twenty talents of silver, which sum his predecessors had constantly paid to the kings of Egypt; but Onias, growing more covetous as he grew older, had sunk that money into his own coffers, instead of sending it to the king's treasury. How long he had gone on in arrears, our author doth not tell us; but they were grown to such a height, that Ptolemy Euergetes thought fit to send Athenion, one of the officers of his court, to demand them of that pontiff, threatening him at the same time, that, if they were not immediately payed, he would drive all the Jews out of their country, and repeople it with new colonies of his own. This threatening and unexpected demand put the whole city into the utmost consternation, and Onias, who valued neither his dignity nor nation in comparison of his money, was the only person who remained insensible of the danger; being resolved to sacrifice both to the resentment of that prince, rather than refund any part of his stolen pelf. His sister had then a son by her husband Tobias, who, though young, was highly esteemed for his piety, justice, and prudence; he was then at his country seat, where his

[e] Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. [f] Id. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

his mother ſent him word of the peril into which her brother's ſordidneſs was like to involve the whole nation. Joſeph, that was the noble youth's name, loſt no time to come and expoſtulate with his uncle. He upbraided him in the ſtrongeſt terms, for baſely preferring his ill-gotten riches to the ſacredneſs of his function, the ſafety of his country, and eſpecially of his friends and relations; and finding him deaf to all, he urged, he adviſed him at leaſt to take a journey into Egypt, endeavour to obtain a remiſſion, either of the whole, or part of the debt. All the anſwer he could get from the reſty old pontiff was, that he never coveted either his dignity or government, and that he was reſolved to forego them both, rather than take ſuch a long journey. There being no remedy left but to offer himſelf to go and apply to the Egyptian monarch, he eaſily obtained his uncle's conſent to it. He then convened the people into the temple, the then uſual place for holding their public aſſemblies, and there endeavoured to diſſipate their fears, by promiſing them, that he would ſhortly go down into Egypt, and find ſome effectual means if they approved of his enterpriſe, to reconcile the king to them.

Joſephus's policy to ſave his country.

His propoſal having been received with univerſal applauſe, Joſeph went imediately to Athenion, invited him to his houſe, and entertained him in a ſumptuous, but obliging, manner, all the reſt of the time he ſtayed in Jeruſalem; and, upon his departure, made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents. This noble carriage failed not to have the deſired effect. The Egyptian deputy promiſed to ſet the whole matter in a favourable light before the king, and Joſeph, on the other hand, promiſed to follow him ſoon after, and to give that monarch full ſatisfaction for all that had paſſed during his uncle's government. Both theſe did punctually perform their promiſe; Athenion, upon his arrival at court, did loudly exclaim againſt Onias's ſordidneſs, but ſaid at the ſame time ſo many things in praiſe of his nephew, that Ptolemy had already conceived a high eſteem for him; and Joſeph, on the other hand, having borrowed twenty thouſand marks from the bankers of Samaria, ſet out for Alexandria with a handſome equipage. How he was received, and what ſucceſs he met with at the Egyptian court, we have ſeen elſewhere*. So that having by his addreſs obtained the farming of the provinces Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria, and borrowed a conſiderable ſum of his Egyptian friends, he returned to Jeruſalem, attended with an eſcort of two thouſand men, to aſſiſt him in collecting the royal

* Vol. ix. p. 208. & ſeq.

royal tribute, and to puniſh thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay it, The Aſcalonites were the firſt who felt the ſevere effects of his authority. They had not only diſobeyed his commands, but had even loaded him with bitter invectives, ſo that, to prevent the infection ſpreading further, he was forced to make a ſevere example of them to the reſt. He cauſed twenty of the ring-leaders to be hanged, and confiſcated their eſtates, out of which he ſent a thouſand talents to the king, with an account of what he had done. He treated the inhabitants of Scythopolis after the ſame manner; and theſe were the only ones that ventured to follow thoſe of Aſcalon; the reſt, being all over-awed, did willingly open their gates, and pay their taxes, and Joſeph at the ſame time that he remitted them into Egypt, did from time to time ſend ſome preſents to his friends there, to keep up his intereſt at court. As for the king, he was ſo pleaſed with ſuch a conſiderable augmentation of his revenue, that he continued him in his office two and twenty years, during which time he gained an immenſe treaſure, under the reigns of three Ptolemies, namely Euergetes, Philopator, and Epiphanes the ſon of Phiometor, who was diſpoſſeſt of thoſe provinces by Antiochus the Great, as we have ſhewn in a former chapter[g]. After which, Epiphanes having again recovered them by a marriage with Antiochus's daughter, he was again reſtored to his farms, and enjoyed them many years after, even, as our Jewiſh hiſtorian tells us, to the day of his death. The reader may ſee what we ſaid on this head in the place above quoted †.

Joſeph by this time had ſeven ſons by one of his wives, and an eighth named Hyrcan by his brother Selinus's daughter, whom he had made him marry, inſtead of a beautifull Egyptian dancer. Joſeph, whilſt in Egypt, had ſeen this fair woman at ſome of the public ſhows, and was fallen in love with her, he was aſhamed to diſcover his weakneſs to any but his brother, who promiſed to procure her to him; but inſtead of her he converted his own daughter into his bed; and when the cheat was diſcovered, Selinus did ſo well expoſtulate the matter with him, that he eaſily convinced him, that he had acted a friendly part in preventing his expoſing himſelf to the contempt of the Egyptians, by marrying ſuch a publick actreſs. Joſeph, ſatisfied with his reaſons, took his new wife home, and had this Hyrcan by her, who proved ſuch a promiſing youth, that he ſoon ingroſſed his affection from all his other brethren, and the ſequel will ſhow that he was really deſerving of it [h]. His progeny.

In

[g] Ibid. vol. ix. p. 211, & ſeq. † Ibid. p. 211.

[h] Joſeph. antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

Ptolemy Philopator.

In the interim, Ptolemy, ſurnamed Philopator, ſucceeded his father Euergetes in Egypt, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion of his having diſpatched him by poiſon, as he was indeed profligate enough for ſuch a deed; and Simon II. had ſucceeded his father Onias ſoon after in the high-prieſthood at Jeruſalem.

Simon II. high-prieſt. Year of the flood 2778. Before Chriſt 221.

This pontiff was of quite different ſpirit from his father; he was a man of great piety and zeal, of ſingular conduct and courage; all which were put to a ſevere proof before he had paſſed the firſt year of his pontificate. He was moreover free from that ſordidneſs and avarice which had proved ſo detrimental to the Jewiſh ſtate during his father's office; for beſides thoſe dangers which his wiſe nephew had the addreſs to avoid, they had ſuffered a conſtant ſeries of evils from the Samaritans, ever ſince theſe laſt came to be aware of the baſeneſs of the Jewiſh pontiff. Nothing leſs indeed could be expected from that exaſperated nation, who watched all opportunities to vent their malice, than that they ſhould take the advantage of their weak government to inſidiate and oppreſs them. Accordingly, Joſephus tells us, there was ſcarce a year in which they did not make ſome incurſion, ravage the country and carry away captives, during the whole time of that cowardly prieſt [i]. But to return to Philopator, we may remember he was like to have loſt Paleſtine by the treachery of Theodore, governor of Phœnicia, who had rebelled againſt him, and engaged to put that province, together with thoſe of Judæa and Cœle-Syria, into Antiochus's hands, who had always looked upon them as diſmembered from his own kingdom. The plot having been timely diſcovered, Antiochus openly invaded Galilee, took a great many cities on both ſides of Jordan, particularly Philoteria, on the north ſide of the ſea of Tiberias, Bethſhan or Scythopolis, on the ſouth, and Ittabyrium, ſtrongly ſituated on mount Tabor. From thence he took all the land that had formerly belonged to the two tribes and half on the other ſide of Jordan; but winter drawing near, he left five thouſand men there under the command of Hippolochus and Cheræas, two other revolters from Ptolemy to keep the country in awe till the next ſpring. By that time Ptolemy came with ſuch a powerful army againſt him, that he defeated him in a ſet battle, and forced him out of thoſe provinces; after which all the cities did readily open their gates to the conqueror, and ſent their embaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion and preſents to him [k].

The

[i] Id. ibid. c. 3. [k] Id. ibid. c. 4. 3 Maccab. i. 1 & ſeq.

Philopator profanes the temple.

THE Jews, always attached to the Egyptians, were ſome of the forwardeſt to come and congratulate him upon his late ſucceſs. They were kindly received by him, and, among other marks of his favour, he told them, that he deſigned to go to Jeruſalem, and offer his ſacrifices to their God. He did ſo accordingly, and, beſides a great number of victims which he there offered, he made ſome conſiderable preſents to the temple; but this munificence gave them but a ſhort-lived joy, which was ſoon after turned into the deepeſt mourning. The beauty of the temple, and the ſplendid order and decency of its worſhip, did unhappily raiſe in the king a curioſity of ſeeing the inſide; and Simon II. who then officiated as high-prieſt, failed not to repreſent to him the ſacredneſs of the place; the entrance of which was by their law forbid not only to ſtrangers, but even to the Jews themſelves, who were not of the ſacerdotal order; he even ventured to denounce ſome heavy puniſhment from God, in caſe he preſumed to profane his temple, whilſt the prieſts were humbly ſurrounding him to obſtruct his paſſage, and the people, in the utmoſt conſternation, ſending up their cries to heaven to avert his deſign. All this oppoſition made that abſolute monarch more reſolute, and having forced his way through the outward courts, he was going on to enter into the holy place itſelf, when God ſmote him with ſuch a dread and terror of mind, as put a full ſtop to his further progreſs. He was carried out half dead by his attendants, and as ſoon as he was come to himſelf, inſtead of adoring the powerful hand that had ſmitten him, he breathed out the moſt dreadful threats, not only againſt thoſe who had dared to oppoſe his will, but againſt the whole nation. Soon after which he departed from Jeruſalem, full of the deepeſt reſentment, the ſad effects of which he was not long before he made them feel, by one of the dreadfulleſt perſecutions that that unhappy nation had ever ſuffered, but which was happily ſtopped by the ſingular interpoſition of providence. We have given an account of this wonderful change in a former volume †; and all that we ſhall add here is, that as their conſtancy to their religion had obtained this miraculous deliverance, it drew as heavy a puniſhment on thoſe who through fear had apoſtatiſed from it. Ptolemy, now more than ever convinced that the Jews were protected by a divine power, and that men, who could be thus faithful to their God, could never turn rebels to their

Puniſhed.

prince

† vol. ix. p. 216, 217, & ſeq.

prince (P); among other marks of his favour and high esteem, did at their earnest request grant them full power to inflict what punishment they thought fit on those few apostates, who were soon put to death, to the number of three hundred, as a warning to future ages. The Jews thus happily delivered, erected a stately pillar, and instituted a festival in memory of it, which was observed during several centuries after. This remarkable history, however, has been omitted by Josephus; he says nothing of it in his antiquities, and as for what we find of it in his book against Apion, besides that it is only in the Latin version of Rufinus, and not in the original, it is there said to have happened under Ptolemy Physcon, so that the book, out of which this persecution and deliverance is taken, seems to have been unknown to the Jewish historian. We shall refer the reader to the margin for a further account of the book and its authority (Q).

Ptolemy

(P) They gave that prince soon after a noble instance of this, when he was forced to make war against his rebellious Egyptians, in which the Jews proved so faithful to him, that sixty thousand of them lost their lives in one battle (44).

(Q) It is improperly called the third book of the Maccabees, for it is prior to the other two in point of time, and to the 2d book in point of authority. As for the word Maccabee, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel, it was used by the Jews to signify those brave heroes, who either stood up in defence of, or suffered for, their religion; and therefore that name is given to this book, as it contains the history of that persecution which the Jews suffered at Alexandria, and were like to have suffered in all the dominions of Philopater. Who the author of it was, is not there said; but he is supposed to have been an Alexandrian Jew, who has embellished his history, after the manner of his nation, with some enlargements, and couched them in a romantic style, not very likely to raise the credit of it, though the main purport of the story be nevertheless acknowledged to be true; for the Jews have undergone many such persecutions, and have been sometimes as wonderfully delivered.

The time in which this book was written, is thought to be after the other two of the Maccabees and that of the son of Sirac, called Ecclesiasticus (45). What is related in the beginning, concerning Theodotus and Arsinoe, seems taken out of Polybius, and therefore is supposed to have been written after this last (46); and yet both authors might have it from more ancient records, so that no sure inference can be made about it.

It

(44) Ensеb. Chron, Vid. Usher. in anno 3789. (45) Crot, Colin & al. (46) Prid. connect. sub an. 216.

Ptolemy Philopator died some time after, and left the kingdom to his son, surnamed Epiphanes; who, being then but between four and five years old, gave a handle to his two competitors, Antiochus the Great and Philip of Macedon, to join their forces to divest the young monarch of his whole kingdom (R); the former was to invade the provinces of Palestine and Phœnicia, and the latter Egypt, and each was to keep all he conquered. On this occasion the Jews wonted loyalty failed them, so that they took part with Antiochus, who made a quick progress in that province, but was again as quickly deprived of it, by Scopas the Egyptian general, who reduced the Jews to their former obedience. This advantage, however, proved but short-lived, and the Syrian king soon recovered it all from him, and in this second expedition the Jews did do him such signal services, that he resolved to spare no favour

Ptolemy Epiphanes. Year of the flood 2795. Before Christ 204.

It was written originally in Greek, and is quoted by some ancient fathers (47) as canonical, but disputed by others, and was once received in the same apostolic canon with the other two; but the vulgate version has never admitted it, though the greatest part of the septuagint copies now extant have it, particularly our Alexandrian one; but this last not being in use in the western church at the time of the reformation, but the Latin only, that is the reason, why our English bibles have it not, though it may much better deserve a place in it, than some other apocryphal pieces that are in it.

There is still another book of the same name, commonly known by the name of the fourth book of the Maccabees. We have often quoted it in the sequel of this chapter, though the author sometimes clashes with Josephus and other historians. Archbishop Usher quotes likewise sometimes an Arabic version of it, which has been printed in Mr. Le Jay's polyglot; the book itself is very much unknown to the Latin fathers, and the Greek ones, by whom it is mentioned, differed much about its author. The reader may see all that is worth knowing concerning it in Calmet's preface to it, and we shall here own once for all, that it is to him we owe all the following quotations out of that book.

(R) The second year of this young monarch's reign being according to the Jewish chronology the three thousand five hundred and sixtieth year of the world, those authors tell us, that Joshua the son of Berachiah was chosen Nassi or president, and Nathan the Arbelite, Ab-beth-din, or vice-president, of the sanhedrin and of the divinity School at Jerusalem. They add, that when Alexander,

(47) Eusеb. Chronic. Theodoret. in Dan xi. 7. Athanas, synops. Nicephor. & al.

favour to fix them to his interest; for when Scopas had only the citadel of Jerusalem left, into which he had thrown a strong garison, they received the Syrian troops and elephants into that city, and assisted them with all their power, to drive the Egyptians out of it, which was soon accomplished by their united strength (S).

ANTIOCHUS therefore, willing to gratify the Jewish nation for their so freely engaging in his interest against the Egyptians,

Alexander, the Asmonean king of Judæa, put the Jewish doctors to death, for having dared to rebuke him for taking upon him the high-priesthood, as well as the regal dignity, Joshua fled into Egypt, and that Jesus of Nazareth followed him thither, and became his disciple (48).

One may see by this what wretched chronologers the Jews are, since that Jewish year of the world was many years before that Asmonean king, and above two hundred years before the birth Christ (49).

(S) Our author doth not tell us the reason of this defection; but it is likely, that Epiphanes's minority had encouraged his governors in those provinces to load them with heavy taxes and such-like oppressions, especially Scopas, who was of such a rapacious temper, that he stuck at no rapine or cruelty to inrich himself.

On the other hand, Antiochus had shewed himself a great friend to the Jews that were in the provinces of Babylon and Mesopotamia, and had granted them such great privileges, as might easily induce those of Judæa to prefer his government to that of the Egyptians, by which they were now so much oppressed. Josephus tells us further, that the Babylonish Jews had shewed such an attachment to that prince, and done him such signal services, that he confided the guard of his strongest and most considerable garisons to them, and sent them into several provinces to quell his other seditious subjects. All which, being so many arguments of the great trust he put in them, could not but be highly pleasing to those of Palestine.

But, whatever was the cause of this change, the same author tells us, that Antiochus no sooner came with his army, than they chearfully surrendered themselves to him; and that, on his appearing before Jerusalem, the priests and elders went out in a solemn manner to meet him, and make their submission to him; they then received him into their city, and entertained both him and his army, his horses and elephants, and furnished him with arms and other necessaries for the war (50).

(48) Abr. Zacut in Juchasin, David Gans. in Zemakh. Dav. Shallel. Kabbal. (49) Vid. Prid. Abrahami, an. 202. Scalig. de emend. temp. Usser. & al. (50) Joseph. de Bell. antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

jans, sent a letter to Ptolemy, his then general, which has been preserved at length by Josephus [l], and in which, having related the great services which that people had done him, he acquaints him, that he designed to restore their metropolis to its ancient splendor, liberty, and privileges, and to recall all those Jews who had been driven out of it: that, out of his singular respect to the temple of their God, he granted unto them twenty thousand pieces of silver, towards the charges of victims, frankincense, wine, and oil; one thousand four hundred measures of fine wheat, and three hundred seventy-five measures of salt, towards their usual oblations: that the temple should be thoroughly repaired at his own cost: that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, restore the public service of the temple, and the priests, levites, singers, &c. to their usual functions: that no stranger, or Jew that was unpurified, should enter within the sept (T) of that sacred place; and that no flesh of unclean beasts should be brought into Jerusalem, not even their skins; all these under the penalty of paying three thousand pieces of silver into the treasury of the temple. He further granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the dispersed Jews that should come within a limited time to repeople that metropolis: and that all that had been sold for slaves, within his dominion, should be immediately set free. By all these extraordinary favours, Antiochus did so fasten the Jews in his interest, that not only Judæa, but all the other neighbouring provinces, readily submitted to him, and that monarch, having in the space of one campaign subdued and quieted them, returned to his capital, and passed the winter there.

About three years after this died the high-priest Simon II. and was succeeded by his son Onias III. a person of great piety, clemency [m], and worthy to have lived in better times, than those of his pontificate proved, and of a better end than he met with, as the sequel will shew. This is the pontiff, to whom our learned Usher supposes Aræus king of Lacedæmon sent a letter, of which an account has been given in a former volume *; but we have there shewn the impossibility of his being the person, and that it could be no other than O- Onias III. Year of the flood 2804. Before Christ 195.

[l] Iid. ibid. & seq. & Chron. Alexand.

[m] Antiq. l. xii. c. 4 & 5. Euseb. Chron.

* vol. vi. In the history of the Lacedæmonians, note (S).

(T) This inclosure, which the Hebrews called Chel, was that which separated the circumcised from the uncircumcised, within which therefore it was unlawful for the latter to enter (51).

(51) Vide int. al. Lightfoot's prospect of the temple, c. 17.

nias the firſt of that name. In the eighth year of Onias III. the Jews loſt their great friend and protector Antiochus, who was murdered by the people of Elymais, as has been related in a former volume †. They found as kind a one in his ſon Seleucus for ſome time. The Jews were then in ſuch high eſteem, that ſovereign princes courted their friendſhip, and made magnificent preſents to the temple; and Seleucus furniſhed out of his own treaſury all the expences of it. Judæa enjoyed a profound peace, and their laws were obſerved with great ſtrictneſs under their worthy high-prieſt [n], until a miſunderſtanding, which happened between him and Simon a Benjamite, brought a ſeries of evils on the Jewiſh ſtate.

ONIAS had then enjoyed the ſacerdotal dignity about ſixteen years; and Simon had been made governor of the temple [o]. Perhaps that place was devolved to him from Joſeph, the generous ſon of Tobias lately mentioned, whoſe ſon he is ſuppoſed to have been; when an uproar, happening in the city, cauſed this fatal breach betwixt thoſe two great perſons in the eleventh year of Seleucus. The author doth not tell us upon what account this tumult was raiſed. We ſhall give the beſt conjecture we can about it in the margin (V), it being a ſequel of the hiſtory of Joſeph and his ſon Hyrcan, and in

† vol. ix. p 7, p. 55, d.
[n] 2 Maccab. iii. 1, & ſeq.
[o] Ibid. ver. 4, & ſeq.

(V) We have lately taken notice of Joſeph's progeny, and, among others of his worthy ſon Hyrcan. The father being before this time, grown ſo old, that he could not go down to congratulate the Egyptian king in perſon on the birth of his ſon, offered that office to all his other ſeven ſons; none of whom being willing to accept it, Hyrcan undertook the journey, having firſt obtained a letter of credit, from his father on his Alexandrian agent, for what ſums he ſhould want to defray the charges of his commiſſion.

It being then the uſual cuſtom to make thoſe monarchs ſome conſiderable preſents upon ſuch occaſions, Hyrcan having drawn one thouſand talents from his father's banker, bought one hundred beautiful youths for the king, and the ſame number of the faireſt damſels for the queen, which were preſented to them, with the addition of a talent which each of them brought in their hands; ſo that this ſingle article amounted to four hundred talents. The reſt he either beſtowed in preſents to the great ones of the court, or ſpent it in making a ſuitable figure during his abode there; ſo that the whole expence of this expedition amounted to two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; whereas his father ſuppoſed that

in no caſe foreign to that of the Jews we are upon. This conteſt, whatever it was, grew to ſuch a height, that Simon, finding he could not get the better of the ſtrenuous pontiff, went away to Apollonius the ſon of Thraſeas, who was then governor of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, the only two provinces the Romans had left untaken from Seleucus [P], and acquainted him, that there were immenſe treaſures laid up in the temple of Jeruſalem, which might, at his pleaſure, be ſeized upon for the king's uſe. The governor ſent to inform

Simon's treachery.

[P] Liv. l. xxxv., & ſeq. Appian. in Syriac. & al. 2. Maccab. iii. per tot.

the one hundreth part of that ſum would have defrayed the whole expence.

If Hyrcan therefore, by this uncommon munificence, ſecured to himſelf the favour of the Egyptian court, it did no leſs expoſe him to the anger and reſentment of his old father and brethren; inſomuch, that the latter way-laid him in his return, with a deſign to murder him; but Hyrcan, who had obtained the reverſion of his father's farms, had provided himſelf with ſuch a ſtrong eſcort, that two of his brethren were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt put to flight.

This increaſed ſtill their enmity, eſpecially when, after his father's death, he went to levy the yearly tribute in his ſtead; and this raiſed him ſo many enemies, that he was forced to retire over Jordan, where he built himſelf a ſtrong and ſtately palace, which he called Tyre, whence he continued to make inroads and depredations on the neighbouring Arabs (52)

During this time it is probable he had regained the high-prieſt's favour, by ſending into the treaſury of the temple two hundred talents of gold and four hundred talents of ſilver (53), which Simon, the ſuppoſed eldeſt ſon of Joſeph, ſeems to have challenged as his own, during Hyrcan's abode on the other ſide of Jordan; but the ſtrenuous Onias refuſing to deliver it up, becauſe conſecrated to the maintenance of widows and orphans (as he himſelf confeſſed to Apollonius) this refuſal might, in all probability, ſo exaſperate the angry Benjamite, that he choſe to have the whole treaſure of that ſacred place betrayed to that governor, rather than Hyrcan or Onias ſhould reap the benefit of what the former had intruſted with the latter.

As for Hyrcan, he found himſelf ſoon after in ſuch danger of being called to a ſevere account for his depredations, by Antiochus Epiphanes, who had ſucceeded Seleucus Philopator, that, to avoid the worſt, he ran himſelf upon his own ſword (54).

(52) Joſeph. antiq. l. iv.
(53) Vide 2 Maccab. iii. 11.
(54) Joſeph. ubi ſupra, c. 5.

Seleucus (W) of it, who diſpatched immediately Heliodorus to fetch it away to Antioch.

HELIODORUS, the better to conceal the purport of his commiſſion, pretended that he was ordered to go and view all the cities of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and only to take Jeruſalem in his way; but when he came thither, where he was received by the Jews with ſingular honours, he acquainted Onias with the orders he had received from the king, and made a more particular inquiry after thoſe treaſures. The high-prieſt told him, that there was indeed ſuch a treaſure in the temple, tho' nothing ſo large as he had been informed; that

(W) It is plain from this whole ſtory, which is taken from the ſecond book of the Maccabees (55), and confirmed by Joſephus (56), that Seleucus had enjoyed Paleſtine, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, ſome time before his death; and how his father got theſe provinces from the king of Egypt, we have already ſeen; but how they reverted to that monarch, after they had been reſtored to Ptolemy upon his marriage with Cleopatra, we can no-where find.

It is true, Polybius ſeems to intimate, that this reſtitution was never made to Ptolemy (57); but that both Antiochus and his ſon ſtill kept thoſe provinces in their hands after the marriage; and elſe-where he introduces Antiochus Epiphanes denying that his grandfather had ever promiſed to ſurrender them to Ptolemy the king of Egypt (58). Hence ſome have concluded, that they had never returned to the latter, but had been conſtantly kept by the three former.

But all this ſeems clearly contradicted by what Joſephus affirms of Hyrcan's being ſent to Egypt to congratulate Ptolemy on the birth of a ſon by his queen Cleopatra. Shall we then ſay, that Joſeph ſent this compliment to him, not as to his king, but as to his quondam benefactor? But our Jewiſh hiſtorian adds, that all the nobility of Cœle-Syria flocked thither on the ſame errand; which plainly intimates, that he was in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces.

We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, either that theſe compliments were paid to Ptolemy by the Jews and Cœle-Syrians, as to the ſon-in-law of Antiochus, to whom thoſe provinces were ſhortly to devolve in virtue of the marriage; or elſe, that if they had been really ſurrendered to him, Seleucus took afterwards the advantage of his ſon Philopator's minority to diveſt him of them; ſince it is plain by the hiſtory of Simon's applying to Apollonius, of Seleucus ſending Heliodorus, and of Onias applying himſelf, not to Ptolemy, but to Seleucus, for redreſs, that this laſt had poſſeſſed them ſome time before his death.

(55) Cap. iii. & iv. (56) Lib. de Maccab. c. iv. (57) Legat. 72. (58) Idem. 80.

that besides those things that had been consecrated to God, the rest had been deposited there by, or for, the widows and orphans for their security, whose property therefore they were; that a considerable sum had been likewise laid up there by Hyrcan the son of Joseph, a man of great dignity; and that he, being the guardian of this wealth, could never give his consent that it should be alienated from the right owners, to the disgrace of his dignity and of that sacred place, which was reverenced by all the world: but all this not being sufficient to outweigh the positive orders which Heliodorus had received from the king, he marched directly towards the temple. The high-priest and the rest of the ministers of the place did in vain endeavour to obstruct his passage. Whilst the whole city was in the utmost confusion, the gates of the place were ordered to be broken down, and the Syrians were just going to enter, when God smote them with such a panic dread, that they fell down half-dead. Heliodorus among the rest, who saw a vision of a man on horseback sumptuously dressed, who flew upon him with the utmost speed and fury, and crushed him under his horse's feet, was forthwith carried out almost dead by his men, and continued some days in that condition. At length Onias, fearing lest this wonderful accident should bring the Jews under the suspicion of having made some unlawful attempt against the Syrian minister, went to the temple, and offered some sacrifices for his recovery; which being obtained, he immediately left Jerusalem, and went to acquaint the king with what had happened to him. Seleucus, however, whether he suspected the truth of his relation, or was resolved at any price to get the Jewish treasure, asked him further, whether he knew any man that was fit to be sent upon that expedition? Heliodorus answered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but send him to rifle that sacred place, and he would see him come back in such a condition, as would convince him, that it was under the protection of some divine and irresistible power [q].

Heliodorus endeavours to force the temple.

Is punished by God.

When Simon found that he had missed his aim, he endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the good high-priest, pretending that he was the person who had called Heliodorus to Jerusalem; and drew such a party against him, that several persons were killed on both sides. At length Onias, fearing the consequences of such an intestine faction, especially seeing his rival in high favour with Apollonius the then governor,

[q] Ibid ver. 37, & seq.

went to complain to the king at Antioch. He was well received, and Simon was thereupon banished[r]; but Seleucus, dying soon after, was succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, whose brutish character we have seen in a former chapter*, and who soon made his subjects repent of the joy they had expressed at his first coming to the crown. The Jews, of all others, were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury, more through the ambition of some, and the factions and feuds which reigned then in that unhappy state, than the cruel temper of this new monarch.

Jason supplis its han brother Onias.

He was scarce settled on his throne before Jason (X), the brother of Onias the then high-priest, taking advantage of the king's penury, his treasury having been quite exhausted by the large tribute his predecessors had paid to the Romans; went to Antioch, and procured from him the high-priesthood at the price of three hundred and fifty talents, and obtained an order that his brother should be sent to, and confined to dwell at, that metropolis. Without this last, there would indeed have been little likelihood of his enjoying his ill-gotten dignity with any satisfaction, since the very presence of the deposed pontiff, so highly admired for his singular piety, must of course have revived the resentment and hatred of the people against him, and have proved a constant check to his authority[s]. Jason finding how welcome this money was to the young monarch, and being desirous to lessen, as much as possible, the antipathy which other nations had against that of the Jews, offered him another sum of one hundred and fifty talents for the liberty of erecting at Jerusalem a gymnasium or place of public exercises, such as were practised in Greece; an academy for training up the youth after the Grecian manner; and for the liberty of making such Jews, as he thought fit, free of the city of Antioch; all which was readily granted to him. He then set our for Jerusalem, and with these powers formed so strong a party in Judæa, as he thought would easily overbear that of his rival Onias, which was still very strong, especially in Jerusalem. Among

[r] Eusеb. in Chronic. * vol. ix. p. 64, and following. [s] 2 Macab. iv. 7, & seq.

(X) This wretch was called Jesus; but as he was going to purchase the favour of the king and court, at the expence of every thing that ought to have been valuable to an honest Jew, he began with changing his name into that of Jason, which he thought more conformable and pleasing to the Greeks, whose customs he was then going to introduce into his nation.

Among thoſe that joined themſelves to this intruder, were the malecontent ſons of Joſeph lately mentioned, and a number of others, who, through a wanton inconſtancy, were become exceſſively fond of the Grecian cuſtoms, and as weary of their own[t]. The freedom of the city of Antioch, a very valuable privilege, was another bait, which drew ſtill greater numbers over to him. From this time a general apoſtacy from the Jewiſh religion overſpread the greateſt part of the nation; the academies were erected by the uſurping high-prieſt both for their youth and for men grown; and as ſome of theſe exerciſes were to be performed naked, theſe vile apoſtates found means to efface the ſcar of circumciſion, to prevent their being diſtinguiſhed from other nations. The prieſts, as well as the people, from thenceforward neglected the ſervice of the temple, to aſſiſt at theſe new heatheniſh exerciſes; and the laws, which the Jewiſh nation had obtained for the free exerciſe of their religion and rights, became of none effect, through the baſeneſs of one ſingle renegado, who ſacrificed his religion and country to his ungovernable ambition.

As he ſtuck at nothing that could ingratiate himſelf to Antiochus, he ſent the next year a number of his partizans, on on whom he had beſtowed the freedom of Antioch, to aſſiſt at the olympic games, with a conſiderable ſum to (Y) be ſpent in ſacrifices to the Tyrian Hercules, in whoſe honour thoſe games were celebrated*; but theſe men, whether out of conſcience or fear, choſe rather to make a preſent of it to the Tyrians towards the repairing of the fleet. Antiochus, by this time underſtanding that the young king of Egypt, now of age, deſigned to attempt the recovery of Paleſtine, Phœnice, and Cœle-Syria, made a tour into theſe provinces, and took Jeruſalem in his way, where Jaſon received him with a magnificence ſuitable to the value he put upon that monarch's favour and friendſhip. He

[t] Vide 1 Maccab. i. 12, & ſeq. [u] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6.
* De his vide ſupra, vol. v. p. 434. vol. vi. 68.

(Y) This ſum, the common Greek copies ſay, was only three hundred drachms; but as the learned Uſher obſerves (59), this was too inconſiderable a ſum upon ſuch an occaſion, it amounting to but a little above eleven pounds ſterling; and therefore prefers the Arundelian manuſcript, which calls it three thouſand three hundred, which was a more likely preſent, conſidering the perſon who ſent it, who was a man wholly devoted to that monarch's pleaſure.

(59) Sub. A. M. 3830.

He did not, however, enjoy his ill-gotten dignity long, before he was thrust out of it by his own brother Menelaus (Z), whom he had sent to Antiochus with the usual tribute. Menelaus, instead of consulting the king about those matters which his brother had charged him with, took that opportunity to insinuate himself to him by the most flagrant flatteries; to which having added the sum of three hundred talents more than Jason had paid for the high-priesthood, he easily obtained it, and returned with his new commission to Jerusalem in the third year of Jason's pontificate. He soon got himself a strong party, at the head of which were the sons of Tobias, who were then very powerful in Judæa; but Jason was not without his powerful friends, who, detesting Menelaus's treachery, soon forced him to retire, with the heads of his faction, into Antioch. Hither, the better to gain their point against Jason, they went, and acquainted Antiochus, that they were fully resolved to forsake their old religion, and wholly to conform to that of his country; which so pleased that proud monarch, that he sent them back with a force sufficient to drive Jason out of Judæa into the land of the Ammonites. Being thus rid of his rival and seated in his new dignity, his next care was to perform his promise to the king, and to outdo his brother in his apostacy [u].

But whilst he was endeavouring, by all wicked means, to ingratiate himself to Antiochus and to his court, he neglected

[u] Maccab. ubi supra, & Joseph. ubi supra.

(Z) This apostate right name was Onias, which he changed for that of Menelaus, in imitation of his brother, and in complaisance to the Greeks. The book of the Maccabees (60) makes him the son of Tobias, and brother of Simon abovementioned; but if he had been of that family, he could not have entered into the sacerdotal office, without such a manifest violation of the Mosaic law, as would have set the whole Jewish nation against him; for tho' they proved but too complying to the Grecian customs lately introduced, yet they seem to have had an invincible attachment to the Aaronic family.

Josephus therefore is most generally followed, who expressly tells us (61), that he was the brother of the deposed Onias and of Jason; and that he did but requite the latter for having supplanted the former, in which case the high priesthood was still retained in the right line.

(60) 2 Maccab. iv. 23. (61) Antiq. l. xii. c. 6.

neglected one main article, the paying of the money he had promiſed to him, tho' Soſtratus, then governor of the citadel of Jeruſalem and receiver of the king's cuſtoms in Paleſtine, was continually preſſing him to it. At length Antiochus, ſuſpecting ſome private intelligence between them, ordered them both to come to Antioch, Menelaus leaving his brother Lyſimachus his vicegerent at Jeruſalem. At their arrival at Antioch, they found that the king had been forced to go and quell a ſedition in Cilicia †, and had left the government of Antioch to Andronicus, one of the prime nobles of his court. Menelaus having exhauſted his coffers, and finding that nothing but the payment of the king's money could recover his favour, ſent private inſtructions to his brother at Jeruſalem, to convey to him as many of the golden veſſels as he could conveniently ſtrip the temple of; which having received ſoon after, and cauſed to be ſold at Tyre and in the neighbouring cities, raiſed him a ſufficient ſum, not only to ſatisfy the king, but alſo to bribe his courtiers in his favour. All this, however, could not be tranſacted ſo ſecretly, but his brother Onias, who had been, ever ſince his depoſition, confined to that capital, had intelligence of his ſacrilege. He made ſuch bitter complaints againſt Menelaus, as were like to have raiſed all the Antiochian Jews againſt him. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to Andronicus, whom he had already bribed by his preſents; and for a freſh ſum of money engaged him to cut off the good old high-prieſt, who, being by this time apprized of his intrigues, had taken ſanctuary at Daphne, an aſylum near the city of Antioch. Andronicus went to him, and, under ſome pretence or other, accompanied with the moſt ſolemn vows and proteſtations for his ſafety, had no ſooner got him out of the place, than he put him to death [w], without regard to his oaths, the ſacredneſs of the place, or the laws of hoſpitality (A).

Menelaus ſummoned to Antioch.

Onias murdered.

THIS

† See before. vol. ix p. 60.

[w] Vide ſup. ibid. Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

(A) This worthy perſon, whoſe character is excellently well drawn by the author of the ſecond book of Maccabees (12), is ſuppoſed to have been murdered in the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate.

There is indeed ſome difference between Joſephus, and Euſebius, and the Alexandrian chronicle, concerning the length of time

(12) 2 Macab. iii. 1, 2, 3.

THIS treacherous murder of a person so venerable for his age and exemplary piety, and so respected in that metropolis, both by Jews and Gentiles, drew the bittereſt complaints againſt the ſacrilegious aſſaſſin, as ſoon as the king was returned to Antioch; and that prince, bad as he was, could not forbear ſhedding of tears at the news of it. As ſoon therefore as he had taken full cognizance of the fact, he cauſed the murderer to be ſtripped of his purple, and to be conducted with infamy to the place where it had been committed, and there to be put to death. As for Menelaus, though the moſt guilty of the two, he found means to avoid the preſent ſtorm, and to maintain his credit ſome time longer; but this obliged him to draw ſuch large ſums from Jeruſalem, that Lyſimachus was forced to raiſe them by the moſt unheard-of violences and ſacrileges, which ended in an univerſal mutiny, in which the Jews fell upon him and the three thouſand men he had got to defend him, with ſuch deſperate fury, that they killed a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. Lyſimachus, no longer able to reſiſt, was purſued to the treaſury of the temple, and there maſſacred by the inraged multitude. Antiochus coming ſoon after to Tyre, the Jewiſh ſanhedrin reſolved to ſend a deputation to him, both to juſtify the putting to death Lyſimachus, and to accuſe Menelaus, as the author and cauſe of all the troubles that had happened both in Judæa and Antioch. The three deputies pleaded their cauſe ſo well before the king, that Menelaus, not knowing which way to clear himſelf and avoid the impending puniſhment, had recourſe to his old ſecret of bribery. He applied himſelf to a favourite of Antiochus, named Ptolemy Macron, the ſon of Dorymenes, and promiſed him ſo large a ſum, that that courtier, who knew the inconſtancy of that monarch's temper, eaſily prevailed upon him, not only to abſolve the apoſtate high-prieſt, but alſo to condemn the three Jewiſh deputies to death. This ſentence, unjuſt as it was, was forthwith put in execution, and thoſe venerable men were hurried to death, who, as the author of the Maccabees expreſſes it, would have gained their cauſe, had they pleaded it before even the Scythians; and indeed this

Andronicus put to death.

Year of the flood 2829. Before Chriſt 170.

time between his acceſſion to that dignity and his being murdered at Antioch; but as the laſt quoted author aſſigns expreſly twenty-four years to it, he has been preferred before the other two. The reader may ſee the reaſons for it in our learned Prideaux (13).

(13) Connect. ſub. an. 171.

this piece of cruelty and injuſtice was ſo ſhocking to the Tyrians, that though they dared not openly exclaim againſt it, yet they ventured to ſhew their reſpect to thoſe deputies, by beſtowing an honourable burial upon them [x].

THIS unjuſt ſentence gave the traitor Menelaus ſuch a complete victory over all his oppoſers, that from thenceforth he gave himſelf up to all manner of tyranny and wickedneſs; Jeruſalem became deſtitute of protectors; the ſanhedrin, if there were any zealous men left among them, were ſo terrified by this laſt cruelty on their deputies, that they no longer dared to oppoſe him, though they ſaw that every ſtep he took was with deſign to enſlave the nation ſtill more, and to overturn the ſmall remains of their religion and liberties. Theſe were the ſad prognoſtics of thoſe evils which ſoon after overtook that rebellious nation, and in which God choſe to puniſh them for their apoſtacy, by means of that very monarch, whoſe favour they had bought at the expence of their religion and laws; and to convince them that theſe grievous calamities were the effects of his anger, they were pre-ſignified to them by the moſt terrifying apparitions in the air for the ſpace of forty days, during which there were ſeen multitudes of armed men, both foot and horſe, magnificently armed and apparelled, charging and fighting againſt each other in battle-array, whilſt their ears were dinned with the claſhing of ſwords, lances, and ſhields; all which dreadful omens threw the whole city into the deepeſt conſternation, whilſt they all looked upon them as the ſure forerunners of ſome ſad calamity, which they in vain endeavoured, when it was too late, to avert by their prayers from that unhappy land [y].

Signs ſeen in the air.

THIS fatal change was occaſioned by an accident, which ſeemed at firſt of no great conſequence, but proved in a little time the cauſe of all their miſeries. Antiochus was then taken up with the conqueſt of Egypt, when a falſe rumour was by ſome means ſpread, that he had been killed before Alexandria. Jaſon, who had been forced to retire into the land of Ammon after his depoſition, heard of it, and thought it was a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of his dignity, and that his nation, tired with the Syrian government, and eſpecially with the tyranny of Menelaus, would readily receive him again with open arms. To this end he got him a band of about one thouſand reſolute men, at the head of whom he quickly appeared before the walls of Jeruſalem, which, by the

Jaſon forces Jeruſalem.

[x] 2 Maccab. iv. 44, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. c. v. 2, & ſeq.

the help of a party which he had within that metropolis, he eaſily entered, and forced his brother to retire into the citadel; after which, minding nothing but his reſentment, he committed the moſt horrid butcheries againſt ſuch of the Jews as he ſuſpected to have been of the contrary party. He was, however, ſoon after forced to leave both the city and country, at the news of Antiochus coming with a powerfull army againſt him (B); for that prince, highly provoked at this rebellion, and eſpecially at the news, that the Jewiſh nation had made ſome rejoicings at the report of his death, was actually coming with a great army againſt Jeruſalem. The Jews, appriſed of his will towards them, ſeem to have made a ſtout reſiſtance, and to have given him no ſmall trouble in forcing his way into their metropolis (C); but the gates being at length forced open to him, perhaps by ſome of his friends from within, he ſpared no cruelty againſt its unhappy inhabitants, inſomuch, that within three days they reckoned no leſs than forty thouſand killed, and as many taken captives, and ſold for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations [z].

Antiochus takes it by ſtorm.

His cruelty.

ing

[z] Ibid. ver. 11 & 14. See before, vol. ix. p. 74.

(B) Our hiſtorian ſays, that he retired at firſt to the Ammonitiſh king, where becoming ſoon after ſuſpected by that prince, he was forced to withdraw, and to wander from city to city, being deteſted by all that knew him, as a betrayer of his country, and a monſter of mankind (14).

He came at length into Egypt, and finding no ſafety there, he hoped he might at leaſt find it among the Lacedæmonians, in virtue of the pretended kindred between their nation and his own, but here he alſo miſſed of his aim, at leaſt it ſeems as if he had not met with any favourable reception, ſince our author adds, that, at his death, his carcaſs was left to rot above ground, being denied even the common ſepulchre that was allowed to other ſtrangers (15).

(C) So ſays the book of the Maccabees (16), with whom agrees Diodorus Siculus (17), and even Joſephus, in his wars of the Jews (18), where he expreſſly ſays, that he laid ſiege to that city, and repreſents him as inraged at the trouble it gave him; but in his antiquities he tells us, that he entered it without force; and that thoſe of his party within did open the gates to him (19). The former is indeed the moſt probable, and Joſephus might eaſily forget himſelf through the diſtance of the time in which he wrote thoſe two books; and this may in ſome meaſure atone for ſuch-like inconſiſtencies which are to be met with in him.

(14) 2 Maccab. v. 5, 6, & ſeq. (15) Ibid. ver. 10. (16) l. 2. c. v. 11. (17) cap. xxxiv. (18) l. i. c. 1. (19) l. 12. c 7.

His fury did not stop here; he caused the traitor Menelaus, who by this time had by some means recovered his good graces, to lead him to the temple, which he entered, even to its most sacred recesses (D), laying his impious hands on all the vessels that were in it, and caused the golden altar of incense, the golden table of the shewbread, the golden candlestick, the censers, bowls, and other utensils belonging to that holy place to be seized, together with the golden shields, crowns, and other ornaments which had been dedicated to it. He caused also the gold plating that covered the gates and other architecture of the temple, the veil that divided the holy from the most holy place, and, in a word, all that was valuable, either for its metal or workmanship, to be carried off, besides one thousand eight hundred talents of gold and silver, which he forced out of the treasury. Having thus glutted his revenge and avarice, he returned in such a kind of triumph to Antioch, as if he had had it now in his power, to use our author's words, to make the land navigable, and the sea passable on foot [a]. As a further mark of his spleen against that unhappy nation, he put it under the government of one Philip, a most barbarous Phrygian, and

Profanes and plunder the temple.

Samaria

[a] Maccab. ibid. ver. 21.

(D) D. Siculus, in the place last quoted out of him, tells, upon some Heathenish report, that Antiochus been entered into the most sacred part of the temple, where the high-priest alone was to be admitted, he there found the statue of a man carved in stone, with a long beard, holding a book in his hand, and mounted upon an ass; and supposing it to have been the statue of Moses, the Jewish law-giver and founder of Jerusalem, he took it into his head to destroy the mutual hatred between the Jews and the rest of the world, by destroying of their law.

To this end he caused a large sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings to that law-giver, sprinkled the porch and the sacred books with the blood of it, and caused the high-priest and others to eat of the flesh, and put out the lamp which burnt night and day in the temple. All which Josephus has sufficiently confuted (20) from Polybius, N. Damascen, and other authors, better acquainted with the Jewish religion than this Sicilian Only he adds, that Antiochus, not contented with rifling the temple of all its riches, caused it to be polluted, by sacrificing some swine upon its altar, and sprinkling the broth of them upon the Jews (21); but this circumstance, if true, has been omitted by the authors of the two books of the Maccabees.

(20) Cont. Apion. l. ii. (21) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

Samaria under that of Andronicus, a person of the same brutish disposition, and left the apostate Menelaus, the most hateful of all the three, in possession of the high-priesthood [b].

WHAT the Jewish nation suffered under those governors, or rather butchers, is more easily imagined than described; but their miseries were not to end there, Some time after Antiochus having received the mortifying letter from the Roman senate we have elsewhere taken notice of †, he chose them above all other people to wreck his resentment against, and with as much cruelty as if they had been the cause of his disgrace. To this end he dispatched from his army, as he was marching through Judæa, Apollonius, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, with orders to plunder all the cities of Judæa, to murder all the men, and to save only the women and children for sale, Apollonius came accordingly with his army (E), and, to outward appearance, with a peaceable intention, which was not suspected by the Jews, because he was superintendant of the tribute in Palestine. He kept himself quiet, till the next sabbath, when they were all in a profound quiet, when on a sudden he commanded his men to arms, some of whom he sent to cut all in pieces that were gone to the temple and to the other synagogues, whilst the rest, going through the streets of the city, massacred all that came in their way, which they did without the least resistance from those unhappy wretches, who suffered themselves to be butchered in that mercileſs manner, rather than break their sabbath by standing on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered, and then set it on fire, pulled down all their stately fabrics, caused the walls to be demolished, and carried away captive about ten thousand of those that had been saved from the slaughter [c]. From that time the service of the temple was quite abandoned, that place having been everywhere

[b] Ibid. ver. 24. † Vol. ix. p. 62. [c] 1 Maccab. i, 30, & seq. 2 Maccab. v. 24, & seq. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

(E) Josephus seems to have confounded this slaughter with that which was made by Antiochus two years before, by making him present at this also (22); but it appears from the author of the Maccabees, who rightly distinguishes these two prosecutions, that the one was executed in the presence of that monarch, and the other by his vicegerent Apollonius.

(22) l. xii. c. 7.

where polluted, both with the blood of the slain, and with many other defilements. From the ruins of the city the officers of Antiochus built a large fortress on an eminence in the city of David *, fortified it with a strong wall, stately towers, and placed a garison in it to command the temple, over-against which it was built; so that the soldiers could easily see and and sally upon all those that ventured to come to that sacred place, so many of whom were continually plundered and murdered by them, that the rest, not daring to stay longer in Jerusalem, went and dwelt in the neighbouring cities of the Gentiles. In this polluted and forsaken condition did this metropolis and its temple continue three full years and a half; that is, till Judas Maccabeus, having wrested both out of their hands, did purify and restore them to their ancient splendor and use, as we shall see in due time [d] (F).

The

* See the draught. [d] Vide 1 Maccab. iv. pass. 2 Macab. x. Joseph. ubi supra, & præfat. in bell. Judaic. & histor. de bell. l. i. c. l. vi. c 11.

(F) In the time of this prosecution under Antiochus, is generally supposed to have lived Jesus the son of Syrac, author of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. Some place him indeed in the time of Onias II. (23); but, by some passages scattered here and there in his work, he seems rather to have lived about the time of Onias III. and at a time when his nation suffered some grievous persecution †. He praises the high-priest Simon II. as a person long since dead (24). His grandson did afterwards translate this book into Greek, under the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (25), about the year 132. that is, about thirty-six years after this time we suppose him to have wrote it.

Who this author was, is neither agreed nor easily guessed. Some make him of the sacerdotal line, as descended from Joshua the son of Josedech (26). Some Greek copies give him for grandfather Eleasar the father of Syrac of Jerusalem; but we find nothing like this pretended priesthood or descent in those places of the book where he speaks more particularly of himself (27). Only it appears, that his great thirst after wisdom (28) made him pray fervently, study hard, travel much, and undergo

(23) Vide Prid. Connect. sub ann. 132. † Vide Ecclus xxxv. 17, & seq. & xxvi. pass. (24) Ibid. l. 1, & seq. (25) See his preface at the head of the book, which is the second in our bibles. (26) Vide Genebr. in Chronic. & al. (27) Vide int. al. Eccluf. c. i. 29. l. 27, & seq. li. pass, & alib. (28) Ibid. xxxiv. 10, & seq. li. pass.

Jews perſecuted every where.

THE Jews of Paleſtine were not the only ones who felt the fury of this perſecution. Antiochus, reſolved either totally to aboliſh their religion, or to deſtroy their whole race, as far at leaſt as he could reach them, cauſed a decree to be iſſued out the following year, that all nations within his dominions ſhould forſake their old religion and gods, and worſhip thoſe of the king, under the ſevereſt penalties. To make his orders more effectual, he ſent overſeers into every province to ſee them ſtrictly put in execution; and as the Jews were the only people who he knew would diſobey them, ſo eſpecially directions were given to have them treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. Many therefore of them, either to avoid the effects of his rage, or to ingratiate themſelves to him, did not only comply with great readineſs, but, having once apoſtatiſed, became the biterеſt enemies of thoſe who had the courage to refuſe; all which did but increaſe the already too general defection, as it did on the other hand the ſufferings of thoſe who ſtood firm to their religion [c]. As for the Samaritans

[c] Joſeph. ubi ſupra. 1 Maccab. vi. 21, & ſeq.

many great dangers for it (29); that he had been unjuſtly traduced to the king (30); whence he is ſuppoſed to have retired into Egypt, and there compoſed his book. Laſtly he tells us, that he was the laſt writer of the Jewiſh nation who treated of moral ſubjects (31). This is all that we know of the author.

As to the work, which was anciently called Παναρετος, that is, according to the Greek energy, the ſtore or treaſure of all virtues, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it, when we come to the time of its being tranſlated into Greek. Some ancients, particularly St. Auſtin, (32), thought once the ſame perſon the author of the book of Wiſdom, as well as of this of Eccleſiaſticus, but he owns his miſtake in another place. And as to the latter of theſe, it is not known who wrote it, only it is generally believed, that it was never wrote originally in Hebrew, becauſe there are none of thoſe Hebraiſms in it, which are every where found in other verſions out of that language; and there are in it many Greek ones, which convince one, that it was originally written in that language This might be ſufficient to confute thoſe who pretend it to have been originally written in Hebrew, and by king Solomon (33); but, beſides this, we may urge againſt them the unlikeneſs of ſtyle with his other writings; its never being mentioned by Jewiſh authors; its being rejected out of their canon, and many more too obvious to be mentioned.

(29) xxxiv. 12. li. paſſ. (30) Ibid. & ſeq. (31) xxxiii. ib. & ſeq. (32) De doctrin. Chriſt. l. ii. (33) Sext. Sen. Bibl. l. viii. Salmer. chr. a Caſtro, & al.

ritans, a much leſs danger would have cooled all their zeal, either from the Jewiſh nation, or the Moſaic law. To convince the king therefore, that they did not deſign to die martyrs to either, they ſent a deputation to him, ſetting forth, that tho' they had hitherto conformed in many of the Jewiſh ſuperſtitions, in imitation of their fore-fathers, who had been perſuaded to it for their own ſafety, yet they were now ready to forſake them all, and to embrace the king's religion. They added, that they had a temple on mount Garizzim, which was dedicated to a God without a name (G); but begged it might thenceforth be dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter, as Joſephus has it, or rather, as the author of the Maccabees calls him [f], the hoſpitaller, or, the receiver or protector of ſtrangers, intimating thereby, that they were not originally natives of that country, but ſtrangers ſettled there in times paſt. They concluded with a petition, that as they were not of Jewiſh, but Sidonian, race, and were ready to conform in every thing to the king's will, they might not be involved in the ſame calamities with their wicked rivals. Antiochus readily granted them their requeſt, and diſpatched a letter to Nicanor his ſub-governor there, with orders, that they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the Jews, and that their temple ſhould be dedicated according to their petition; all which was punctually obſerved.

Samaritans policy.

WHILST the Samaritans peacefully enjoyed the fruits of their treacherous complaiſance, Atheneas, an old miniſter, well verſed in all the heatheniſh rites, as well as in cruelty, made thoſe of Judæa undergo the moſt ſevere puniſhments for their ſtedfaſtneſs to their religion. He began with dedicateing the temple to Jupiter Olympius, and cauſing his ſtatute

A cruel perſecution in Judæa.

[f] 2 Maccab. vi 1, 2. Vide & Joſeph. antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

(G) We have, in a former volume (†), acquainted our readers, that the Jews, after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, had left off pronouncing the name Jehovah, and ſubſtituted that of Adonai to it, where-ever it occurred in their reading of the ſacred books. As therefore the temple was ſimply called the houſe or temple of God, and oftner emphatically the houſe or temple, without adding any proper name, the Samaritans made this a pretence for calling theirs the temple, of a nameleſs deity, as the ſuperſtitious Jews called that name of God, Ἀνεκφώνητον, unutterable or unlawfull to be uttered.

(†) vol. ii. p. 536. T.

to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings (H), with another leſſer altar before it, whereon they ſacrificed to that falſe deity. All

(H) This idol was ſet up in the temple on the fifteenth of the month Ciſleu, which anſwers to part of our November and December; but they did not begin to offer ſacrifices to it till the twenty-fifth of that month, which was the king's birth-day; ſo that from thenceforth they continued ſacrificing to it every twenty-fifth day of the month, till the Jewiſh religion and ſtate were reſtored by Judas Maccabeus.

The profanation of the temple, and the ſetting up of this idol in it, had been long before foretold by the prophet Daniel (34), under the name of abomination of deſolation; but there are in that chapter many other ſtrokes, which do plainly delineate this perſecution, and the tyrant that cauſed it. We ſhall content ourſelves with ſubjoining ſome of the plaineſt of them.

This expedition begins at the 29th verſe of that chapter thus; *He ſhall return at the time appointed, and come towards the ſouth* (Egypt); *but it ſhall not be as the former or as the latter, for the ſhips of* Chittim (*the* Romans) *ſhall come againſt him; therefore he ſhall be grieved, and return with indignation* (*or turn his indignation*) *againſt the holy covenant* (*the* Jewiſh *religion*). *Thus ſhall he do, he ſhall get intelligence of thoſe that forſake the covenant. Arms ſhall ſtand on his ſide, and he ſhall pollute the ſanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall place the abomination* (*or abominable thing*) *that maketh deſolate; and ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall be corrupt by flatteries. But the people that know their God ſhall behave valiantly, and ſuch as have underſtanding, and inſtruct the people,* (*divert them from apoſtatiſing*) *ſhall fall by the ſword, by flame, by captivity, by ſpoil.——And the king ſhall do acording to his will, and ſhall exalt and magnify himſelf above every god. He ſhall ſpeak wonderfull things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accomplished; for that which is determined ſhall be done*, &c. The ſame prophet points him out there by his ſcattering the prey, ſpoil, and riches among his followers; and it is well known, that his extravagant largeſſes had not only emptied his coffers, but gained him the title of magnanimous and munificent.

The reader may remember, that whilſt Antiochus was preparing himſelf for the conqueſt of Egypt, the Romans ſent their deputies to him, who obliged him to ſet aſide that enterprize; for which he vented his reſentment on the innocent Jews in the manner we have related, and exactly as it had been foretold in the prophecy before us; ſo that it is impoſſible not to know that he was the perſon deſigned by providence to be the ſcourge of his people.

(34) cap. xi. 31.

All thoſe therefore that refuſed to come and worſhip it, were either maſſacred out of hand, or put to ſome more lingering torments. till they either complied, or died under the hand of their butchers. At the ſame time there were altars, groves, and ſtatues ſet up in every city and town of Judæa, to which the inhabitants were compelled to come and ſacrifice, under the ſame ſevere penalties; inſomuch, that the whole land was but a ſcene, either of the moſt abominable idolatries and debaucheries, or of the moſt horried butcheries; and when the feaſt of Bacchus was come, they were either forced to aſſiſt as it, and to go about the ſtreets with their heads crowned with ivy, in honour of that beaſtly deity, or expoſed themſelves to ſome cruel death. All this while it was made immediate death to be caught obſerving either the ſabbath, the rite of circumciſion, or any other branch of the Moſaic law; inſomuch, that two women having been found to have circumciſed the children of which they had been lately delivered, were both led, with the infants hung about their necks, through ſeveral ſtreets of Jeruſalem, and caſt headlong down from the higheſt walls of the city, and all that had aſſiſted at the ceremoney were put to death [g].

THESE unheard-of barbarities having obliged many of the Jews to leave their habitations, and to go and hide themſelves among the cragged rocks in holes and caverns, and live upon wild roots and herbs, to avoide either death or apoſtacy, ſome of them ventured to aſſemble themſelves in a cavern near Jeruſalem, to celebrate the ſabbath. But Philip, their barbarous Phrygian governor, having been informed of it, came againſt them with a ſufficient force; and after having, in vain, offered them a general amneſty if they would forſake their religion, and conform to that of the king, he waited, without any other hoſtilities, till the next ſabbath; on which day entering the cave without reſiſtance, he cauſed them all, men, women and children, to be maſſacred, to the number of a thouſand [h]. As to the ſacred Jewiſh books, Philip and his officers had taken care to burn and deſtroy all that they could lay hands on, whether in the temple, in their ſynagogues, or even in their private houſes; after which, if any Jew was found to conceal any of them, he was dragged to immediate death [i]. They had ſeveral other ways of trying thoſe who retained ſtill a due regard to the law of Moſes; and in order to

[g] Maccab. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra. [h] 2 Maccab. vi. 10, & ſeq.
[i] 1 Maccab. i. 56, & ſeq.

to make as many as they could comply with the king's command, they ſpared neither flatteries nor careſſes to encourage, nor threats and tortures to deter, them; ſo that, though vaſt numbers were ſeduced by theſe means, yet there were ſtill a ſufficient number, eſpecially in and about Jeruſalem, who continued proof againſt them, to vex the tyrant for not being univerſally obeyed.

As ſoon, therefore, as he heard, that there were ſuch numbers who remained ſtill inflexible, he reſolved to come in perſon to Jeruſalem, and to ſee either his orders more punctually obeyed, or the recuſants puniſhed with the moſt exquiſite cruelties. One of the firſt that fell a victim to his fury was the venerable Eleazer, a man of ninety years of age, reſpected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whoſe example had preſerved a great number of Jews from falling into apoſtacy. Him they brought upon the butchering ſtage, and endeavoured to force him to eat ſwine's fleſh; and when they could not prevail upon him by any means to comply; they deſired him, that at leaſt he would, out of regard to his extreme old age, conſent to eat ſome other unforbidden fleſh, that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed. The good old man anſwered with a becoming courage, that the moſt dreadfull death was preferable to ſuch a baſe diſſimulation, ſo unworthy his old age and character, and ſo dangerous in its conſequence, ſince it might be a means of ſeducing many of his nation to follow his example. As ſoon as he had ended this ſpeech, which was interpreted as the effect of his pride rather than of his zeal, he was haled to execution; and when he was ready to expire under the ſtrokes of his butchers, he gave a great groan, and expired with theſe words in his mouth, O Lord, thou knoweſt what pains I ſuffer in my body, from which I might have freed my ſelf; but my ſoul feels a real joy, becauſe I ſuffer them for the ſake of thy law [k]. After him the ſeven brethren, whoſe martyrdom is related in the ſame book [l], ſuffered, one after another, the moſt exquiſite torments with invincible courage and conſtancy, whilſt their heroic mother, diveſted of all the weakneſs of her ſex, ſtood by encouraging and ſtrengthening them in the Hebrew tongue, with the aſſurance of a glorious recompence in the next life, for which ſhe was, laſt of all, ſacrificed to the tyrant's fury, and died with

Eleazer martyred.

Seven brethren and their mother martyred.

[k] 2 Maccab. vi. 18, & ſeq. [l] cap. vii.

with the ſame chearfullneſs and intrepidity, which ſhe had inſpired into her ſeven ſons (I).

It was about this time that Mattathias, an eminent prieſt of the family of Joarib (K), began to ſignalize himſelf by

(I) Joſephus has likewiſe given us the hiſtory at large of thoſe heroic martyrs, in a book by itſelf, which was intitled, Of the empire of reaſon. It is now better known to us by that of the book of the Maccabees; but as neither he, nor the author of the ſecond book of that name, do expreſly mention the place where this dreadful ſcene was acted, Rufinus has taken it into his head, that it was done at Antioch (35), becauſe they ſhewed their tomb in that city in St. Jerom's time, and had there built and dedicated a church to them (36). But as Joſephus ſeems to believe that it was done at Jeruſalem (37), and is followed by many learned men, and Rufinus gives no better reaſon than that of his tradition, we ſee no reaſon for following him, as ſome others have done (38); it being more likely that Jeruſalem ſhould be the place, where above all others, the Jews ſhewed the greateſt firmneſs for their religion, and conſequently where ſuch ſevere examples were thought moſt neceſſary by that exaſperated prince.

Joſephus, in the book above-quoted, gives us the names of thoſe ſeven brothers, and of their mother, whom he calls Solomona; but the Jews call her Hannah.. He adds, that ſhe flung herſelf into a large fire which was there kindled to prevent the executioners laying their profane hands on her. The Latin verſion ſays, that ſhe was dragged on the ground to execution, where having cut of her breaſts, and ſcourged her naked body, they flung her into a boiling chaldron. Rufinus is of the ſame opinion (39).

The Arabic verſion and Joſephus Ben-Gorion, on the contrary, ſay, that having lived to ſee her ſeven ſons martyred, and lying dead on the ground before her, ſhe flung herſelf in the midſt of them, and prayed to God to take her out of this world; and that ſhe immediately fell upon them, and expired. An ancient poet makes her die of exceſs of joy, in theſe words: Solverunt gaudia matrem (40).

(K) We have already ſpoken of this family, which was the firſt of the twenty-four claſſes appointed by David to officiate at the temple (41), and was one of the four that returned from the captivity. Mattathias was the ſon of John, the ſon of Simon,

(35) Paraphr. in lib. de imper. ration. (36) Vide Hieron. loc. Hebr. ſub voce Modin, & Auguſt. ſerm. de Maccab. i. (37) Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & lib. de imper. ration. (38) N. de Lyra, Serrar. Calmet. (32) Paraph. in lib. de imper. ration. (40) Victorin. African. poem. in Maccab. (41) 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

his brave zeal for his religion. He had been some time before forced to retire to Modin his native place, to shun the sight of those scenes of cruelty and profaneness, which were acted at Jerusalem by Apollonius and the apostate Jews. During his recess there, Apelles, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to execute his commands [m]. Having got the people together, with Mattathias and his five sons (L), he addressed himself to him on account of his dignity and the great esteem he was in, hoping, that, if he could persuade him to comply, his example would soon draw all the rest. He made him in vain the amplest promises, that the king's favour and protection, both of him and his sons, would be the immediate reward of his compliance. Mattathias answered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by all the assembly, that though the whole Jewish nation, and the whole world, were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his sons would continue faithful to their God to the last minute of their lives, and that no consideration should prevail on them to forsake the religion of their forefathers. In the mean time, some of the king's officers had prevailed on some cowardly Jews to take another way; and one of them was just then offering himself to sacrifice to an idol, when the good old priest, calling to mind what the law of Moses ordains against such transgressors, that they should be put to immediate death [n], fell upon the man, and killed him upon the spot. His sons at the same time, being fired with the same zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, overthrew the altar and idol, and running about the city, cried out, that those who were zealous for the law of God should follow them; by which means they saw themselves at the head of a numerous troop, with whom they soon after withdrew into some of the deserts of Judæa. These were presently followed by great numbers of others, who, to avoid persecution, flocked to

[m] Joseph. Ant. l. xii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. ii. 1. & seq. [n] Deuter xiii 6, & seq.

mon, the son of Asmoneus, from whom descended the Asmonæans (42). From this Mattathias descended the Maccabees, so famed in history for their zeal and bravery, and of whom we shall speak in the following section.

(L) These were Johanan, surnamed Kaddis, Simon, surnamed Thassi, Judas, called Maccabeus, and the most famous of all the rest, Eleazar, surnamed Avarani, and Jonathan, surnamed Apphus (34).

(42) Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 8. (43) 1 Maccab. ii. 15, & 28.

to him from other parts of the country [o]; ſo that the deſarts of Judæa were filled every-where with them.

As ſoon as Mattathias and his men were come into a place of ſafety, they ſet themſeves on conſulting the beſt means for ſtanding on their defence. Here the remembrance of thoſe of their brethren, who had ſuffered themſelves to be butchered by their enemies on the ſabbath, ſoon made them ſenſible of their danger, unleſs they ſteered a different courſe; for as long as they continued in that ſcrupulous notion of nonreſiſtance for fear of breaking the ſabbath, they would be ſtill liable to the ſame ſtratagems, and by that means, in a little time, be totally extirpated. Having, therefore, maturely weighed the matter, and conſulted other learned prieſts and rulers that were come over to him, it was reſolved, that, for the future, it ſhould be lawful, nay obligatory, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked, on the ſabbath as well as on any other day [p]. This decree, having been privately communicated to the Jews in and out of Paleſtine, together with their reaſons for paſſing it, was univerſally received by all; and from that time they made no difficulty to defend their lives and properties, at all times, and upon all occaſions. Among thoſe who reſorted to, and did not a little ſtrengthen, the little flying army of Mattathias, were the Aſſideans, or rather Haſſideans, a brave and ſtrenuous ſect, formed among the Jews ſoon after their return from the captivity. We have already given ſome account of them in a former volume †; the reſt the curious reader may find in the margin (M). Theſe being known to be

The Aſſideans join Mattathias.

[o] Joſeph. 1 Maccab. ubi ſupra. [p] Idem. ibid. † vol. iii. p. 473.

(M) We have already ſeen what their doctrine was concerning meum and tuum *. They differed likewiſe from the Zaddikim their oppoſite ſect, in that theſe contented themſelves with obſerving all that was written in the Moſaic law, without troubling themſelves with the traditions, comments, and conſtitutions of the elders; whereas the Aſſideans inſiſted upon a ſtrict obſervance of all.

Scaliger ſuppoſes them, not without ſome good reaſons (44), to have been rather a fraternity than a ſect of Jews, who had given themſelves up more ſtrictly than the reſt to the ſervice of the temple, to the keeping up the repairs of that place, and the divine worſhip in it. To this end, beſides the half ſhekel which every

* vol. iii. p. 473. (44) Elench. Trihæreſ. c. 22.

be the moſt ſtrict obſervers of the Jewiſh laws and traditions [q], their example did very much influence the reſt in the late deciſion, and encourage them to ſet aſide their ſcruples about the ſabbath, whenever the ſafety of their lives came in competition with the obſervance of it.

Mattathias reſtores the worſhip of God.

MATTATHIAS having by this time ſtrengthened his little army with theſe and other ſtout and religious men, who daily reſorted to him, began to come down with them into the plains, and to try his force not only againſt their perſecutors, but alſo againſt his apoſtate brethren. As many of theſe as he caught, he put to death; the reſt, in much greater numbers, he forced to fly into foreign countries, to ſecure themſelves from his reſentment. Having once injected an univerſal fear on all his enemies, he marched from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the Jewiſh ſynagogues, which had, till then, been either ſhut, or appropriated to other uſes; made a diligent ſearch after all the ſacred books which had eſcaped the fury of their enemies, and ordered freſh copies to be written of them; cauſed the reading and expounding of the ſcriptures, prayers, and other parts of divine worſhip to be reſumed (N), and all the males born ſince

[q] 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

every man was to pay towards it, they contributed other voluntary ſums. They likewiſe ſacrificed every day, except that of the grand expiation †, a lamb, beſides thoſe of the daily ſacrifice; and this was called the ſin-offering of the Aſſideans. They practiſed greater hardſhips and mortifications than the reſt, and their common oath was, by the temple. To their zeal and love for that ſacred place, now polluted and profaned, was owing their coming to Mattathias, and that courage which they ſhewed from thenceforth under him and his brave offspring; for the book of the Maccabees expreſly ſays, that they were mighty men of Iſrael, and wholly devoted to the law Whether the ſect of the Eſſenians, or any other, ſprang from the Aſſideans, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in another place.

(N) We have already taken notice, that the king's prohibition extended only to the five books of Moſes; which had therefore been taken away from them, and been either burnt and deſtroyed, or polluted with blood, ſwine's broth, idolatrous pictures, and other ſuch defilements, which rendered them unfit for future ſervice, and to which therefore he ſubſtituted new ones, which he cauſed to be tranſcribed from the beſt copies.

But

† De hoc, vide vol. iii. p 218, & ſeq.

ſince the perſecution to be circumciſed [r]. In all theſe God bleſſed him with ſuch ſucceſs, that he had extended this reformation through a conſiderable part of Judæa, within the ſhort ſpace of one year; and had, in all likelihood, gone through with it, even to Jeruſalem, where the ſtrongeſt Syrian gariſon was kept, had he not been prevented with death. But what he left unfiniſhed, was ſoon after perfected by his worthy ſons, eſpecially by Judas Maccabeus, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the next ſection.

His laſt ſpeech to his ſons.

In the mean time, Mattathias, finding himſelf quite worn out with age and ſickneſs, called his ſons together, and ſpoke to them to this effect, Hitherto pride and oppreſſion have been ſuffered to proſper over us, for a puniſhment of our ſins; but now be ye valiant and zealous for God's laws, and fear not to expoſe your lives in defence of God's covenant with your forefathers, if you expect the reward promiſed to it. Call to your remembrance the obedience of Abraham, the faithfulneſs of Joſeph, the zeal of Phineas, Caleb's courage, David's conſtancy, Elijah's zeal, and the intrepidity of Daniel and his faithful companions. Let their miraculous deliverances inſpire you with a ſure truſt in the Almighty's protection. Be not diſcouraged by the threats and weak efforts of the greateſt men, who, though they ſeem to triumph now, will ſhortly be cut off, and become the food of worms; but arm yourſelves with courage in defence of our laws, liberties, and religion, and you will not fail of ſucceſs. Simon, your eldeſt brother, has always ſhewed himſelf a man of conſummate wiſdom; let him ſupply the office of a father and a councellor, and do nothing may

[r] 1 Maccab. ii. 43, & ſeq.

But this had not obſtructed the lecture of other ſacred books, the prophets and Hagiographa, amongſt thoſe who had perſiſted in the exerciſe of their religion, and who then ſubſtituted theſe to the pentateuch; ſo that when the public worſhip came to be reſtored, and the law to be again read and expounded as formerly, they ſtill retained alſo the reading and explaining of the other books; and this occaſioned double leſſons, one out of the law, and the other out of the prophets, &c. which continued ever after; and for the underſtanding of which, new targums or paraphraſes in the Chaldee were compiled by proper perſons, as we have elſewhere hinted in this chapter *.

* Supra, p. 31. (Z).

without his advice. Judas is well known to you all for his valour and conduct; let him be your general, and lead you against your enemies. And may heaven crown his and your valour with glory and success. Having thus said, he expired in a good old age, and was buried at Modin with his ancestors, greatly lamented by all the faithful in Israel [e] (O). He was, according to his desire, succeeded by his brave son Judas in the command of the army; and by him the Jewish religion and state were soon after restored to their ancient splendor, as we shall see in the next section.

[e] Ibid. ver. 49. ad fin.

(O) The first book of Maccabees doth barely tell us, that he died in the one hundred and forty-sixth year, without mentioning whether of his life, or of the æra of the Seleucidæ. Some therefore have taken it in the former sense; but the far greater part in the latter; for the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the kingdom of the Greeks falls exactly with the Julian year 166 before Christ, which is the year in which he died (45).

His deciding the point about the necessity of taking arms on the sabbath has made several learned men, both Jews and Christians, fansy, that he had been high-priest of the Jews (46) but it is plain he did not determine the case by his own authority, but by the advice of such learned men as were with him; neither doth the book of Maccabees or Josephus say any thing of this imaginary dignity. It appears on the contrary, that Menelaus was still alive, and in credit at the court of Antiochus, and was succeeded by his brother Alcimus, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

(45) Vide Usser. & Prid. sub ann. (46) Joseph-ben-Gorion. Aben. Ezra, & al. Serrar. Fuller. Genebr. & al.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory, from Judas Maccabeus, to the conqueſt of Judæa by the Romans.

Judas Maccabeus ſucceeds his father,

JUDAS, ſurnaned Maccabeus, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the names of Maccabees (P), did not ſuffer his troops to continue longer idle, than till they had

(P) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of this word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only becauſe nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but becauſe, the book of the Maccabees being only extant in Greek, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the word; ſo that ſome have taken the middle letter to have been a ח, others a כ, others the ק, according to which the ſenſe of the verb will vary exceedingly.

It might indeed appear at firſt ſight, that the Maccabees were ſo called from the Hebrew מחכה, Mucchabeh, or Mecchubeh, hid, as a term of contempt, becauſe they hid themſelves in holes and caverns; and that having afterwards wiped off the reproach of it by their bravery, they retained ſtill that appellative in memory of their former abſconſion, or from the word Makkabah, which ſignifies a cavern; and ſo they might be called caverners, or lurkers in caverns.

Others derive it from the verbs macab to wound, from nakab to perforate, from hakab to ſupplant; all which they do, by ſome ſeeming analogy, apply either to thoſe Jewiſh heroes who fought, or to thoſe who ſuffered martyrdom, for their religion, whether in Judæa or out of it. Rufinus above-mentioned tells us indeed, that the eldeſt of the ſeven brethren, who ſuffered under Antiochus, was called Maccabeus; and that all the reſt, who fought or ſuffered for the ſame cauſe with him, were called Maccabei; but he gives us no authority for it but his own.

The moſt general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters מ.כ.ב.י of the 11th verſe of the 15th of Exodus, Mi camoca baelim Jehovah, *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods?* which four letters are ſuppoſed to have been embroidered upon their ſtandards and ſhields, in the manner of the Romans S. P. Q. R. That the Jews were afterwards fond of theſe abbreviations, appears from thoſe of the treble or quadruple names of their learned Rabbies; ſuch is that of RAMBAM for Rabbi Moſes Ben Maimon; RALBAG for Rabbi Levi Ben Gerſhom,

had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more than six thousand men [a]; but what

[a] Maccab. viii. 1.

Gershom, and many more (1); but whether or no these kind of abbreviatures were so ancient as the Maccabees, it seems plain from the text, that Judas had that surname long before he displayed his standards against his enemies (2); not by anticipation, but in the same manner as his other brethren had each his different one, of which it would still be more difficult to find the cause or meaning.

However that be, Judas the Jewish chief seems to have bore it by way of eminence; and from him it passed to his brethren and successors, and thence to all who took up arms, or died, for the Jewish cause; and lastly, it was given to the books which contain the history of those wars and persecutions, and of which it will be therefore necessary to give our readers a short account, before we close this note.

The first book of the Maccabees was written originally either in Hebrew or the Chaldee, which became the current language of the Jews after the captivity. Its style and phrase come nearest that of the sacred historians of any of the Apocrypha, and its chronological computation is purely Hebrew, and begins always at the month Nisan, answering to our March and April; whereas the Syrians, &c. began their year six months later. St. Jerom tells us, that he had seen it in the former (3); and Origen tells us, that it was intitled Sharbit Sar Bene El, or, the sceptre of the prince of the sons of God (4); or, according to others (who read Sarbene in one word, and with the samech instead of the shin) the sceptre of the rebels against the Lord, intimating, that the Maccabees had maintained the divine sceptre or power, against those who had rebelled against it; but the original has been long since lost, and the Greek version is now reckoned the most authentic.

It contains a clear and succinct history of what happened to the Jews, from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, to the death of the high-priest Simon (5); that is, of about forty years. It was partly compiled from the memoirs which Judas Maccabeus had caused to be collected (6), and partly from those of the high-priest Hyrcanus the son of Simon, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by some supposed to be the author of it, though he be barely quoted in it as having furnished

(1) De his, vide Wolf. biblioth, Rabbin. & Buxtorf. tract. de abbreviature. (2) Vide 1. Maccab. ii. 4. (3) Prolog. galeat. (4) Apud. Eusеb. hist. eccles. l. vi. c. ult. & Comm. in Psalm. vol. i. edit. Huetian. (5) Vide 1 Maccab. cap ult. ver. 11, & seq. (6) 2 Maccab. ii. 14.

what they wanted in number, they made up in zeal and bravery, and God gave them such success, that they quickly got into some of the strongest fortresses of Judæa, fell upon their enemies so suddenly, and with such courage, that they drove them out of their cities, villages, and advantageous posts; insomuch, that Judas's name began to become terrible to the Syrians, Samaritans, and apostate Jews, whilst those who had forsook their country to avoid persecution, were encouraged to resort daily to him from their retreats, whereby his troops increased to such a degree as to make Apollonius, the then governor of Judæa and Samaria, think it high time to suppress their growing power, before it was grown to a greater height. He hastened therefore to raise a considerable army, which chiefly consisted of Samaritans, Jewish renegadoes, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he marched against the Maccabean chief. Judas, on the other hand, in no ways terrified with the superiority of the enemy, came out against him with his handful of men, and

furnished him the materials out of his chronicle (7), and seems therefore to have lived after him.

Theodotion is generally supposed to have translated this book into Greek; but it being quoted by some fathers as ancient as that writer, seems to argue this version to be of older date, It is, however, from this that our English version was made.

The second book of the Maccabees is, as we have observed in another section, an epitome of a larger history, written by one Jason, but long since lost. Both the author and the abridger seem to have been Hellenists, by their manner of computation and style; or rather it looks like a collection of some valuable pieces relating to the Jewish history, from the attempt of Heliodorus upon the treasury of the temple, to the signal victory which Judas Maccabeus gained over Nicanor, fifteen years after.

It begins with two letters from the sanhedrin at Jerusalem, one to the Jews of Alexandria, the other to those in Egypt, to notify to them the purification of the temple and dedication of a new altar, instead of that which had been polluted with the idol of Jupiter, and to exhort them to join in the celebration of the festival of it on the twenty-fifth of the month Cisleu. But both these letters are esteemed even more apocryphal than the rest of the history, and therefore neither of them need be longer dwelt upon.

We have already spoken of the third book of the Maccabees, as previous in time to these two, and in authority to the latter of them. We shall likewise refer the reader to what we subjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name.

(7) 2 Maccab. xvi. ver. ult.

and gave him a total defeat. Apollonius was killed on the spot, with a great number of his men. The rest were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind them. Among the rest of the spoil, Judas took the slain governor's sword, and used it ever after in those wars which he waged against the enemies of the Jewish nation [b].

THIS defeat so enraged Antiochus, that, upon his hearing the first news of it, he swore again the total extirpation of the Jews; and happy was it for them that his treasury was then so exhausted, by his extravagant largesses, that he was forced to suppress his resentment, till he could raise a sufficient supply of money to renew the war against them; but before he could accomplish this, another of his generals, received likewise a signal overthrow. This was Seron, deputy-governor of Cœle-Syria [c] under Ptolemy Macron, who took it into his head to come against Judas, in hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his before the king sent more forces thither, he should gain no small glory by it. He advanced therefore with his troops as far as Bethoron, where Judas met him with a handful of his men. These, seeing the superiority of the enemy, expressed a great reluctancy to engage, fatigued as they were with marching and fasting (Q); but Judas soon dispelled their fears, by reminding them, that they fought the cause of God, who was not wont to save by strength or number, and whose glory, now concerned in their success, would display itself the more, by the disproportion there was between their two armies. Having thus put new life into them, they fell upon

Seron defeated,

[b] 1 Maccab. iii. 10, & seq. Joseph. ubi supra. [c] Maccab. iii. 13.

(Q). It was, it seems, this Hebrew general's method to keep a fast before they engaged the enemy (9); and here, their march, fast, and onset so closely followed, that his men began to despond of the victory, when they saw the superiority of Seron's army to theirs.

As for Bethoron, it was according to St. Jerome and Eusebius, about twelve thousand paces from Jerusalem (10); but, according to Josephus, one hundred stades (11). It was situated northward of Jerusalem, and between that metropolis and Shechem (12).

(R)

(9) 1 Maccab. iii. 17, & seq. (10) Loc. Hebr. 11 Conf. antiq. l. xx. c. 4. & bell. Judaic. c. 11. (12) Hieron. ubi supra.

upon the Syrians with ſuch vigor, that Seron was overthrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the ſpot. Some of the reſt fled as far as Bethoron, and the greateſt part ſaved themſelves by running into the land of the Philiſtines [d]. Theſe continued ſucceſſes of the new Jewiſh general made Philip, governor of Judæa, think it high time to acquaint Antiochus with the danger that province was in of being loſt, if not ſpeedily relieved. Antiochus had then left the government to Lyſias, whilſt himſelf was gone beyond the Euphrates, as we have ſeen elſewhere *. Lyſias, who had orders to invade Judæa, and to deſtroy all the Jews, diſpatched immediately to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and to Nicanór and Georgias, two experienced officers, forty thouſand foot, with orders to ſee the king's commands punctually obeyed againſt the Jewiſh nation. Theſe came and encamped on the plains of Emmaus, not far from Jeruſalem, about twenty miles from Lydda, where they were reinforced with ſeven thouſand horſe. Nicanor, who had reſolved to raiſe, if poſſible, the ſum of two thouſand talents, which the king his maſter did owe to the Romans, cauſed proclamation to be made in all the cities and ſea-ports round about, that he would ſell his Jewiſh captives at the rate of ninety for a talent; and this brought a great concourſe of merchants, who came with large ſums of money to purchaſe thoſe captives. Our author reckons no leſs than a thouſand of them, beſides a great number of ſervants, who brought chains and other materials to convey them away [e].

Nicanor and Georgias ſent againſt Judas,

Judas, being thoroughly appriſed of this bloody apparatus againſt his nation, gathered his little army together, conſiſting only of ſix thouſand men, and reminded them, not only of his late ſignal victories, but of thoſe which had been formerly gained in a more miraculous manner againſt Senacherib and other powerful enemies of the Jews; and particularly of a recent one, which ſix thouſand of their nation had gained over an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand Gauls and Macedonians [f]. However, concluded he, remember, that, let the ſucceſs be what it will, it is ſtill more glorious to die ſword in hand, in defence of our religion, lives, and liberties, than to fall into the hands of an enemy fully determined on our utter deſtruction. After this exhortation

Judas's ſpeech to his troops,

[d] Ibid. ver. 14, & ſeq.
[e] 1 Maccab. iii. 41.
[f] 2 Maccab. viii. 19, & ſeq.
* See before, vol. ix. p. 83, ad 86. 2 Macc. viii. 34. Joſeph. l. xii. c. 11.

exhortation, he was obliged, by the Mosaic law, to make a proclamation, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, &c. or whose hearts failed, should depart [g]; and this carried off near one half of his men, whilst the rest, who remained intrepid, were scarcely furnished with weapons fit for so bold and unequal an enterprize [h]. However, he led his three thousand men to Mizpa (R), there to implore the divine assistance, by prayer, fasting, and sacrifices, in confidence of which he marched with them against the enemy, and encamped as near them as he safely could, resolved to give them battle early on the next morning, of which he gave his troops notice that very night [i]. In the mean time, news was brought to him by some of his scouts, that Georgias was coming, at the head of five thousand of his choicest men and one thousand horse, to surprise him in his camp; which gave him such an opportunity of countermining him, as gained him a complete and easy victory; for, taking the advantage of Georgias's absence, he and his three thousand men fell on a sudden on the Syrian army, killed three thousand of their men, and put the rest to flight, and into such confusion, that they could not be rallied again by any means, but left their camp, and all their baggage and spoil behind them, and fled. Georgias, having in vain sought for his enemy, whom he supposed to have retired again into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire, which threw his men into such a panic, that,

Defeats the Syrians.

[g] Vide Deut xx 5. [h] 1 Maccab. iv .6. [i] Ibid. iii. 57, & seq.

(R) This place, which is famous in the Old Testament upon many accounts, and where the Jews used to assemble themselves to worship before the temple was built (13), was now made choice of upon this occasion, the temple being then polluted, and kept by a Syrian garison.

Here they fasted in sackcloth and ashes, whilst Eleazar, Judas's brother, read and expounded to them some proper portions out of the scriptures. The Nazarites likewise, who should have performed the conclusion of their vows at the temple †, assembled themselves with the priests in their robes; and, at the close of their fast and prayers, the priestly trumpets gave a signal as a sure omen of their future victory; and the Maccabean chief gave for the watch-word, the help of God (14).

(13) Vide int. al. 1 Sam. vii. 5, & seq. † De his, vide vol. iii. p. 249. (14) 1 Maccab. iii. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab. viii. 23, & seq.

that, in ſpite of all he could do to prevent it, they threw down their arms and ran after the reſt. Judas did not leave off purſuing them, till he had killed ſix thouſand more of their men, beſides a great number of maimed and wounded; after which he led his victorious troops to plunder the enemies camp, where, among other rich ſpoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the Jewiſh captives with. This ſignal victory was gained on the Friday, and the next day, being their ſabbath, was celebrated with ſuitable returns to the divine providence for their miraculous deliverance [k].

THIS defeat proved doubly advantageous to the conqueror. It furniſhed him with quantities of arms and ammunition for his men, and his fame drew daily freſh reinforcements from all parts of Judæa, whom his ſucceſs encouraged to repair to him from all the places of their diſperſion: ſo that he found himſelf ſoon after in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no leſs glorious and ſucceſsful to him. Timotheus, governor of the country beyond Jordan, and Bacchides, another experienced officer of the Syrian army, had joined their forces, and were coming againſt him, with a deſign to retrieve their late defeat; but Judas was by this time ſo well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a ſet battle, killed twenty thouſand of their men, inriched himſelf with their ſpoil, got a new ſupply of proviſions for his men, and took preſently after ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes from the diſheartened Syrians, which he gariſoned with ſome of his troops and depoſited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the diſtribution of all the ſpoil Judas's generoſity outwent what was even preſcribed by the Moſaic law, which intitled none to ſhare it with the combatants, but thoſe who were left to take care of the baggage †; but he cauſed a conſiderable part to be divided among his indigent brethren, ſo that the old and decrepit, the ſick and lame, the widows and the fatherleſs, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of Timotheus's chief officers, named Philarchus, who had been a bitter enemy to the Jews; and whilſt they were making their rejoicings for their ſucceſs, news were brought, that Caliſthenes, the man who had firſt ſet fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himſelf in a little houſe not far from them; upon which Judas diſpatched a detachment, who went and ſet it

Divides the ſpoil,

Caliſthenes burnt,

[k] Ibid. cap. iv. paſſ. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. 2 Maccab. viii, 24, & ſeq.
† Vide Numb. xxxi. 25, & ſeq. 1 Sam. xxx 24.

on fire, and burnt him in it, as a juſt retaliation for his ſacrilege [l]. As for Nicanor, he ſaved indeed his life, but loſt his honour, being forced to retreat to Antioch in the diſguiſe of a ſervant, and there excuſe his late diſgrace, by owning, that the Jews, when under the protection of their God, were invincible [m].

Nicanor's ſhameful flight,

When Lyſias heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had ſent into Judæa, he made all the haſte he could to put himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, all of the choiceſt troops he could get; and entering Judæa with them, through the territories of Idumea, was met at Bethzura (S) by the Maccabitiſh general, at the head of only ten thouſand men. The two armies engaged, and Judas, though ſo much inferior to the Syrians, fell upon them with ſuch courage, that he immediately killed five thouſand of them on the ſpot, and routed the reſt; and Lyſias, obſerving that the Jews fought like men determined either to conquer or die, dared not venture a ſecond engagement with the remainder of his ſcared army; but returned to Antioch, with a deſign to bring a much greater force againſt them by the return of the year (T) [n].

Lyſias defeated in Judæa, Year of the flood 2834, Before Chriſt 165,

But

[l] 2 Maccab. viii. 30, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 35, & ſeq. 1 Maccab. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra. [n] 1 Maccab. iv. 30, & ſeq.

(S). This was a very important fortreſs about that time. It was in the tribe of Judah (15), and had formerly been fortified by king Rehoboam (16), it being one of the keys of Judæa on the ſouth ſide of Idumea (17). The ſecond book of the Maccabees places it at five furlongs diſtance from Jeruſalem (18); but this muſt be a miſtake either of the tranſlator or tranſcriber, it being, according to Euſebius, full twenty miles from it, on the road to Hebron (19).

It is likely, that this was one of the fortreſſes which Judas had retaken from the Syrians, and which Lyſias came now to beſiege; but was defeated in the attempt by the Jewiſh chief, who came immediately from Bethoron to its relief.

(T) This is one of the moſt ſignal victories that ever Judas yet gained againſt the Syrians, and at the ſame time the moſt difficult to be accounted for, from the imperfect relation which the Jewiſh authors give us of it. That which he gained againſt thoſe two experienced generals, Nicanor and Georgias, was owing to a ſurprize, the Syrian army being attacked in the night, and in the abſence of one of their generals, whilſt the other, depending on

(15) Vide Joſh. xv. 58. (16) 2 Chron. ii. 7. (17) 1 Maccab. iv. 61. 2 Maccab. xiii. 19. (18) Chap. xi. 5. (19) Loc Hebr.

BUT all theſe ſucceſſes ſeemed ſtill too ſmall to our Jewiſh general, whilſt the ſanctuary continued polluted with abo-

 minable

on his ſtratagem, did lie in profound ſecurity. In that which he gained over Timotheus and Bacchides, he killed twenty thouſand of their men, before they gave ground; neither is it ſaid of either of theſe two actions, whether Judas attacked the two commanders jointly or ſeparately; ſo that if we may gueſs, from his character, it is more likely he fell upon them both, before they had joined their forces.

But in this, Lyſias comes at the head of ſixty thouſand choice foot and ten thouſand horſe, ſets down before Bethzura, is attacked by only ten thouſand men, and has ſcarcely five thouſand of his own killed, a ſmall number out of ſeventy thouſand, before he is routed, and ſo diſheartened, as to leave the province and retire to Antioch. Our authors do not tell us in what order either ſide diſpoſed their troops; but from what we have formerly mentioned of the Jewiſh way of fighting †, and even by what we can gather from that of the Maccabees, who ſeem to have ſtill followed the old way, the method was, (whenever their army was too ſmall to make a front equal to that of the enemy) to divide their troops into four or five bodies of a conſiderable depth, and ſo fall on the enemy at proportionable diſtances.

As for the Syrians, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they did, like other nations, ſpread their phalanges according to the number of their troops, and cover at leaſt their two wings with their cavalry; and in this laſt reſpect Lyſias had vaſtly the advantage, as well as in number, ſince we find not any where that the Maccabees made uſe of any cavalry; for, if they had, it is hardly to be ſuppoſed their hiſtorians would have omitted mentioning it, as well as that of the enemy.

Let us therefore ſuppoſe ever ſo great a ſuperiority in the Jewiſh army, either in point of courage and experience, knowledge of the ground, advantage of ſituation, or the like, it will ſtill appear next to a miracle, that ſeventy thouſand choice men of horſe and foot ſhould be routed and broken, upon the death of five thouſand of their men, and by ſo ſmall a number as ten thouſand, (ſuppoſe none of theſe were either killed or wounded ſo as not to be rallied again by their old experienced officers; but that they ſhould, one and all, be flung into ſuch conſternation, as to quit both the field and the country to ſo inferior an enemy.

If therefore the Jewiſh authors have not exaggerated the number of their enemies, we may very well ſuppoſe they have their character; and by their defeat, and their general's ſo ſuddenly retiring from Judæa, it may be reaſonably concluded, that his army, inſtead of conſiſting of ſuch choice horſe and foot, was only an undiſciplined multitude, gathered up in haſte, and eaſily

ſcared

† vol. iii. p. 62.

minable idols, the temple garisoned by idolaters, and the city a ruined heap. As soon therefore as their enemies were gone out of the province, Judas marched with his army to the metropolis, fully purposed to recover and purify it, and was as chearfully followed by them. Upon their coming to mount Sion, and seeing the desolation in which it did lie, the houses, palaces, and gates of the temple burnt down, the courts of the sanctuary over-run with shrubs and briars, the priestly apartments demolished, the altar and holy places profaned and stripped of all their ancient splendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads with dust, and filled the air with cries and other tokens of the liveliest sorrow. As soon as Judas observed these first emotions a little assuaged, he posted some of his bravest troops to guard all the avenues of the city from surprize, and then appointed such of the priestly order, as had best signalized themselves for their zeal and sanctity, to enter into the temple, and see it thoroughly rid of all its profane lumber, whilst the rest of the people were busy in clearing the streets and places of all their rubbish. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke in pieces, and carried them out of the city, and buried them in some common place, especially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been so notoriously profaned, that no part of it was fit for future use; and which was therefore demolished, and carried off, and another of unhewn stones [o] substituted to it (V). There were still many things wanting before

Comes and purifies the city and temple.

[o] Ibid. ver. 43, & seq. 2 Maccab. x. 6, 7.

scared at the sight of so brave and resolute an enemy. What confirms this conjecture is, that Lysias had much better success the next year, when he came against Bethzura with a fresh army, whilst that of Judas, as well as his fame, and consequently the courage of his troops, increased by every one of these victories.

(V) It seems there arose no small difficulty among the Jewish doctors, about disposing of the materials of this old altar. On the one hand, it had been dedicated to, and had a long time been used in, the service of God; so that they thought it unlawful to apply them to any common uses. On the other hand, the heathens had polluted it in so many ways, by sacrificing unclean beasts upon it to their idols and false deities, that the retaining any part of it would have been deemed to defile all their future offerings. At length a middle expedient was agreed on, that they should be deposited into some convenient cavity of the mountain on which the temple stood, till some prophet arose that could direct them how to dispose better of them (20).

Among

(20) 1 Maccab. iv. 44, & seq.

before the divine ſervice could be reſumed; the altar of perfumes, the table of ſhew-bread, the ſeven-branch candleſtick, cenſers, and other ſacred utenſils, all of the pureſt gold, had been carried off, as well as the rich veil which covered the holy of holies: all theſe therefore the Jewiſh chief cauſed to be made anew out of the ſpoils of their enemies; and all being ſet up in their reſpective places, and the holy and moſt holy place repaired, they began the divine worſhip, with the dedication of the new altar, and other holy utenſils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Ciſleu, it being the very ſame day on which it had ceaſed by the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the ſecond year of Judas's government.

THIS ceremony, which was performed with all imaginable ſolemnity, was uſhered in with the earlieſt dawn, by the ſound of the trumpets, by raiſing a freſh fire by the ſtriking of two fire ſtones; which was no ſooner kindled, than they began with offering the lamb for the daily ſacrifice, lighting the lamps, burning the uſual portion of incenſe, and all other parts of the divine ſervice, according to the Moſaic law; from which time it was never diſcontinued, till the deſtruction of the temple by the Romans. This feſtival was kept eight days with great devotion and joy, after which it was ordered to be ſolemnized every year in the ſame manner, by the whole nation, under the name of the feaſt of the dedications [P]. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, eſcutcheons, and other ornaments of the beſt gold. Every houſe was likewiſe illuminated and adorned;

[P] 1 Maccab. iv. 58, & ſeq.

Among the ſacred utenſils which Judas cauſed to be made, inſtead of thoſe which Antiochus had carried off, we do not read of any ark and mercy-ſeat to ſtand in the moſt holy place; nor is it ſaid by Ezra, Nehemiah, or even by Joſephus, that ever they made a new one.

The Talmudiſts, after the author of the ſecond book of the Maccabees, tell us indeed, that Jeremiah cauſed the old one, which Moſes had made, to be buried in ſo ſecret a place a little before the captivity, that it could never be found; and the former add, that it will never be brought forth, till God is reconciled to the people, and has gathered them all under the king Meſſiah. It is therefore reckoned one of the five things that were wanted in the ſecond temple; but whether they made any thing like it after their return, is more than we dare affirm. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that when the Romans plundered the ſanctuary, they found it quite empty of all thoſe utenſils.

and from thence it was also called the feast of lights [q] (W). The author of the second book of the Maccabees adds [r], that in memory of their having kept the feast of the tabernacles whilst they lurked in their dens and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new festival, with palms and other curious branches in their hands, and celebrated this wonderful deliverance with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion.

And

[q] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c, 11. [r] 2 Maccab. x. 6, &. seq.

(W) It was accordingly continued to be celebrated by lighting many candles, some at their doors, and some in their houses. Even to this time they light a certain number of large wax-tapers in their synagogues during this festival; that is, one on the first day, two on the second, and so on to eight on the last day of the feast: the occasion of which, the Jews tell us, was, that when they came to light the lamps on the great candlestick, they could find no holy oil to feed them with, till, after much looking, they found a little vessel sealed, which contained just as much as would serve one day; but, to their surprize, burnt eight whole days. On this day they likewise celebrated the death of Holophernes by Judith, tho' they are not all agreed that it happened about this time (21).

It was lawful, however, to work during the festival, it being only observed by mirth and going to the synagogue. The Jews call it hanuca, which signifies restoration, or renewing. One of the evangelists calls it encœnia (22), which implies the same thing, and adds, that it fell in the winter, about the time of that solstice.

This circumstance is so much the more material, because Christ, vouchsafing to assist at it, tho' appointed only by human authority, sufficiently proves the lawfulness of instituting festivals in memory of public blessings (23).

The Jews did indeed celebrate two other dedications, viz. that of Solomon and that of Zerubbabel, which were properly founded on divine authority, because instituted by persons divinely inspired; but that this, which our Saviour is observed to have been present at, could be neither of these, is plain, because that of Solomon was kept in the month Tisri, which is about our autumn (24); and that of Zerubbabel in the month Adar, or the last month, which falls in the spring (25); whereas that of Judas Maccabeus was in the winter, which agrees with what the evangelist says of it in the place above-quoted,

(21) Vide Leo. de Moden. cerem. Jud. par. 2. c. 9. (22) John. x. 22. (23) Vide Grot. in John. x. (24) 1 Kings viii. 2. 2 Chron. v. 3. (25) Ezra vi. 15, & seq.

AND now there remained but one obſtacle more to be removed, namely, the gariſon which Apollonius had placed in the fortreſs of Acra, on the eminence over-againſt the temple (X), to annoy thoſe that went to and from it; for whilſt that was ſtill kept by heathens and apoſtate Jews, it could not but obſtruct their concourſe to that place of worſhip. A ſiege would have taken up too much time, had Judas been furniſhed with men and warlike inſtruments for it; becauſe the place was very ſtrong both by art and nature; and to have blockaded it would have taken up a greater number of men than he could ſpare. There was therefore but one way left, namely, to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall and ſtrong towers round about, and to leave a ſtout gariſon to defend it, and hinder that of Acra from diſturbing thoſe who reſorted to Jeruſalem. At the ſame time Judas cauſed ſome additional fortifications to be made to Bethzura, it being, as was lately obſerved, an advantageous fortreſs, to obſtruct the entrance from Idumea (Y); for which reaſon it had been lately attempted by Lyſias [s].

By

[s] 1 Maccab. iv, 60, & ſeq.

(X) The word Ακρα, acra, properly ſignifies an eminence, or fortreſs built on ſome eminent ground, which has the command of the country round about; and as this of Acra ſtood higher than that of Sion, it gave that gariſon the advantage of annoying all that paſſed to and from the temple, as was obſerved above.

(Y) It will not be improper here to remind our readers, that this Idumea is not the Idumea anciently ſo called in the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament, otherwiſe the land of Edom, ſituate between the Dead and the Red ſea, and known ſince by the name of Arabia Petræa; concerning which the reader may ſee what has been ſaid in former volumes *.

But this we are now ſpeaking of, was a portion of the inheritance of the tribes of Simeon and Judah, taken in poſſeſſion by ſome Idumeans, during the time of the Babyloniſh captivity; who, being driven out of their land by the Nabatheans, came and ſettled here, and inlarged their territory from the ſouth part of the lot of Judah, as far as Hebron, which they made their metropolis, as it had been that of the tribe of Judah. Theſe therefore, and not the ancient Edomites, are the Idumeans we ſhall have often occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Now Bethzura, lying on the road between Hebron and Jeruſalem, at about twenty miles from the latter, as we have hinted in

* See before, vol. ii. p. 169, & ſeq. & vol. iii. p. 101, & note (E).

By this time all the neighbouring nations, having heard what had been done at Jerusalem, were so exasperated against the Jews, that they resolved to join their forces to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all those that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of Antiochus into Judæa to assist them in the utter destruction of the Jews; but, happily for these, Antiochus's death, which happened soon after, broke all their measures, and freed them from the bloody designs which that exasperated tyrant had sworn against them, when he heard of their success against his three generals [t]. We have already given an account, both of his preparations and extraordinary death in a former chapter *, and to which nothing needs to be added here.

Antiochus's death.

The minority of the young Antiochus caused some alterations in Palestine, and gave the Jews a kind of respite, which proved, however, but short-lived. Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-Syria, who had been an inveterate enemy to the Jews, and had made them suffer great hardships during the last reign, was now by some means become their friend; but he was soon after accused for it to the king, and deprived of his government by Lysias, who succeeded him in it, and came presently after with a powerful army into Judæa. In the interim, Georgias, who commanded the Syrian forces there, having gathered a fresh body of strangers, was making continual incursions against the Jews, whilst the Idumeans, who had joined with him, held the most advantageous posts, and received in them all the renegado Jews, in hopes to tire the rest by prolonging the war. But Judas, having gathered his army together, went and attacked them in that part of their territories, which was called Acrabatene, and killed no less than twenty thousand of them [u]. From thence he marched against the children of Bean (Z), who had proved a great thorn in his sides, and drove them into two of their strongest

Judas falls on the Idumeans.

[t] 1 Maccab. v. 1, & seq. 2 Maccab x. 1, & seq. Joseph antiq. l. xii. c. 14. Eusеb. Chron. * vol ix. p. 55, & seq. [u] Id. ibid.

in a former note, was an important barrier against the incursions of the Syrian troops that were in Idumea, and did well deserve all the care that Judas bestowed in the fortifying of it.

(Z) Whether Bean was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but most probably they were a tribe of Idumeans, of whom the text says, that they were a snare and decoy to the Israelites

ſtrongeſt towers; and when he underſtood they were furniſhed with every neceſſary thing to hold out a ſiege, he left his three brethren, Simon, Joſeph, and Zaccheus, with a ſufficient force to reduce them, whilſt he led the reſt upon a more important expedition. During the ſiege, ſome of Simon's head officers ſuffered themſelves to be bribed with a ſum of ſeventy thouſand drachms, to let ſome of the beſieged eſcape. Judas, being informed of it, ordered thoſe traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which he took the two fortreſſes by aſſault, put both gariſons, which conſiſted of about twenty thouſand, to death, burnt the towers to the ground, and paſt over Jordan into the land of the Ammonites [w]. Theſe he found likewiſe in a good poſture of defence, having Timotheus the Syrian general at their head, who had gathered a great number of forces out of Aſia, and was coming to invade Judæa; he had ſeveral skirmiſhes with the Ammonites, before he could come at the Syrian commander, defeated and killed great numbers of them; after which he took the city of Jazar, put a gariſon in it, and marched back into Judæa [x].

In the mean time, Timotheus had not been idle, but had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exaſperated againſt the Jews, reſolved, if poſſible, to wipe off the diſgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered Judæa with his new forces. Judas did not let him penetrate far, before he met and totally defeated him, killed twenty thouſand five hundred of his foot and ſix hundred horſe, and forced him to retreat into the city of Gazara (A), which was commanded by his brother Chereas. Hither Judas purſued and inveſted him, and, having carried the place in five days, ſlew him with his brother and another Syrian general named Apollophanes [y]. This defeat, though very advantageous

Defeats Timotheus.

[w] 1 Maccab. v. 1, ſeq.

[x] Ib. ver. 8.

[y] 2 Maccab. x. 31, & ad fin.

Iſraelites, and did lie in wait againſt them on the high-ways (26), as they paſſed to and from Jeruſalem.

(A) Probably the ſame with Gadara and Gaderoth, ſituate in the neighbourhood of Dioſpolis and Nicopolis (27). Euſebius places it about five miles northward of the latter (28).

(26) 1 Maccab. v. 4, & ſeq. Conf. cum Gen. xxxvi. 27, & Numb xxxii. 3, & xxxiii. 31, & ſeq. (27) Vide Steph. Byzant. ſub Gadara, Reland. Paleſt. l. iii. (28) Loc. Hebr.

geous to the Jews, proved the cauſe of great numbers of their nation being murthered by the heathens, who could not brook the continual ſucceſs of the Maccabitiſh general. A thouſand of them were ſacrificed to their fury in the land of Tob, and their wives and children carried into captivity; the reſt of their brethren muſt have undergone the ſame fate, had they not timely prevented it, by flying into Dathema, a fortreſs in the land of Gilead, and there timely provided for their own defence [z]. From thence they ſent letters to Judas, informing him of their condition, and that Timotheus, perhaps the ſon of him that was lately killed at Gazara, at the head of the Tyrians, Sidonians, Ptolemaidans, and others, was beſieging them in it. Judas had ſcarcely done reading theſe letters, when he received others from other brethren in Galilee, who were alſo in the ſame diſtreſs. The general immediately convened a ſanhedrin, in which it was reſolved, that Judas and his brother Jonathan ſhould go to help the Gileadites, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thouſand: that Simon, another of his brothers, ſhould go with another part to ſuccour thoſe of Galilee; and that Joſeph and Azarias his other brothers, ſhould ſtay to defend Jeruſalem with the reſidue of their troops. To theſe latter Judas gave ſtrict charge in no caſe to act offenſively, but to ſtand in their own defence, till his or his brother Simon's return [a].

Gileadites and Galileans diſtreſſed.

UPON Judas's paſſing the Jordan, he was informed by the Nabatheans, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the Jews of Dathema, but likewiſe thoſe of Boſſora, Caſphon, Maked, Alema, Carnaim, and other conſiderable cities of the land of Gilead, were likewiſe cloſely ſhut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were deſigned to be all deſtroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be loſt, Judas immediately fell on Boſſora, took it, and deſtroyed all the males; and, having freed his brethren, ſet fire to the city, and marched directly to Dathema. Upon his arrival thither early on the next morning, he found Timotheus ready to ſtorm the place; and fell upon him ſo unexpectedly, and with ſuch force, that he put all to the rout; for they no ſooner heard the ſound of their trumpets, and underſtood that Judas was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmoſt confuſion, and betook themſelves to flight. Judas purſued them ſome time, and killed about eight thouſand of them; but remembering the condition of his other brethren in the Gileaditiſh cities, he marched

Delivered by Judas.

[z] 1 Maccab. v. 1, & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq.

marched againſt and took them one after another, made them undergo the ſame fate as he had that of Boſſora, loaded himſelf with the richeſt plunder, and returned, with his victorious army and delivered brethren to Jeruſalem [b].

Simon's ſucceſs in Galilee.

On the other hand, Simon, his brother, though inferior in ſtrength having but three thouſand men, was no leſs ſucceſsful in Galilee; he defeated his enemies in ſeveral rencounters, killed about three thouſand of them, and purſued them as far as Ptolemais, inriched himſelf with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thraldom; but finding it impoſſible with his handful of men to ſecure their longer abode there, by the total reduction of their oppreſſors, he choſe rather to bring them with their families and valuable things to Jeruſalem; whence Judas ſoon after ſent them to new-people the deſolate cities of Judæa, where they might dwell in more ſafety. Whilſt things went on thus ſucceſsfully in Gilead and Galilee, the two brothers, that were left at Jeruſalem, unluckily took it into their heads to ſignalize themſelves alſo by ſome brave exploit on their heathen neighbours, though contrary to Judas's expreſs commands. Jamnia appeared to them a fair ſea-port town (B) and worth their conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. Thither therefore they led their little army, but were unhappily defeated by Georgias, who commanded the place, and who ſallied out againſt them, killed about two thouſand of their men, and forced the reſt to return with ſhame and loſs to Jeruſalem [c]. This diſgrace, however, did not hinder the fame of their worthy brother's increaſing daily, and his valour being more and more dreaded by their enemies. This gave the Jewiſh chief a freſh opportunity of falling upon the Idumeans, who, as we have ſeen, had joined with the Syrians, and had been in ſome meaſure humbled by them. But as he found them ſtill ſtirring againſt him, he led his forces into

Joſeph's unlucky attempt on Jamnia.

Judas's ſucceſs againſt the Idumeans.

[b] Ibid. ver. 22, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. v. 55, & ſeq.

(B) It was ſituate on the Mediterranean, between Joppa and Azotus, or Aſhdod, about two hundred and forty furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem (29). Its name is not to be found in the Hebrew, but the ſeptuagint places it after the city of Ekron, mentioned in Joſhua (30). It is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Jabneh, which Uzziah king of Judah is ſaid (31) to have taken from the Philiſtines.

(29) 2 Maccab xii. 9. (30) cap. xv. 45. (31) 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

into the fourth parts of Idumea, laid siege to Hebron their famous metropolis, took and demolished it, with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off a considerable plunder [d]. From thence he entered the territories of the Philistines and Samaritans, injecting terror where-ever he past, and discouraging those nations at least from acting offensively against him. In this expedition, some indiscreet priests, that were in his army, endeavouring to signalise their valour by some exploit against the enemy, fell a sacrifice to their untimely ambition, being all slain in the attempt, and by their deaths convinced both him and his army, how dangerous it was to go one step beyond the orders of such an experienced general. Judas did not return into Judæa till he had taken a tour through the land of the Philistines, and destroyed, with their fortresses, all their altars, groves, and other instruments of idolatry [e].

Lysias invades Judæa. Year of the flood 2836. Year before Christ 163.

ALL these repeated successes raised such a jealousy and shame in the lately defeated Syrian governor, that he assembled an army of eighty thousand foot, together with all the horse and elephants he could get, and marched with them into Judæa, not doubting but speedily to reduce that unhappy kingdom, into as miserable a condition as Antiochus had formerly done. After which his design was to extirpate the whole Jewish nation, and to repeople their land with heathens, and to inrich his master and himself, both with the richest plunder of the land, and with the sale of the high-priesthood and other dignities. Flushed with these great hopes, he marched through the southern territories of Judah, probably because the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry, and laid siege to the fortress of Bethzura. Judas, who was then at Jerusalem, having first implored the divine blessing on his arms, set out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a man on horseback in rich shining armour, and seemingly brandishing his spear against their enemies. This sight, whatever it was, gave his men such flush of courage, that they fell like lions on the Syrian camp, killed eleven thousand foot, and put the rest to flight.

Is defeated.

Sues for peace.

LYSIAS, now more than ever convinced how impossible it would be to carry on the war against such an enemy, with either honour or advantage, sent Judas some overtures of peace [f], with a promise that it should be ratified by the King his master, and that the young prince should make him all the concessions

[d] Ver 64, & seq. [e] Maccab. v. 67, 68. [f] Ibid. cap. xi. 1, ad 13.

conceſſions he ſhould with juſtice demand, and conclude an alliance with him. Judas accepted the propoſal, and ſent ſoon after John and Abſalom, two of his captains, with the conditions upon which he would agree to a peace, to Lyſias, who cauſed them to be forthwith conveyed to Antiochus. They contained upon the whole a general amneſty for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict, which obliged the Jews to renounce their religion and to conform to that of the Greeks; a free exerciſe of their religion and cuſtoms; and ſafe paſſports for commiſſioners to paſs from Jeruſalem to Lyſias, or, if need required, to Antioch. Theſe conditions, advantageous as they were to the hated Jews, were readily granted by the king, and two letters were ſent, the one to the governor, and the other to the Jewiſh ſenate. Lyſias likewiſe wrote to them, as did alſo Q. Memmius and T. Manlius, two Roman embaſſadors to the Syrian court. All theſe four letters the reader may find in the chapter laſt quoted [g]; by which it appears, how ready both the governor and his maſter were to agree to a peace with the victorious Jews, and how friendly thoſe two Romans had interpoſed their good offices on their behalf (C). It appears alſo by the king's letter, that Menelaus,

[g] Verſ. 16, to the end.

(C) Lyſias's letter, being dated from the month Dioſcorinthius, or, as the Latin verſion abridges it, Dioſcorus, has very much puzzled the chronologiſts, becauſe there is no ſuch month to be found in the Syro-Macedonian calendar, or indeed in any other of thoſe times. Thoſe who ſuppoſe it to have been an intercalar one, placed between thoſe of Dyſtrus and Xanthicus (32), anſwering in part to our March and April, have not given us any proof, that either Syrians, Macedonians, or even Chaldeans, had any ſuch intercalary month; and the main reaſon on which they build their ſuppoſition, viz. that the ratification of the peace dated is from the month Xanthicus, immediately following, doth make rather manifeſtly againſt it.

For Antioch and Jeruſalem being at leaſt four hundred miles aſunder, it is hardly credible, that theſe articles of peace could have been ſent for, tranſmitted, and ratified in ſo ſhort a ſpace as a month. We muſt therefore either ſuppoſe ſome miſtake in the text, occaſioned by the inadvertency of the tranſcribers, or ſuppoſe, that the king was not then at Antioch, but either in Phœnicia, or ſome other place nearer Jeruſalem; and this latter ſeems indeed the moſt probable, if we conſider, that, according to

(32) Scalig. de emend temp. l. ii. Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3841.

laus, the apoſtate high-prieſt, who in all likelihood was then at the Syrian court, had alſo laboured to promote this peace, and was deſirous to be included in it, ſince he was ſent back to Jeruſalem by Antiochus, as his letter terms it, to comfort or confirm the Jews [h].

THIS peace, however, which ſeems to have been obtained from the young king by the ſole intereſt of Lyſias, unleſs we join with him the high-prieſt above-mentioned, could not be brooked by the other Syrian generals; ſo that, as ſoon as Lyſias was retired to Antioch, Timotheus, Apollonius (D), Hieronymus, Demophon, and Nicanor governor of Cyprus, began to renew their hoſtilities againſt the Jews. The neighbouring nations, whether out of innate hatred againſt them, or by the ſuggeſtion of the Syrian officers, were equally forward to infeſt them. Some inſtances of which the author gives us in thoſe of Joppa, who treacherouſly invited, upon ſome pretence, a number of Jews, with their wives and children, who lived in the place, on board ſome barges by the ſea ſhore,

[h] Ibid. ver. 32.

to the king's letter (33), thoſe Jews, who were to tranſact this peace and to go from Jeruſalem to Lyſias's camp, or, as was obſerved above, to the Syrian court, had but fifteen days allowed them, viz. from the fifteenth to the thirtieth day of Xanthicus, which would have been too ſhort a ſpace to have gone to and from the king, and makes it reaſonable to ſuppoſe he was nearer Judæa.

In this caſe Dioſcorinthius and Dioſcorus may be probably enough either a corruption, or more likely, other names for Dyſtrus, immediately preceding Xanthicus, or, if the former be derived from Δίος κορινθίος, as who ſhould ſay the month Dius of the Corinthians, becauſe Dius among the Bithynians anſwered the Dyſtrus of the Syro-Macedonians, which is not improbable, then the Dioſcorus of the Latin verſion will be only an abbreviation or corruption of the Dioſcorinthius (34).

Theſe letters bear moreover the date of the hundred and forty-eighth year, viz. of the Seleucidæ, which the learned author laſt-quoted has proved to anſwer to the year before Chriſt 163, and the reſt in proportion accordingly; to which we refer the reader.

(D) Not the general that has been ſpoken of in the former ſection, who was the ſon of Thyrſeus, and was killed by Judas, but another, who is here called the ſon of Genneus †.

(33) 2 Macc. xi. 30. (34) Vid. Prid ſub. an. 163. †
See vol. ix. p. 117, ad 118.

ſhore, rowed them further into the deep, and flung them over-board, to the number of about two hundred. This barbarous action was ſoon after heard of at Jeruſalem, and Judas, juſtly provoked at it, marched againſt thoſe murderers, came upon them in the dead of night, ſet fire to their boats and port, and killed all thoſe that had ſaved themſelves from the flames. He would have done the ſame to the city itſelf, but they had timely ſhut their gates upon him; and when he was reſolving its utter deſtruction, he heard that thoſe of Jamnia had hatched the ſame cruel miſchief againſt thoſe Jews that lived with them; he turned his arms thitherward, and came ſuddenly upon them, burnt their ſhips, port, and magazines, inſomuch, that the flames were ſeen from Jeruſalem, though, as we hinted before, at near two hundred and forty furlongs, or about thirty miles diſtance [i].

Judas ſtaid not to take a further revenge of thoſe two perfidious towns, becauſe he heard, that Timotheus, who had by this time got a freſh army, was entered the land of Gilead, but marched directly to their aſſiſtance; he had ſcarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of Arabian Nomades (E), in number about five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. A fierce engagement immediately enſued, in which Judas having got the better, forced thoſe free-booters to ſue for peace, and granted it to them the more readily, that his march into Gilead might not be ſtopt [k]. However, he obliged them to furniſh him with a certain number of cattle and proviſions, and extorted a promiſe, that they ſhould aſſiſt him in any thing he ſhould require of them, after which he marched in all haſte to the other ſide of Jordan to attack the Syrian general. However, he met with ſeveral other obſta-

Judas defeats the Arabians.

[i] 2 Macc. c. xii. 1, & ſeq. ad 9. [k] Ibid. ad ver. 12.

(E) Theſe were a kind of wandering people, living in tents, and ſtaying in a place no longer than it afforded them proviſion for themſelves and cattle. They were the deſcendants of Iſhmael, and, according to the angel's prediction of them (35), their hands were againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt them; for they lived chiefly upon plunder, eſpecially of the caravans, who did therefore go well armed, and whenever they met, they ſeldom gave quarter to one another; and as thoſe plunderers were ſtout, warlike, and well acquainted with the courſe of all thoſe countries, it was no ill policy in the Jewiſh chief to ſecure their friendſhip and future ſervices.

(35) Gen. xvi. 12. See alſo, vol. ii. p. 405, note (M).

cles, and was forced to take some places in his way. The first of them was Caspis, a city well fenced with high walls, and so well provided within, that the inhabitants, trusting to their own strength, threw many scornful and blasphemous sarcasms at the Jewish army; but Judas assaulted it with such an unexpected bravery, that he made himself master of it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, insomuch, that a neighbouring lake, about two furlongs broad, was seen running with blood [1].

From thence he marched into the land of Tob, where the Jews, called from thence Tubieni, had shut themselves up in the fortress of Characa (F); and whence Timotheus, having in vain tried to dislodge them, was gone, after having left a good garrison in a place strongly situate within its neighbourhood to keep them in awe. As soon therefore as Judas found him gone, he sent two of his generals with a detachment to take that garrison, whilst he with the rest of his army, marched in search of the Syrian chief. Dositheus and Sosipater, the two Hebrew generals, soon after forced the garrison, and put it to the sword, to the number of ten thousand. By this time Timotheus had got an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; and when he heard that Judas was in full march against him, he sent all the women, children, and other luggage, into Carnion, a strong city of Gilead and very difficult of access, whilst himself incamped his army in the neighbourhood of Raphon, upon the borders of the river Jabboc. As soon as Judas was come near enough for his van-guard to

And Timotheus.

[1] Ibid. ad ver. 16.

(F) Probably the same with Charac Moab, as Carnion may be reasonably supposed the same which in the Hebrew, and the first book of the Maccabees, is called Carnaim, al. Ashtaroth Carnaim, or Ashtar with two horns (36), which city was the residence of Og king of Bashan †. We find a city mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy by the name of Carno in Arabia. Eusebius mentions one near Jerusalem (37); and there might be many more of the same name, if Astarte was either the moon, worshiped under that name, or the Egyptian Isis, represented by a bullock's head with two horns (38).

(36) De his vid. Byzant. Reland. Palest. tom. 1. p. 212, & s. & alib. Bochart. & al. † vol. ii p. 200, 227. (37) V. infra, in seq. (38) Vid. Sanchoniat. ap. Euseb. Præp. lib. ult. & sup. vol. ii. 343, (G). 344.

to be ſeen by the enemy, they ſeem to have been ſeized with a panic fear, for they made ſuch haſte to fly from him, that they wounded one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this running fight Timotheus loſt thirty thouſand of his men, and, unable to rally the reſt, betook himſelf to his heels. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter, finding themſelves cloſely purſued, fled into Carnion, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of Atargatis (G). Judas, who came cloſe after them, burnt the temple and them in it; then ſetting fire to the reſt of the city, they all periſhed likewiſe, either by the flames or by his ſword, to the number of twenty-five thouſand. As for Timotheus, he fell in his flight into the hands of Doſitheus and Soſipater, who were haſting from the land of Tob to join their commander. Theſe two captains, however, were perſuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon promiſe that he would do the ſame to a great number of Jews, whom he held priſoners, many of whom were very nearly related, either to ſome of thoſe officers, or to ſome of their troops there preſent [m]. This victory quite completed the reduction of the land of Gilead, and put it out of his enemies power to undertake any thing againſt him there. However, as the cities of Judæa were ſtill in great meaſure unpeopled, he choſe rather to follow his brother Simon's example, and bring the Jewiſh Gileadites to inhabit and fortify them [n].

Takes and burns Carnion.

In his way to Judæa, he was of neceſſity to paſs through Ephron, that city being ſo advantageouſly ſituate, that he could neither turn to the right nor the left hand of it. It was moreover well fortified and peopled by ſtrangers of all nations. He therefore ſent in a peaceable manner to demand a paſſage through it; but they, inſtead of opening their gates to him, did ſhut, and even wall them up, and prepared themſelves for a ſiege. Judas therefore cauſed it to be proclaimed

And Ephron.

[m] Ibid. ad ver. 24. [n] Ibid. v. 24, 25.

(G) Suppoſed to be the ſame with the Aſtarte mentioned in the laſt note. Diodorus ſays (39), ſhe was worſhipped at Aſcalon, under the figure of a woman from the navel upward, and fiſh downward, like the Dagon of, if not the ſame with that of, the Philiſtines; for ſhe was worſhipped under ſeveral names, though under the ſame form, being called Derceto at Joppa, Aſhtaroth, Atargatis, and Atergata in the other places (40).

(39) Bibl. l. ii. (40) Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. xvi. Plin. l. v. c. 23. Selden. de. diis Syr. & ſup. vol. ii. 343, & ſeq.

claimed through his camp, that every man ſhould ſcale the walls in the place that chanced to be over-againſt him. On the other hand, the city, which had been well garriſoned by Lyſias, had placed their choiceſt men on the battlements of it. The aſſault was fierce, and laſted the whole day; at length Judas carried it and took the city, put all the males, about twenty-five thouſand, to the ſword, took their wives and daughters captives, ſeized all the richeſt plunder, and burnt and quite erazed the place. From Ephron, croſſing the Jordan, he ſpread his army along the plains of Bethſhan, then called Scythopolis, a conſiderable city, about a hundred furlongs from Jeruſalem †. Here he enquired of the Jews how they had been treated by the Scythians, and they anſwering much to the commendation of that people; Judas returned them thanks for their kindneſs to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendſhip with them, and aſſured them of his own °, and then continued his journey towards Jeruſalem. During their march, Judas kept ſtill in the rear of his army, encouraging thoſe that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of pentecoſt. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for their quick and wonderful ſucceſs (H), and particularly that they were all returned ſafe and victorious without the loſs of one man P.

JUDAS had ſtill a powerful enemy left: Georgias, governor of Idumea, was at the head of that nation, and had haraſſed the Jews for ſome time. He therefore made no longer ſtay at Jeruſalem than the ending of that feſtival, immediately after which he marched at the head of only three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. The two armies met, and

† De hac. vid. ſup. vol. v. p. 472. ° 2 Macc. ubi ſupra, v. 30, & 31. P 1 Maccab. v. 46. & ſeq. 2 Maccab. xii. 30, & ſeq.

(H) Quick and wonderful indeed! if we conſider, that the peace could not be broken as ſoon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth of Xanthicus, anſwering to the beginning of our April; and that the feaſt of pentecoſt fell either on the latter end of May or beginning of June; ſo that in leſs than two months time they burnt the two havens and fleets of Joppa and Jamnia, beat the Arabian Nomades, took the city of Caſpis, defeated Timotheus and his numerous army, burnt and deſtroyed Carnion and Ephron, beſides ſeveral other ſtrong fortreſſes, releaſed a vaſt number of their brethren, and were returned to Jeruſalem loaden with ſpoils and a vaſt multitude of female captives, and all this without any loſs on their ſide.

and the onſet was ſo fierce on both ſides, that Judas, till then ſo victorious, had the mortification to ſee ſome of his men killed on the ſpot. Doſitheus likewiſe a brave captain of his, whom we have lately mentioned upon another occaſion, having ſeized the Idumean general alive, had his arm cut off cloſe to the ſhoulder by a Thracian horſeman, and was forced to quit his priſoner, who took that opportunity to fly into Mareſa, a fortreſs near Eleutheropolis. Another part of his troops, commanded by Eſdrin, had ſuſtained the ſhock ſo long, that they were quite exhauſted. At length, Judas having again revived his men by freſh prayers and warlike canticles, the enemy took fright and fled, which gave him an opportunity of rallying his ſcattered forces to Odollam, a town near the field of battle, where they purified themſelves for the ſabbath then enſuing. On the day following, when he and his men came to view the ſlain, in order to bury them, they found upon every one of them ſome gold and ſilver idols, which had been conſecrated by the Jamnites, and which, though taken in plunder, were forbidden to be worn by the law of Moſes [q]. It was then eaſy for them to diſcover the true cauſe of their late defeat, and the juſt puniſhment of thoſe wretches, who had ventured to tranſgreſs in that clandeſtine manner. Judas did not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of inſpiring the ſurvivers with an abhorrence againſt all ſuch heatheniſh ſuperſtitions, and with a ſure confidence in God, as long as they kept themſelves free from them. He then ordered a voluntary collection to be made among them, which amounted to two thouſand drachms of ſilver, which he ſent to Jeruſalem, and cauſed an expiatory ſacrifice to be offered up for thoſe that had thus died in their ſin, and to avert any further puniſhment being inflicted on them for it in the other life (I) [r]. From thence Judas fell upon the ſouthern

Offers ſacrifices for the ſlain.

[q] Deut. vii. 25, & ſeq. ad fin.

[r] 2 Maccab ubi ſupra, verſ. 38.

(I) This is certainly the meaning of the hiſtorian (whatever might be that of the Jewiſh chief in cauſing this ſin-offering or reconciliatory ſacrifices and prayers to be made for thoſe dead ſinners; for he adds (41), that Judas gave thereby a ſignal proof of his belief of a reſurrection; for, ſays he, if he had not hoped that thoſe ſlain men would have riſen again from the dead, it had

(41) 2 Maccab. xii. 44.

parts of Idumea, took Hebron and other fortreſſes; after which he went and took Azotus from the Philiſtines, and pulled down all their images and altars where-ever he paſſed, and ſo returned to Jeruſalem loaden with freſh laurels and plunder.

Beſieges Acra.

ALL this while the fortreſs of Acra was in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the Jews from reſorting to the temple, but annoyed thoſe that did, eſpecially in Judas's abſence. Upon his coming therefore from Odollam, he reſolved to form the ſiege of it, and to that end gathered together his whole army, furniſhed himſelf with engines for throwing large ſtones, and with other inſtruments for the ſiege. The place being very ſtrong, and the garriſon numerous and well furniſhed with arms and proviſion, made it likely to hold out a conſiderable time. But the renegado Jews, a great number of whom were then in the place and knew the valour and ſtoutneſs of Judas and his troops, finding that they ſhould be forced at length to ſurrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, adviſed the commanders to make a vigorous ſally, in order to give an opportunity to ſome of their brethren to go to Antioch, and inform the young king of their diſtreſs. Their advice was taken, and the ſally ſo well managed, that a number of thoſe renegadoes, with ſome officers, found an opportunity to divide from the reſt, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival they went and informed the king of all that Judas had done. They added, that he perſecuted with the moſt mercileſs hatred all that dared had been vain and ſuperfluous to have cauſed prayers to be made for them.

Judas might, in all likelihood, have in his eye the defeat which the Iſraelites had formerly had upon ſuch another occaſion, in the caſe of Achan's ſacrilege (42); and it may as well be likewiſe, that the notion of praying and offering of ſacrifices for the dead might be then in uſe, if not of longer ſtanding. However that be, it muſt have been ſo in the time in which the hiſtorian wrote it, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with ſome interpreters, that the paſſage above-quoted was a gloſs of the tranſlator (43).

We may farther obſerve that the Arundelian copy and Syriac verſion mention three thouſand drachms, and the Latin one twelve thouſand (44).

(42) Joſh vii. 16, & ſeq. Vid. & Vol. iii. p. 77. (43) Vid. int. al. Tremel. in loc. (44) Vid. Uſſer. ann. ſub. A. M. 3841.

dared ſhew any fidelity to the Syrians, that he plundered, ſacked, and put to fire and ſword all that came in his way; and laſtly, that to ſhake wholly off the Syrian yoke, he had beſieged the garriſon of Acra, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe, and that it muſt undergo the fate of Bethzura and other of his cities and fortreſſes, if not ſpeedily relieved. This news failed not to alarm the Syrian monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to aſſemble his troops, and if they were not thought ſufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with utmoſt diſpatch into Judæa. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vaſt army was drawn together, conſiſting of a hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, thirty-two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. Theſe, having the young king and his uncle Lyſias at their head, marched to the borders of Idumea, where they laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Bethzura [s]. We have already given an account of this war in a former volume [†], and of the miraculous deliverance of the Jews, which ended in an advantageous peace to them, though diſhonourable to Antiochus, who, contrary to the articles of it, cauſed the fortifications of their metropolis to be demoliſhed.

Invaded by Antiochus.

MENELAUS, the apoſtate high-prieſt, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being reſtored to his ill-gotten dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of Judæa, left no ſtone unturned to ingratiate himſelf to the young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion; but his wicked policy failed him, and Lyſias, tired with ſo dear and diſhonourable a war, and fearful, leſt, if that wretch was left at Jeruſalem and inveſted with any power, he ſhould ſtir up a new revolt, either to ingratiate himſelf to the Jews, or to maintain his own authority againſt a people who he foreſaw would never brook it; thought it more adviſeable to find out ſome expedient to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a wretch. He eaſily compaſſed his end, and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accuſed him as the author and cauſe of all the late miſchiefs, ſoon prevailed upon him to condemn him to ſuch a death as his treaſon, if not to Antiochus, yet to his God and nation, had deſerved. He was accordingly ſent under a ſtrong guard to Beræa, and there made to undergo the cruel puniſhment

[s] 1 Macc. vi. 18, & ſeq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & ſeq. [†] vol. ix. p. 98, & ſeq.

Menelaus put to death.

of the ashes [t], a death we have already described in a former volume *.

THE Jews, though glad at the death of that monster, did not, however, gain much by the change; Lysias found means to persuade the young monarch, that there was a necessity of bestowing the high-priesthood on one that was not of the pontifical family; so that that dignity, which of right belonged to Onias, the son of that worthy high-priest who had been murdered at Antioch, was bestowed on Alcimus, or Jacimus as he is called by Josephus, who was of another family, though of the Aaronic race, and a person no less wicked than his predecessor. As for Onias, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he resented the wrong to such a degree, that he retired into Egypt, in hopes by some other way to recompense himself for his loss. Accordingly, upon his coming to that court, he found means to ingratiate himself so well to Ptolemy Philometor and to his queen Cleopatra, that they granted him, some time after, the liberty of building a temple at Alexandria, like unto that of Jerusalem, of which he secured the priesthood to himself and descendants, as shall be seen in the sequel [u].

Onias deprived of the high-priesthood.

Demetrius recovers Syria.

WE have elsewhere seen how Demetrius, the lawful heir of the Syrian crown, had found means to escape from Rome, where he had been long kept as an hostage; and, being arrived at Antioch, had put to death both Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, and had made himself master of that capital, and soon after of the whole kingdom *. In the mean time Alcimus, whom the Jews had refused to admit to the high-priesthood, because he had obtained and sullied that dignity by open apostacy and conforming to the religion and customs of the Greeks, came to complain of it to the new monarch; he brought with him a number of other Jewish renegadoes, whom Judas had caused to be banished Judæa for the same crime. At the head of these miscreants he applied himself to the king, accused Judas and the rest of the Maccabean or Asmonean race, of having destroyed those that stood firm to their allegiance to him; of banishing others for not joining with his revolted party, and of other such crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their present distress was owing to their readiness in obeying the edicts of the late king, his uncle; and in the

Judas accused by Alcimus.

end

[t] 2 Macc. xiii. 3, & seq. * vol. v. p. 163. & note.
[u] 2 Macc. xiv. 9, &c. Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 15, xx. 8. * vol. ix. p. 105.

end, Alcimus forgot not to beg to have the high-prieſthood confirmed to him by Demetrius. This accuſation, carried on with ſuch ſeeming zeal for the king, did ſo exaſperate him againſt the Jews, that he ſent back the apoſtate, and with him Bacchides, governor of Meſopotamia, at the head of a conſiderable army, and with orders both to reinſtate Alcimus to his dignity, and to carry on the war againſt the Maccabees. Theſe two were joined in the ſame commiſſion, and Alcimus, impatient to ſee himſelf reſtored to his dignity haſtened the Syrian general, who was wholly devoted to him, to march forthwith into Judæa [w].

Upon their arrival, the two collegues, who knew what an enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at firſt to decoy him by ſome treacherous ſtratagem; and to this end ſent deputies to the Jewiſh chief to invite him to a conference, in order to end their diſpute in an amicable way. They ſpared no promiſes nor vows, that he ſhould come and go with utmoſt ſafety. Judas eaſily ſuſpected their deſign, and rightly judged, that ſuch a powerful army was intended rather to ſurpriſe him, than to decide the title of an intruding prieſt, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Inſtead therefore of accepting of their invitation, he ſet himſelf about preparing for a vigorous defence. His behaviour, however, was diſapproved by ſeveral doctors and ſcribes, and particularly by ſome of the Aſſideans, whoſe ſect we have ſpoken of in a former ſection. Theſe, pretending to a greater degree of ſanctity than the reſt, inſiſted, that an amicable way was preferable to an hoſtile one, and that Alcimus, being of the race of Aaron, ought not to be lightly ſuſpected of treachery againſt them. But finding Judas immoveable, they took it into their heads to try how far their mediation would work towards the deſired peace; and having obtained an oath of ſafety from the treacherous high-prieſt, they came to him accompanied with ſome of their doctors and ſcribes. Alcimus gave them at firſt a friendly reception, but as ſoon as he had got them into his power, he cauſed ſixty of them to be ſeized and put to death [x]. This action proved of ſingular ſervice to Judas and his council, and ſufficiently juſtified his refuſal; and his whole army, being now fully convinced that nothing but the blackeſt perfidy was to be expected from that baſe pontiff and his collegue, reſolved to ſtand up for their general, their religion, and liberty. Some few indeed, being terrified, either at the news of Alcimus's perfidy, or at the ſight of

[w] 1 Maccab. vii, 8, & ſeq. [x] Ibid. ver. 12. & ſeq.

of so great an army, left Jerusalem and retired into the country; but there stayed with him a sufficient number to suppress the power of the treacherous pontiff, in spite of his daily reinforcements from the renegado Jews, who resorted to him, especially after Bacchides's departure. For that general, whether stung with the reproaches, which his late perfidious action brought upon him, or with shame for not having been able to subdue an enemy by treachery, whom he dared not to attack openly, left Judæa and returned to Antioch, leaving Alcimus what he thought a sufficient number of troops, to maintain himself in his new dignity. However, whilst he was in his way to the Syrian court, he could not forbear committing some cruelties against those Jews that came in his way. Particularly at Beseth, or Bethsetha, he caused a considerable number of them to be seized and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well [y].

Alcimus, on the other hand, spared neither pains nor cost, flatteries nor cruelties, to strengthen himself. Those that were of greatest service to him were the Jewish renegados and malecontents, whom his caresses and generosity drew daily to his side. For with these, supported by the Syrian troops, he was making continual excursions into some part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and destroying all that refused to acknowledge him. Judas, on his side, was no less watchful of all opportunities to oppose and suppress him; he defeated him in several rencounters, and took such a severe vengeance on as many of the revolted Jews as fell into his hands, that the rest dared no longer to act against him. Alcimus, being by this time convinced of the impossibility of mastering his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the sacred altars, unless he procured a much greater army to force the Jews into a compliance, returned to the Syrian court, renewed his former accusations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the Jews that were then at Antioch; and having presented Demetrius with a rich crown of gold and other valuable presents, obtained of that incensed monarch a fresh army, the command of which was given to Nicanor, one of the bittersest enemies the Jewish nation had, with express orders to cut off Judas and his party, disperse his army, and to settle Alcimus in his power and dignity, beyond the possibility of any future opposition [z]. But Nicanor, who had lately

[y] Ibid. v. 19. [z] Ibid. 21, & seq.

lately been so feelingly convinced of the strength and bravery of the Jewish chief, and justly reckoned that one defeat more would complete his disgrace, entered Judæa with a numerous army indeed, but with a full resolution, if possible, to bring Judas to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him.

Nicanor sent against the Jews.

However, upon his first coming into that province, all the apostate Jews and the heathen, whom Judas had driven out of Judæa, came in shoals to list under him, in hopes to be soon resettled in their former habitations, so that his army was increased exceedingly, before he reached the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Jews, being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine assistance by fasting and prayers, and then prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. Nicanor advanced as far as the fortress of Dessau, where Simon, Judas's brother, having attempted to come out against him, was so terrified at the sight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to Jerusalem. All this, however, could not induce the Syrian general to begin any hostilities against the valiant Judas; on the contrary, he sent three of his head officers, Posidonius, Theodosius, and Matthias, to make overtures of peace to him. Judas, who had so lately observed the propensity of his men to a peace, acquainted them with the proposals made to him by Nicanor; which were so well approved by them, that a day and a place for an interview was agreed on by those two generals to give it the finishing stroke. Judas, however, justly suspecting the sincerity of the Syrians, caused a certain number of his stoutest men to be so advantageously posted, that they might come to his relief, in case any violence were offered to him. But his precaution at this time was needless, and Nicanor was so bent upon clapping up a peace with him, that their conference was carried on to the satisfaction of both parties; the articles were agreed on, after which Nicanor went and stayed some time in Jerusalem, without giving the Jews the least cause of complaint; so far from it, that, to avoid giving them any umbrage, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and lived in perfect friendship with the Jewish nation [b] (K).

Makes peace with them.

This

[a] 2 Macc. xiv. 12, & seq. [b] Ibid. ver. 16, & seq.

(K) In this year some chronologers (45) place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period, of eighty-four years, in order to

(45) Vid. Bocher. de antiq. Pascal. Cyclo, ap. Prid. connect. sub an. 162.

Year of the flood 2838. Before Christ 161.

THIS harmony was, however, interrupted soon after by the perfidious high-priest, who, thinking the peace not sufficiently advantagious to him, went a third time to Antioch to complain against Nicanor, as a betrayer of his master's interest, and a friend to his mortal enemies; in testimony of which, he urged the peace lately concluded between them. Demetrius, though justly surprised that his general should venture to take such a step, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not, however, recal him: he contented himself with refusing to ratify the articles, and sending him fresh orders to renew the war against the Jewish chief, and not to sheath his sword, till he had killed

to settle the return of their new moons and festivals depending on them. We have shewn in a former volume †, what a wretched method they had used before the captivity, for discovering those new appearances without the help of astronomical tables. The inconveniency they found in it after their dispersion, obliged them to fall upon some surer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, observe them and the other festivals on the same day.

This method was the period of eighty-four years, which in all probability was only the period of Calippus, which that learned astronomer had published about a hundred and seventy years before, and consisted of seventy-six Julian years, and to which they added the Octoeteris, either thinking it answered their purpose better, or, which is more likely, as dean Prideaux conjectures (46), to make it look like a discovery of their own. For the Jews, who were always very jealous of being suspected to borrow any things of the heathen nations, may be supposed to have been more so at this time, when they had just gone through so great and general a reformation in their church.

But whether Judas and his sanhedrin, harrassed as they were on all sides by their enemies, could have leisure enough to find out and settle this new method, or whether they had not brought already something like it, either from Babylon, or from some of the Greeks; one thing is certain and worth observing, that this period of eighty four years was peculiar to the Jews, and has been used from thence downward to the time of the famous Hillel, who corrected their calendar in the year of Christ 360. It was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the christian church in the settling of their Easter till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced, which are foreign to our present subject.

† vol. iii. p. 202, (H). (46) Ubi supra.

killed him and wholly suppressed his party. Upon receiving this unexpected order, Nicanor was extremely displeased; on the one hand, he was loath to violate the peace, which had been so strictly kept by the Jews; on the other, he feared the resentment of the king, if he disobeyed such an express command. This last motive having at length determined him, his main study was now to find out some plausible pretence for laying hold on the Jewish chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and, instead of their former intimacy, to treat him with coldness and an air of superiority. This soon gave Judas to understand, that it was high time to look to himself, which he accordingly did, with such speed and secrecy, that he was quite disappeared before they had the least suspicion of it. Nicanor, surprised to find him gone out of his reach, endeavoured, as well as he could, to conceal his resentment: he found himself now obliged to raise a new army, and to act against him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and unwilling to do it. At length having gathered a sufficient number of forces and come towards Jerusalem, he resolved once more to try to surprise him by some foul stratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this end he sent some deputies to acquaint him, that he was not come to make war against him, but to treat of peace with him, and to invite him to a new interview. Judas came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their first greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but having discovered his treacherous intent, he withdrew, and from that time refused to meet him any more. Nicanor then ordered his troops to advance towards Capharsalama, not far from Jerusalem, where, being met by the Jewish army, a battle was fought, in which he lost five thousand men. But the Jews, finding themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of David, and some into the temple [c]. Nicanor then led his army straight to Jerusalem, and getting upon the eminence of mount Sion, was addressed by some of the priests and heads of the people, who came in a submissive manner to him, and shewed him from that place the sacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the prosperity of king Demetrius. But the exasperated general, having cast many insolent and blasphemous reflections on what he called their base superstition, swore the utter destruction of them and their temple, unless Judas was immediately

Ordered to renew the war.

Attempts to surprise Judas.

Threatens Jerusalem.

[c] 1 Macc. vii. 27, & seq.

mediately delivered up to him. But Judas had happily put it out of their power, having betimes withdrawn himself into the land of Samaria with some of his faithful troops. However, it was in vain for the priests to urge this or any thing else in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his resentment, for having missed his blow. The poor priests, seeing an exasperated enemy, at the head of a powerful army, at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other recourse but to their prayers and tears; whilst Nicanor, still bent rather upon stratagem than open war, bethought himself of a hellish expedient to oblige the Jews to apostatise, both from their God and their brave deliverer [d].

They had at that time an aged member of their sanhedrin, named Razis, a man highly esteemed by the nation for his strict piety and virtue, and whose inviolable fidelity to his religion and nation had gained him the title of father of the Jews. Nicanor, having heard so good a character of him, and that his example had preserved numbers of his people from apostatising, conceived a design, either to force him to it by fair or foul means, or else to do a despite to the nation, by putting him to some cruel death. To this end he dispatched five hundred of his soldiers to take and bring him to him. These, finding his castle strongly guarded, were endeavouring to break open the doors, or to force him out by setting it on fire, when the old man, after a long and stout defence, finding himself on the brink of being either taken, or burnt, rushed on the point of his sword, and pierced himself through. However, the wound not proving mortal, and he seeing the soldiers rushing into the house, he ran to the top of one of the turrets, and flung himself headlong down. This fall not having put an end to his life, he raised himself up, ran through the midst of them to a neighbouring steep rock, leaving a rivulet of blood behind, which issued out of his wounds, and having gained the top of it, he opened his wound with his hands, tore out his bowels, and flung them at his agashed enemies [e]. Thus died the brave old man, with an intrepidity rather to be admired than imitated. The Jews, however, have made no scruple to canonise him a martyr, though his death was rather that of a madman, or a desperado.

Razis Killshimself.

While

[d] Ibid. ver. 32, & seq.

[e] Ibid. 37, & seq.

WHILE this was doing at Jeruſalem, Nicanor, having heard that Judas was in the land of Samaria, marched againſt him with an army of thirty-five thouſand men; and as he ſtill truſted more to his political ſtratagems, than to his ſtrength, he reſolved to attack him on the ſabbath, not doubting but they would, as they had formerly done, chuſe to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day. He was, however, aſſured of the contrary by ſome of that nation who were in his army, and who begged, that he would pay a regard to that ſacred day, which the God of heaven had conſecrated to his ſervice. Nicanor aſked them, with a ſcornful taunt, Whether there was indeed a mighty God in heaven, who had ordered the ſanctification of the ſabbath? And being anſwered in the affirmative, he replied, And I, who am powerful upon earth, do command you to fight for the king your maſter, and to obey his orders. This blaſphemous arrogance, as well as his former threatenings againſt the temple, did not go long unpuniſhed; for whilſt he was encamped in the neighbourhood of Bethoron, Judas marched immediately againſt him with his three thouſand men, and encamped near Adaſa, a place about thirty furlongs diſtant from the enemy. The firſt thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the ſacred books, and, to aſſure them further of the divine aſſiſtance, he acquainted them with a comfortable viſion which he had lately had, in which he ſaw Onias, the late worthy high-prieſt, and after him the prophet Jeremiah, interceding for the Jewiſh people, and that the latter had preſented him with a ſplendid ſword, and given him at the ſame time an aſſurance of a complete victory. This ſpeech had the deſired effect, and his men were on a ſudden fired with ſuch courage, that they routed the enemy on the very firſt onſet; for Nicanor being killed one of the firſt, his men were ſeized with a panic, threw their arms down, and ſought in vain for a ſhelter; for Judas purſuing them, and the Jews of the neighbouring cities hearing of this victory, ſtopping their flight, killed them all to a man, inſomuch, that there was not a ſingle perſon left to carry the news to Antioch. This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month Adar, anſwering to our February; and on the next day, the body of Nicanor being found among the ſlain, Judas ordered his head and right hand which he had ſo lately lifted up with threatening oaths againſt the temple, to be cut off and carried in triumph to Jeruſalem; where, being arrived with his army, he cauſed them to be expoſed to the view of the Jews and Gentiles, reminding them at the ſame time, that thoſe were the

Nicanor attacks the Jews.

Is defeated and ſlain.

head

head and hand of the profane Nicanor, who had ſworn the total deſtruction of their ſacred temple. His tongue he likewiſe ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung upon ſome of the higheſt towers of that city. After the uſual rejoicings for their late ſucceſs, a public anniverſary was inſtituted by the ſanhedrin, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of Adar, by the name of the day of Nicanor [f], which has been kept ever ſince.

THIS victory gave the Jewiſh nation ſome peaceful intermiſſion, and their enemies, being juſtly terrified at the continual ſucceſſes of their leader, ſuffered him to return and take quiet poſſeſſion of the city, which his ſucceſſor was, however, forced to quit ſoon after to the then ſuperior power of the Syrian general and apoſtate Alcimus, who held it but a ſhort while, and for the laſt time, as the ſequel will preſently ſhew. During this peaceful interval, Judas, always intent on the intereſt of his religion and nation, obſerving how powerful the Romans were now grown, and how faithfully they protected and aſſiſted their friends, reſolved to procure an alliance with them, which might prove a bulwark againſt the oppreſſive power of the Syrians. Eupolemus the ſon of John and Jaſon the ſon of Eleazar, who had been already ſent with ſucceſs to Seleucus Philopator, were likewiſe choſen for this embaſſy. Their propoſals were readily accepted by the Roman ſenate, and a decree was accordingly made and engraven on copper, in order to be ſent to Jeruſalem; importing, that the Jews were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans; that both nations ſhould be ready to ſuccour each other and the allies of either with all their power, and in no caſe ſhould aſſiſt their enemies; and for as much as Demetrius Soter had been complained againſt to the ſenate, as an oppreſſor of the Jewiſh nation, they ſent a letter to him, injoining him for the future to forbear all hoſtilities againſt them, and threatening him with an invaſion of his country by ſea and land, in caſe he did not comply with the purport of their decree [g]. This alliance was made in a lucky time; for whilſt it was tranſacting at Rome Demetrius, having received the news of Nicanor's defea and death, was ſending the right wing, that is to ſay, th flowe

The Jews make alliance with Rome.

[f] Ibid. ad ver. 50. 2 Maccab. xv. 1, & ſeq. Vid. & Joſeph antiq l. xii. c. 17.

[g] Id. ibid.

flower (L) of his army, into Judæa, with Bacchides and Alcimus at their head. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and

(L) It was uſual in thoſe days for the kings to command the right wing of their army, ſo that the beſt of their troops were generally placed there.

With relation to the alliance above-mentioned, Joſephus obſerves (47), that it was the very firſt that ever the Jews made with Rome, which is very probable alſo, from the manner in which the author of the firſt book of the Maccabees prefaces his account of it (48); for it appears from it, that the Jews till then knew but little of the Roman ſtate.

And here it will not be amiſs to enquire, how far the account which Joſephus gives of this alliance (49) is liable to the reproof which our learned Uſher gives it (50); that hiſtorian tells us, that the decree of the ſenate was written by Eupolemus and Jaſon, when Judas was high-prieſt, and his brother Simon general of the Jews. That Judas died before Alcimus, and ſo could not be choſen by the people to ſucceed him in that dignity, as he there affirms a little before, is plain, not only from the firſt book of the Maccabees, but even from Joſephus himſelf, who tells us in another place, that Alcimus had no ſucceſſor till ſeven years after his death (1), but that the ſuperſcription abovementioned was therefore forged by him, doth not ſo clearly follow. It is probable, on the contrary, that his finding it in thoſe very terms, in the Roman records, which he was then conſulting, might lead him for the preſent into that miſtake, that Judas had been choſen to the high-prieſthood after Alcimus's death.

If it be aſked, how it came to be ſo worded, we anſwer, that the Jewiſh nation being known to have had a high-prieſt at the head of all their affairs, both religious and civil, ſuch an alliance could not be well contracted without one. On the other hand, Alcimus having been conſtantly rejected by reaſon of his apoſtacy, it is not likely, that they would make uſe ſo much as of his name in ſo public a tranſaction. What other expedient could then be found, but that Judas, who was then at the head of all affairs, ſhould take that title upon him, at leaſt in the tranſacting of this alliance?

We might add, that it is not eaſy to gueſs, how the nation could be ſo long without a high-prieſt; for ſetting aſide thoſe religious functions which were peculiar to that dignity, and which might, for ought we know, have been ſuſpended during this interval; it is plain, the ſanhedrin, or grand Jewiſh ſenate, could neither aſſemble nor make any authentic decrees without him;

(47) Antiq l. xii c. 17. (48) Cap. viii. 1, & ſeq. (49) Antiq. l. xii. ſub fin. cap. 17. (50) Sub A. M. 3843. (1) Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.

and two thouſand horſe, and with theſe Bacchides entered Galilee, and took the city of Maſeloth or Maſſadoth in the territories of Arbela, where he killed a great number of Jews. From thence they marched towards Jeruſalem, but being told that Judas was retired into the neighbourhood of Eleaſa, they went to attack him there. Judas had then but three thouſand men, and when theſe beheld the ſuperiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them ſo far, that only eight hundred of them ſtayed with him, and the reſt conveyed themſelves away, to the great regret of their valiant chief, who was now ſo ſorely preſt, that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but muſt either fight or be cut in pieces. However, truſting in that ſuperior aſſiſtance which had accompanied him hitherto, he encouraged his men the beſt he could; a dreadful fight enſued, which laſted from morning till evening; and Judas obſerving that the enemy's right wing, commanded by Bacchides, was the ſtrongeſt, made a ſtout puſh at it, broke and purſued it as far as mount Azotus; but in the mean time, the left having quite ſurrounded him and his men, he was at length over-born by their numbers, and ſlain, after a long and vigorous defence; ſo that he fell down on a heap of his enemies, which he had killed round about him. As ſoon as the news of his death had reached Jeruſalem, the whole city was filled with the moſt lively ſorrow. An univerſal mourning was made for him for ſome time, and in imitation of that which David had made for Saul and Jonathan, they ſung theſe lines of his, How is the mighty fallen? How is the preſerver of Iſrael ſlain? However, his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy; for

Judas's death.

whether ſo, that we muſt ſuppoſe, either that every thing went irregular, or that they choſe ſome perſon to that dignity; in which caſe why might not the choice of the nation, or at leaſt of the heads of it, be deemed as valid at leaſt, as that of a heatheniſh king, or rather tyrant and uſurper? for ſuch the Jews deemed even the beſt foreign princes that ruled over them.

How the generalſhip came to be given in this inſcription, rather to Simon the third brother, than either to Judas, or to Jonathan the next in birth, can only be gueſſed at. Judas treating then with the Romans as high-prieſt, might think the quality of general incompatible with it, and Simon might, for ſome ſignal exploit or other, have been at that time more fanſed than his brother.

One thing may be added, that this ſuppoſed inſcription might imply no more in the Jewiſh hiſtorian, than that Eupolemus and Jaſon wrote, or ſent the written decree to Judas the high-prieſt and to Simon the general.

whether the Syrians, after this victory, which redounded leſs to their honour than a defeat, left the field of battle, or whether a truce was made for the burying of the dead, the author tells us, that it was taken and carried off by his two brothers, Jonathan and Simon, and buried in the ſepulchre of his father at Modin [h]. Thus died the brave Jewiſh general, ſix years after his father Matthias, and was ſucceeded by his brother Jonathan. The Maccabitiſh hiſtorian adds, that the reſt of his victorious wars were omitted, becauſe they were too numerous; and Joſephus, that he never departed from the precepts of his father, who injoined him never to ſhun any labours or hazards for the ſervice of his country, and that he died on the third year of his executing the office of high-prieſt [i], which confirms what was obſerved in the laſt note; ſo that, for ought appears, his only miſtake was in making him die ſo long after Alcimus.

THE news of his death was no ſooner ſpread through Judæa, than it gave a new life to all the enemies of the Jews, ſo that the greateſt part of theſe found themſelves obliged, partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge Bacchides their governor, and to ſubmit themſelves to him. Whilſt therefore this general was taking all proper meaſures to ſecure his own government, ſome of the chief officers, that ſerved under him, were ordered to make a diligent ſearch after the principal friends and adherents of the Maccabees, and to put them to the moſt torturing deaths; inſomuch, that this perſecution did ſeem to exceed all that they had ſuffered ſince their return from Babylon, and cauſed as general defection. Under theſe diſmal circumſtances, thoſe few who retained ſtill a love for their religion and country had recourſe to Jonathan, ſurnamed Apphus, and deſired him to take upon him the command of the Jewiſh forces, and to endeavour to ſtop the cruel progreſs of the Syrian general. Jonathan was eaſily prevailed upon, and was gathering what forces he could get. But Bacchides, being informed of it, and coming againſt him with a deſign to ſurprize and put him to death, forced him and his few followers to retire into the deſarts of Teckoa, where they encamped near the lake Aſphar, being fenced by a large moraſs on the one ſide, by woods on the other,

Jonathan ſucceeds him.

[h] 1 Maccab. ix. 1, &ſeq. ad 22. Joſeph. antiq. l. xii. c. ult.
[i] Id. ad fin.

and the Jordan before him [k]. This ſituation, which he thought very advantageous to his handful of men, becauſe there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverſe, when they came to engage the enemy, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

In the mean time, as ſoon as he heard that Bacchides was in full march againſt him, his firſt care was to ſecure their goods and equipage, which were very numerous, till better times. The Nabathæans, as we obſerved before, were then at peace with them. John therefore, the brother of Jonathan, was ſent at the head of a convoy to go and depoſit them with them. But in his way he was ſurprized by the Jambrians (M), who, iſſuing out of their city, fell upon him, flew him and his men, and carried away all their baggage. This injury did not go long unrequited. Jonathan being informed ſoon after that a great wedding was to be celebrated at Medaba, between one of the Jambrian chiefs and a daughter of a Canaanitiſh prince, or perhaps rather a prince of the Arabians now ſettled there, and having got notice of the day on which the bride was to be conducted to her new home, he and his men lay in ambuſh behind a hill; and as ſoon as the company, which was very numerous and of both ſexes, was come nigh enough, they fell upon them, killed them to the number of four hundred, and carried away their plunder to their camp.

John killed by the Jambrians.

As ſoon as Bacchides heard of this retaliation upon the Jambrians, he haſted his army, with a reſolution to attack the Jewiſh general on the ſabbath, at which Jonathan found himſelf in no ſmall diſtreſs. On the one hand, he was hemmed in on all ſides, and on the other his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to ſtand in their own defence, partly at the ſight of their ſuperior enemy, and partly out of reſpect to the day; whether they had forgot the reſolution and example of their late chiefs to the contrary, or whether they ſcrupled the validity of it. At length, Jonathan, finding himſelf preſt by the enemy on the one ſide, and on the other by the reluctancy of his men to engage them, addreſſed himſelf to the latter

Bacchides comes againſt the Jews.

[k] 1 Maccab. ix. 23. ad 45. Joſeph. antiq. l. xiii. c. 1.

(M) Theſe were a tribe of the plundering Arabs, who lived then at Medaba, formerly one of the cities which the Moabites took from the tribe of Reuben (z), and afterwards the Arabs from them.

(z) Conf. Joſh. xiii. 16. Iſaiah xv. 2. & Joſeph. ant. l. xiii. 1.

latter in the following ſhort, but pathetic, ſpeech; "Come "on, and let us fight for our lives; for it is not now with "us, as it was in time paſt; for you ſee plainly that the bat- "tle is both before and behind us, and the Jordan on this, "and the moraſs and the wood on that, ſide. Neither is "there a place left for us to turn aſide to. Wherefore cry "ye now unto heaven, that ye may be delivered out of the "hand of your enemies". As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, his men, what through his encouragement, and what through deſpair, made a bold puſh at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the firſt onſet. Bacchides all the while ſeemed to aim ſolely at Jonathan, which being perceived by him, he attempted to make a full and effectual blow at him, but was prevented by his addreſs. The Jews, finding themſelves at laſt unable to cope with ſuch an army, caſt themſelves one and all into the river (MM), and ſwam to the other ſide, after having killed about a thouſand, or, according to Joſephus, two thouſand of the enemy [1].

Jonathan put to flight.

[1] Iid. ibid.

(MM) Whoever compares the ſituation of theſe places with the abſtruſe and imperfect account which the author of it gives of this action, muſt confeſs, with the judicious Calmet *, that Jonathan muſt have croſſed the Jordan twice, inſtead of once, elſe he could never have had that river before, and Bacchides behind. For when he retired to Teckoa, the river muſt then have parted them, and he muſt have croſſed it again to come to Medeba to puniſh the Jambrians; for Medeba was on the eaſt ſide, and Teckoa, where they had incamped at firſt, was on the weſt ſide of that river.

Had he then croſſed it again, after this bloody expedition, which would have been the third time, he could not have had it before and Bacchides behind him, unleſs we ſuppoſe that he alſo croſſed it either higher or lower, and ſo fetched a long compaſs about to incloſe him; in which caſe there would be three croſſings omitted, viz. two of Jonathan's, and this of Bacchides's. But it is more probable, conſidering what haſte the latter was in to fall upon him, that he overtook him as they returned from Medeba, and before he could croſs again to return to Teckoa; and this may be the reaſon when they found themſelves overpowered, of their flinging themſelves into that river, and ſwimming acroſs it, in order to recover their camp, which might be ſo well ſituate and fortified, that it diſcouraged the Syrians from purſuing them further.

* Sub voce Jonathan IX.

BACCHIDES, now convinced that they would fight on the sabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to pursue them further, but returned with his army to Jerusalem, and there gave orders for the fortifying and garisoning of such places as were most likely to keep the Jews in awe, and oblige the Maccabitish party, either to submit, or at least to forbear all future attempts against him. Among these were Bethoron, Jericho, Emmaus, Bethel, Thimnatha, Bethzura, and some others, especially the fortress of Acra, into which, besides a new supply of men, arms, and provisions, he sent the children of some of the principal Jews to be kept as hostages there, to prevent their parents and relations going over to Jonathan and his party. At the same time the apostate Alcimus, finding himself master of Jerusalem, gave orders for demolishing the wall of the temple, which inclosed the court of the priests from that of the people (N), and which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets Haggai and Zachary. But he had scarce began the work, before he was struck with a dead palsy, which took his speech from him, so that he died without being able to speak a word, or to take any care of his house. After his death, Bacchides, having by that time brought all Judæa into subjection, thought he had no further business there, but returned to Antioch, and left the Jews and heathens to live in peace there, which they did for about two years [m] (O).

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[m] Iid. ibid.

(N) Or more probably that which divided the court of the circumcised from that of the uncircumcised. For as his apostacy had made him incur the hatred of all the sincere Jews, it is not unlikely, that he caused this partition wall to be pulled down to mortify them, and to ingratiate himself with the heathen and the renegadoes of his nation. However, the book of the Maccabees calls it the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary (3), and Josephus (4) the wall of the old sanctuary, and adds to it the works of the prophets.

(O) It may be also likely enough, that he was privately recalled by Demetrius; for that prince at this time stood in great need of the friendship of the Romans (5), and had probably received their letter, which ordered him to cease all hostilities against the Jewish nation; so that he was forced to recall him, yet so privately, that the Jews should not be too elated by it; and this may be the reason why neither Josephus nor the book of the Maccabees mention it.

(3) 1 Maccab. ix. 54. (4) Antiq. l. xii. c. 17. (5) Vide. Polyb. legat. 120.

JONATHAN and his party made the beſt of this ſhort interval to ſecure themſelves, ſo that they lived quietly and without any miſtruſt. This gave his enemies an opportunity to make a freſh attempt upon him, by inviting Bacchides to ſurpriſe and deſtroy the whole party, which they ſent him word might be done in one night. Demetrius, who had been by this time acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that ſide, was eaſily perſuaded to ſend Bacchides with a powerful army into Judæa. As ſoon therefore as this general was got there, he ſent letters to thoſe of his party, with orders to ſeize Jonathan and his men, and to bring them to him, as had been agreed before. This plot, however, had not been carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, but that vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to diſappoint it, and to puniſh thoſe traitors that had hatched it; for he came ſuddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conſpirators and put them all to death; after which the reſt were ſoon diſperſed, and the whole deſign diſcomfited [n].

A plot againſt Jonathan.

Defeated.

AFTER this ſignal eſcape, Jonathan, being informed of Bacchides coming againſt him, and finding himſelf by far too weak to withſtand ſo great a force, retired to Bethbaſi, or, as Joſephus calls it, Bethlagan, a place ſtrongly ſituate in the deſart of Jericho, which he and his brother Simon fortified, and filled with all neceſſary proviſions for a ſiege. Bacchides came, according to his expectation, and laid cloſe ſiege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increaſed with all his adherents in Judæa, whom he ſummoned to repair to him thither. As the ſiege was like to laſt long, Jonathan, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a ſmall brigade went out to reinforce his army; and croſſing the country, defeated Odonarches and his brethren, and the ſons of Phaſiron, in their tents. Theſe we ſuppoſe were part of the beſieging hoſt. From thence he went on, attacked, and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced Bacchides to come to their aſſiſtance; which being perceived by Simon from within, he made a vigorous ſally, burnt their engines, then falling upon his army, diſcomfited it on one ſide, whilſt his brother did the ſame on the other. Bacchides, vexed at the heart to meet with ſuch a defeat, where he expected an eaſy victory, vented his rage on thoſe who had invited him out of Syria, and put many of them to death, reſolved to raiſe the

Jonathan beſieged by Bacchides.

Defeats him.

[n] 1 Maccab. ubi ſupra. v. 57. ad 61. Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

siege and to return to Antioch. The only difficulty was how to do it, if not with honour, at least with as little disgrace as might be; which as soon as Jonathan understood, he sent him some messengers with proposals for a peace; which were gladly accepted, and soon after ratified by both parties. By these articles all prisoners were to be released on both sides, which was accordingly done; and Bacchides, having sworn never more to act hostilely against Jonathan, departed into Syria, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived [o]. It seems likewise, that by these articles Jonathan was left, if not governor, at least deputy-governor, of Judæa; for as soon as Bacchides was gone, he went and settled in Michmash (P), where he judged Israel, pretty near like the ancient Judges. He began with making a severe example of all the apostate Jews, who were the cause of all the wars and persecutions that fell upon their nation, from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes downwards to that time. After this he set about reforming the Jewish church and state. So that from this time Judæa began to enjoy a perfect peace and free exercise of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety [p].

Makes peace with him.

Judges the Jews.

Soon after this, the troubles that happened in Syria, and of which we have already spoken in the last volume †, gave the Jews a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and not only of raising themselves into a state of independency, either from that kingdom, or that of Egypt; but of being highly courted by both. But, above all, Demetrius, who so feelingly knew their strength and bravery, had most cause to use all possible means to prevent their declaring for his competitor Alexander Balas. To effect which, he wrote a letter to Jonathan full of expressions of the sincerest friendship and confidence, and in which he gave him full power to levy what forces he should think fit, and to cause new arms to be fabricated, and declared him his new friend and ally. In the end, he added an order for setting at liberty all the hostages which had been sent by Bacchides into the fortress

Year of the flood 2845. Before Christ 153. Demetrius's letter to Jonathan.

[o] Id. ibid. & seq. [p] Macc. ubi sup vers 62. ad fin. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 2. † vol. ix. p. 110, and following.

(P) This town was in the tribe of Benjamin east of Bethaven (6), about nine miles from Jerusalem (7), and between it and Gibeon. Eusebius tells us in the place last quoted, that it was still very considerable in his time.

(6) 1 Sam. xiii. 5, (7) Loc. Hebr. sub voce.

treſs of Acra, and had been detained there ever ſince, notwithſtanding the late peace concluded with him. As ſoon as Jonathan had received the letter, he brought it to Jeruſalem, cauſed it to be read before that gariſon, and demanded the hoſtages to be delivered unto him according to the tenor of it. The people, ſeeing how great a power he was now inveſted with, dared not heſitate about the matter, but immediately complied with his demand; after which Jonathan found his army encreaſe exceedingly, there being now no check nor danger in joyning him. On the other hand, thoſe gariſons which Bacchides had left in ſeveral ſtrong places of Judæa above-mentioned, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to withſtand him, forſook them and fled. Thoſe only of Bethzura and Acra, which were moſtly filled with apoſtate Jews, not daring to follow their example, leſt they ſhould be purſued and meet with their juſt deſerts, reſolved to ſtand it out to the laſt, and either ſurrender upon ſafe terms, or to die ſword in hand. Jonathan, however, did not think fit to beſiege them immediately, but went to Jeruſalem, where his preſence was more required, and there cauſed the repairs both of the city and temple to be forthwith ſet about, fixing his abode in that city to ſee the work more effectually finiſhed [q].

When Alexander underſtood what a powerful friend Jonathan was like to prove to the ſide he ſhould declare himſelf for, and the favours which Demetrius had lately bribed him with, he reſolved to outbid him and to draw him to his intereſt. He ſent him a moſt obliging letter (Q), in which he beſtowed the high-prieſthood on him, and accompanied it with

Alexander's letter to him.

[q] 1 Maccab. x. 10, & ſeq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3, & 4.

(Q) The purport of it was to this effect: "King Alexander "to his brother Jonathan, &c. Being informed of your power "and valour, and that you are worthy of our friendſhip, we "conſtitute you high-prieſt of your nation, and it is our pleaſure "that you be inrolled in the number of the king's friends. To "this end we have ſent you a purple robe and a golden crown, "not doubting a ſuitable return from you for our affection and "friendſhip (8).

We have often obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the purple was a mark of the greateſt dignity next to the royal one; it was eſteemed ſuch among the Jews, Perſians, Macedonians, &c. and thoſe that wore it were called the king's friends, and implied the ſame as the king's couſins here with us.

(8) Joſeph antiq. l. xiii. c. 5.

Jonathan made high prieſt.

with rich preſents, and among them a purple robe and a golden crown [r]. Jonathan readily accepted of them, put on the prieſtly veſtments, on the feaſts of tabernacles [s], in the ninth year of his government (R), and in the ſeventh month of that year. However, as he would not ſeem wholly to receive that dignity from a prince, whoſe right to the Syrian crown was ſo juſtly ſuſpected, he got himſelf choſen to it by the ſuffrages of the Jewiſh nation; and indeed not without a ſpecious right to it; for being, as we hinted in the laſt note, of the family of Joarib, and conſequently of the firſt claſs of the Aaronic race, that was ſufficient to intitle him to it upon the failure of that of Jozadack, which had enjoyed it ever ſince their return from Babylon; and we don't read of any ſurvivor of it except Onias, who was then in Egypt, and had there, if not apoſtatiſed, at leaſt made a conſiderable ſchiſm, by ſetting up a new temple, altar, and prieſthood there. As ſoon therefore as Jonathan was inveſted with his new dignity, his firſt care was to raiſe new forces, and to cauſe a great number of arms to be made, reſolved to ſide with Alexander. When Demetrius found that his competitor was like to deprive

[r] 1 Maccab. ibid. ver. 17, & ſeq. Ant. ubi ſupra, c. 5. [s] Iid. ibid.

(R) Joſephus (9) ſays in the fourth year after the deceaſe of his brother Judas; but we have already ſhewn in a late note his miſtake in making this laſt outlive and ſucceed Alcimus, the contrary of which appears from the book of the Maccabees (10), which expreſsly mentions the inſtallation of Jonathan to have been on the hundred and ſixtieth year of the Grecian kingdom, which anſwers to the three thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſecond year of the world, and one hundred and fifty-three before Chriſt (11).

We have likewiſe ſhewed at the cloſe of the laſt ſection †, that Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, was deſcended from the prieſtly family of Joarib, though not from that of Jaddua or Jaddus, the high-prieſt, whoſe lineal heir and ſucceſſor was the Onias whom we lately mentioned to have retired into Alexandria, and there built a temple for the uſe of the Egyptian Jews.

Jonathan if not his brother Judas, was therefore the firſt of the family, who enjoyed the pontifical dignity, which continued in it through a number of ſucceſſors till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, made it venal and arbitrary, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

(9) Ibid. (10) Conf. 1 Macc. x. 21. & ix. 3. 28, & 54. (11) Vid. Uſſ, ann, & the Marg. of the Macc. in loc. † vol. x. p. 119. (K)

prive him of so important an ally, he spared neither favour nor promises to prevent it: he sent him a long letter, couched in the most obliging terms, and wherein he artfully disguised his resentment for his defection, under the greatest professions of confidence in his friendship and loyalty. In acknowledgement of which, and to bind him still faster to his interest, he promised him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, imposts, or taxes, a free exercise of their religion, with many other concessions and privileges, vastly exceeding those which Alexander had made to him, and too great indeed to be really designed by that monarch: at least the memory of the many mischiefs and persecutions, which they had so lately suffered under him, made them suspect the sincerity of them; and indeed such was the character of that prince, and the present situation of his affairs, that they might well extort such exorbitant promises from him, without any real intention to perform them. However, whether through resentment or diffidence, Jonathan chose rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and disclaimed all future friendship with a man who had given them so many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation. So that from this time they stuck close to Alexander's interest [t], and it was lucky for them that they did so, since Demetrius was soon after defeated and killed by him, as we have seen in a former volume *.

Demetrius's second letter to him.

Suspected of insincerity.

The new monarch, however, having by that decisive battle made himself master of the Syrian crown, forgot not to express his gratitude to the Jewish chief; he invited him soon after to his nuptials, to which Jonathan went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendship and esteem. During his stay at Ptolemais, where they were celebrated, some disaffected Jews came to exhibit some accusations against him; but the king, resolved not to hear any thing against his friend, caused a proclamation to be made through the city, expressly forbidding any such complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he caused him to sit by him cloathed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, and made him generalissimo of Judæa, and gave him some other titles and government in his kingdom (S); all which did cast such a damp upon his accusers,

Year of the flood 2849. Before Christ 150.

Jonathan's reception at Ptolemais.

[t] Jid ibid. * vol. ix. p. 115.

(S) The book of the Maccabees says, that he made him one of the Malabarchas, which our version after the vulgate renders a duke, some critics lord-high-steward, others lord-chief-sewer; which

accuſers, that they ſneaked away for fear of further miſchief. Jonathan, on the other hand, having made ſome conſiderable preſents to the king and queen, and to their court, returned into Judæa [u], highly ſatisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of ſuch an ally. From this time the Jewiſh nation became more and more conſiderable, not only in Judæa, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil; but in other countries alſo, and particularly in Egypt; where Ptolemy Philometor and his ſiſter and wife Cleopatra raiſed many of them to conſiderable poſts both at court and in the army, intruſted them with the keeping of their principal fortreſſes, and had given the command of their army to Onias and Doſitheus. Theſe two, if we may believe Joſephus [w], ſeem to have wholly ingroſſed the king's favour during his whole reign. But Onias could not be ſatisfied with it, whilſt he ſaw himſelf deprived of the dignity of the Jewiſh high-prieſthood, and of the pleaſure of performing the functions of that ſupreme dignity, which his birth intitled him to. Since therefore there were no hopes that Jonathan would ever yield to him that of Jeruſalem, he had no other way to make himſelf amends for it, but by ſetting up a new one in Egypt; and his great credit with the king and queen did eaſily procure him the liberty of doing it. But as this tranſaction did no further concern the Jews of Judæa, to which we confine ourſelves, than as it made a great ſchiſm with them, we ſhall relate it in the margin (T).

Jews in Egypt highly eſteemed.

A Jewiſh temple built in Egypt.

By

[u] 1 Maccab. ibid. ver. 59. ad 66. Antiq. ubi ſupra.
[w] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 6. Cont. Apion. l. ii. See alſo, vol. ix. p. 237,

which offices, and ſome others of the like nature, are ſtill held by the electors of Germany. But it is more likely, as Grotius in another place ſeems to have proved it (12), that it meant ſome higher place than an office in the king's houſe, viz. the government of ſome tribe or province in the kingdom.

(T) This edifice, which was built after the model of that of Jeruſalem, but neither ſo large nor ſo ſumptuous the reader may ſee deſcribed in Joſephus (1). It was ſurrounded with a very ſtrong ſtone wall, and had the altar of incenſe and burnt offerings, &c. like that in Judæa; only, inſtead of the ſeven-branch candleſtick, Onias contented himſelf with a ſtately golden lamp, which hung from the roof by a chain of the ſame metal.

The

(12) Comment. in Matth. xix. 28. (1) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6. l. xiv. c. 14. l. xviii. c. 20. Bell. Jud. l. vii c. 30.

By this time Alexander having, partly by his negligence and debaucheries, and partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his favourite Ammonius, as it were, invited young Demetrius out of his retirement in Cnidos, to come and recover the crown from him †, Apollonius, then governor of Cœle-Syria and Paleſtine, revolted to him, whilſt Jonathan, remembering his late alliance and obligations, ſtuck cloſe to Alexander's intereſt. Apollonius, therefore, having got a conſiderable army together, marched againſt him as far as Jamnia; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous Year of the flood 2851: Before Chriſt 148.

† See before, vol. ix. p. 116, & ſeq.

The place he pitched upon was the ruins of an ancient Egyptian temple, within the nome of Heliopolis, which, being therefore polluted, gave no ſmall ſcandal to the Jews there, who were moreover very ſtrenuous againſt the ſetting up any temple againſt that of Jeruſalem, as being expreſsly contrary to the Moſaic law. To remove theſe two ſcruples, Onias trumped up a prohecy out of Iſaiah (2), importing, that an altar ſhould be ſet up unto the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt, and alluding to the times of the goſpel, which he applied to this new edifice he was about to build; and whereas one of the Egyptian cities there mentioned is called הַחֶרֶס עִיר, hair hacheres in the text, which ſignifies the city of the ſun, though the keri or margin reads it עִיר הַהֶרֶס, hair heres, the city of deſtruction (3); Onias took it in the former ſenſe, and ſo is ſuppoſed to have made choice of the territory of Heliopolis, as if it had been alluded to by the prophet (4). Though the laſt quoted adds another reaſon, viz. his being governor of that diſtrict, and having built a city in it, which he had peopled with Jews, and called by his name Onion.

When he had once removed theſe two difficulties, he did not want for prieſts and levites to officiate under him, ſo that the divine ſervice was afterwards performed in this new temple in the ſame manner as it was at Jeruſalem, till both were deſtroyed by the ſame Roman emperor (5).

However, thoſe prieſts, who had once officiated in the Egyptian, were never ſuffered to do ſo in the Jewiſh, but were, if we may believe the talmudiſts (6), looked upon as guilty of the ſame ſchiſm with thoſe who had ſacrificed on the high places, and as ſuch were only admitted to the very loweſt ſervices. They received their elemoſynary ſtipends out of the revenue of the temple, but were excluded from eating any of its holy things.

(2) Iſaiah xix. 18, 19. (3) Vid. Munſter in loc. (4) Scaliger in Chronol. Euſeb. Prid. Connect. ſub an. 149. (5) Vid. Joſeph Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 30. (6) Vid. Miſhn. tract. Minchoth, c. 15.

tainous parts of Judæa, for fear of losing the benefit of his cavalry, he sent him a daring message to come and fight him in the plain country. Jonathan readily accepted the challenge, and marched from Jerusalem to Joppa at the head of ten thousand men, and in his way was met by his brother Simon with a reinforcement. The town being garisoned by the troops of Apollonius, they shut the gates against the Jewish general, and obliged him to take it by siege, which he quickly did, and almost in full sight of the enemy's army. As soon as Apollonius perceived it, he came against him with eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, leaving a thousand more of these behind to surprise the Jews on the rear, whilst he attacked them in front, and so made a feint, as if he was marching with the former southward towards Azotus. Jonathan came out as he expected, and he, facing about, fell upon him, not doubting but his stratagem would gain him a complete victory. But he soon found his project discomfited by the experienced Jewish general; for having drawn up his army in the figure of an oblong square, not unlike the Macedonian phalanx, his brave troops bore the brunt of the battle on both sides with unusual firmness till the evening, when Jonathan, observing the enemy's horse to be quite spent, rushed on the sudden upon the foot which was now destitute of their cavalry, and totally routed them. The greatest part of them fled to Azotus, and sheltered themselves in the temple of Dagon, whither the Jewish army pursued them; and having made themselves masters of the town, set it on fire temple and all. The number of the slain, whether by the sword, or the flames, amounted to eight thousand. From Azotus Jonathan went and plundered some other neighbouring towns; only that of Ascalon, which met him with presents and compliments of submission, was spared, after which they returned to Jerusalem loaden with rich plunder. Alexander, soon after hearing of Jonathan's faithfulness and victory, sent him a present of a rich buckle or clasp, such as those only of the royal family used to wear, and which fastened their purple mantle to the shoulder: he gave him moreover the city and territory of Ecron, and some other marks of his esteem [x].

Jonathan challenged by Apollonius.

Defeats him.

Alexander's gratitude to him.

On Philometor's coming with his army into Palestine, on pretence to succour his son-in-law, but in reality to dispossess him of his kingdom, whether to seize it for himself as the author of the Maccabees pretends [y], or, which is more likely from the sequel, in favour of young Demetrius som

[x] Maccab. ibid. ver. 74. ad fin. [y] Ibid. c. xi. 1. & seq.

ſome of the enemies of the Maccabees tried to render them odious to him, by ſhewing him the devaſtations they had lately made, particularly the ruins of Azotus and of the temple of Dagon, and the carcaſes of thoſe they had ſlain, and which were ſtill ſtinking above ground. But that prince, whatever his reaſons were, could not be induced to ſhew any reſentment againſt them for it. On the contrary, he laid all the blame of it upon Apollonius; and when Jonathan came to pay him a viſit at Joppa with a numerous retinue, he met with a kind reception from him, accompanied him to the river Eleutherus, and returned to Jeruſalem [z].

THE reader may remember, how this prince, having given the kingdom of Syria and his daughter Cleopatra from Alexander to young Demetrius, ſurnamed Nicanor, died of the wounds he received in the laſt battle, before he could well ſettle him on his throne. Jonathan therefore took this opportunity, Egypt being then imbroiled in a civil war about the ſucceſſion, and neither able nor inclined to aſſiſt the new Syrian king, to begin the ſiege of Acra, which was ſtill gariſoned by Syrian troops, and was a great check to, and always ready to annoy, the Jews, going to and from Jeruſalem. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the beſt manner; but in the height of the ſiege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it to appear before him at Ptolemais. However he gave orders that it ſhould be carried on with the ſame vigor, as if no ſuch ſummons had been ſent to him; and taking with him ſome of the moſt conſiderable prieſts and elders of his nation, came to the court, where he pleaded his cauſe ſo well before that prince, and backed it with ſuch rich preſents, that he was received into his favour and friendſhip, and quite diſcomfited his accuſers, who were ſent away with diſgrace. After this, Nicanor confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the higheſt place among his friends, and, for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, releaſed, not only Judæa, but alſo the three toparchies of Lydda, Apharema, and Ramatha (U), from all future taxes whatſoever [a].

Jonathan beſieges Acra.

JONATHAN

[z] 1 Maccab. xi. 4, & ſeq. See alſo vol. ix. p. 119. [a] 1 Macc. Ibid. ver. 20, & ſeq. Joſeph. ant. lib. xiii. c. 8.

(U) Theſe three with their territories had been diſmembered from Samaria, ſome time before, and joined to Judæa; and the late Demetrius, in his courting letter to Jonathan, confirmed to him the poſſeſſion and immunities of them (13); and now the preſent

(13) Vid. 1 Macc. x. 30.

JONATHAN upon his return to Jerusalem doubled his strength and vigour against the fortress; but finding that it was like to hold out long and to cost him dear, he bethought himself of procuring an order from the king for the evacuation both of that and some other places, from which he complained to him the garisons were still annoying the Jews. He chose a lucky juncture for sending this request: for Demetrius having a little before disbanded his troops, had given occasion to that revolt which Tryphon raised at Antioch, and hath been spoken of in a former volume *. He was therefore glad to grant it to him, upon condition he should assist him with some of his forces to quell the rebels; and we have seen there, how effectually the three thousand men, which he sent him, did it, and at the same time retaliated to the Antiochians the many cruelties which those of their own nation had formerly suffered from the Syrians, both in Judæa and out of it [b]. Demetrius, however, instead of performing his promise to Jonathan, broke even those which he had made to him at Ptolemais, and began to insist on his paying all the taxes and customs which he had remitted to him at that interview. But it was not long before a new insurrection, in which he was driven out of his kingdom by Antiochus, the son of Alexander, made him repent of his perfidy to the Jews, and of his tyranny to his own subiects.

Demetrius's treachery to the Jews punished.

THE new king did not forget to secure the Jewish general to his interest; he confirmed to him all the former grants, and added some others to them: and among them he made his brother Simon general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea-coasts, from the ladder of Tyre to the frontiers of Egypt, upon condition, that those two brothers should declare for him. Jonathan was easily prevailed upon to forsake his old treacherous ally, and to acccept of the offers of the

Antiochus mounts the Syrian throne. Year of the flood 2855. Before Christ 144.

* See before, vol ix. p. 129. [b] 1 Macc. xi. ver. 41, & seq.

present king renews the same grant, and allots the revenues of it towards the maintenance of the service of the temple, and of the priests in duty (14).

The reader may see the letter which he sent to Lasthenes in favour of the Jews in the place last quoted. He there styles that Cretan general his father, because he had assisted him in the recovery and preserving of his crown; and commands him to send a copy of his letter to the Jewish general, to be set up on some eminent place of the temple, to be perused by all comers.

(14) Ibid. xi. 22. ad. 30. Ant. l. xiii. c 8. ad fin.

the new one: he sent him immediately an embassy to thank him for his favours, and to assure him of his best services. In pursuance of which, having obtained a commission for raising a good army, the two Jewish generals put themselves at the head of it, crossed the Jordan, and defeated Demetrius's troops that were sent to make a diversion in Galilee. In this expedition, Jonathan was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy: he had incamped his army near the lake of Genezareth, and was advancing early one morning towards Azor. In his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambush, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to surprise him. As soon as he perceived his danger, he disposed his men the best he could for a brave defence; but the greatest part of them, being seized with a panic, forsook him and fled; so that he was left with only fifty resolute fellows, and two of his commanding officers, Mattathias and Judas. With these he faced about, and fought so desperately, that the enemy began to give way; which being perceived at a distance by his runaways, they rallied again to him, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that they gained a complete victory, and pursued the Demetrians to their very camp at Cadesh. They killed of them about three thousand men [c]; after this Jonathan sent his brother to go and besiege Bethzura, which had till then been garisoned by heathens and renegado Jews, whilst himself went and secured some of the principal cities of that province; particularly that of Ascalon, which opened its gates to him; that of Gaza, which he forced to surrender, and, in a word, all the towns from thence to Damascus. Simon on his side, having made himself master of Bethzura, freed that neighbourhood from the continual insults of that garison, and returned to Jerusalem, whither his brother came also presently after.

Jonathan falls into an ambush.

Fights desperately and beats the enemy.

THESE successes of the two brothers abroad had cast such a damp on their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietness at their return. However, Jonathan did not think fit to trust to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done such signal services; but set about means of preserving the peace and liberty of his nation, on the foot he had so happily established it. To this end he sent a new embassy to Rome to renew his alliance with the senate, which was done with great readiness on their part. In their return, his embassadors were ordered to do the same with the Lacedæmonians and other Grecian states, with whom they were in

Alliance with Rome renewed.

[c] Ibid. ver. 67, & seq. Joseph. ubi supra, c 9.

friendſhip, which they did with the ſame eaſe and ſucceſs.

And with Sparta.

In their letter to the Lacedæmonians, the ſubſtance of which the reader will find in the margin (W), they reminded them of their letter formerly ſent to their high-prieſt (Onias III.) by Arius their king †, and incloſed a copy of it with their own. But whilſt theſe alliances, were tranſacting, news were brought to him that the Demetrian generals, whom he had latley defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To pervent therefore their entering into Judæa, he marched out with utmoſt expedition at the head of his forces, reſolved, if poſſible, to attack them in their own territories. He made ſuch good ſpeed, that he reached Amathis, a place on the frontiers of Syria, and incamped over-againſt them. Their deſign it ſeems was to ſurpriſe his camp on the following night, but Jonathan having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms

† See before, vol vi p. 517, & note

(W) Jonathan, high-prieſt, with the elders and prieſts of the Jewiſh nation, unto the ephori, ſenate, and people of Lacedæmon, their brethren, greeting:

" Whereas we have found, among our records, a letter long
" ſince written by Arius, one of your kings, to Onias, formerly
" high prieſt of the Jews, wherein he expreſſed your friendſhip
" and affinity to our nation, which affinity we acknowledged with
" greater honour, becauſe we find it confirmed by our ſacred
" books: We have ſent theſe our deputies unto you to renew
" the ſaid alliance and brotherly union with you, leſt we ſhould
" be thought unmindful of it, by reaſon of the long interval
" which has elapſed ſince the receipt of it.

" Be it therefore known unto you, that we have had you al-
" ways in our minds, both in our ſolemn feſtivals and in our
" prayers and ſacrifices, as our brethren and allies, rejoycing at
" your ſucceſſes, and holding with pleaſure the proſperity and
" ſplendor of your republic. As for us, though we thought
" ourſelves honoured by your friendſhip and alliance, yet we
" have hitherto forborn to be chargeable or troubleſome to you
" during all the grievous wars and perſecutions which we have
been expoſed to from our tyrannous neighbours; but now, ſince
" heaven has bleſt us us with better times, we have thought fit
" to ſend to you Numenius and Antipater, our late deputies
" to the Roman ſenate, with freſh offers of our beſt ſervices to
" you, not doubting but they will be as heartily accepted of
" by you, as they are tendered by us (15)".

(15) Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

arms all that night, ready to receive them; which being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp; where having lighted a good number of fires, to conceal their flight, they forsook it, and marched off unperceived. When the rising morning gave the Jews notice of their flight, Jonathan strove in vain to pursue them; they were already got far enough beyond the Eleutherus, before he could reach that river. To make himself therefore some amends for his disappointment, he fell upon some Demetrian Arabs, whom he defeated, and carried off a considerable plunder, and from thence passing through Damascus, making still some excursions all the way, he arrived at Jerusalem [d].

WHILST these things were doing, Simon, who had been left to take care of Judæa and Galilee, kept a watchful eye over those places he had lately secured to Antiochus in the last of those provinces. He went and took a review of the garison of Ascalon and other fortresses in that neighbourhood; and being told that the citizens of Joppa were inclined to receive a Demetrian governor and some Syrian forces, he went and took it, and put a strong garison of his own in it, and returned to join his brother at Jerusalem. Here they called a council, wherein it was resolved, that all the forts and sconces of Judæa should be forthwith repaired; that new ones should be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city should be rebuilt; and a new one be raised between mount Sion and the rest of the city, of such a height, as might effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end, that the garison off Acra, being thereby deprived from all future supply, might be the sooner either forced to surrender, or be starved in it. All these wholesome resolutions were immediately put in execution; Jonathan undertook to oversee the work within the city, and Simon that without. A strong and high wall was accordingly built by the former, which reached quite close to the old one that was then repairing, and made up that place which was called Chaphenatha, towards the east of the city, near the brook Cedron. This did so effectually inclose that mount, that the garison was not long after forced to surrender. Simon on his part went and repaired all the old forts, and added to them that of Adiba, or Adiaba, in the region of Sephala, westward of Eleutheropolis; by all which Judæa was now in a better condition

Jerusalem new fortified.

[d] 1 Macc. xi. 62. ad fin. Antiq. l xiii. c 9.

for defence, than it had ever been since their return from captivity [e].

Jonathan treacherously murdered by Tryphon.

By this time Jonathan had governed the Jewish state near seventeen years, with great wisdom and success, when he was unwarily decoyed into the perfidious Tryphon's power, and soon after murdered by him, That traytor knew but too well how vain it would be to attempt to wrench the crown from the young monarch, whilst he had so faithful and powerful an ally; and therefore spared neither promises, oaths, nor any other treacherous means to persuade him to disband his numerous army, now become, as he pretended, useless and burdensome. Jonathan, too easily prevailed upon to take that destructive step, was soon after as unhappily decoyed into the city of Ptolemais, attended only by one thousand of his men, who were all treacherously murdered by his orders, and their chief only spared till the villian had obtained a large sum from Judæa under the name of a ransom, and caused him to be massacred as soon as he had got it into his hands*. So that Jonathan died as much a sacrifice to his too generous credulity, as to his unshaken fidelity to Antiochus. As soon as the news of his being seized and kept prisoner, and of the murder of his men, reached Jerusalem, the whole city was in the utmost consternation. They doubted not, but the perfidious murderer would soon be at their gates, and be joined by all the heathens and apostate Jews, whom the bravery of their late leader had suppressed hitherto; and indeed their fears were but too well grounded; for Tryphon was making great preparations to march into Judæa, with a full resolution to extirpate, if possible, the whole nation; and all their enemies, who had been till now kept in awe, but had received a kind of new life at the news of Jonathan's being in his hands, had began to express an impatient desire to see the land once more invaded, and threatened the Jews with a severe retaliation. Simon was now the only one of the sons of Mattathias that was left, and the courage and conduct which he had shewed hitherto made him looked upon as the only fit person to succeed his brother. An assembly was therefore called at the outer court of the temple, in which he was by their unanimous consent desired to take the command upon him; which he readily did, not only as he was the next in succession, but that he might find some means, either of releasing, or, at the worst, of revenging his

Simon succeeds his brother.

[e] 1 Macc. xii. Antiq. ibid. * See before, vol. ix. p 133, & seq.

his worthey brother. To diſſipate therefore, as much as poſſible, that fear which he obſerved in their countenences, he addreſſed himſelf to them in words to this effect: You are not ignorant how bravely my father, brothers, and I, have fought in the defence of our laws and religion, our temple and our nation. They have already ſacrificed their lives for that glorious cauſe, and I am now the only ſurviving one to maintain it. God forbid! I ſhould value my own more than they did theirs, as long as I ſee you groaning under any oppreſſion. Behold me then as ready and willing as they to undertake the defence of our nation and temple, of our wives and of our children. This ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe, and the people, having in great meaſure recovered their drooping ſpirits, proclaimed him their commander and high-prieſt (X), promiſing at the ſame time to follow him through all difficulties and dangers in defence of their religion and country [g].

As ſoon as he was inſtalled in his new dignity, his firſt care was to finiſh the fortifications of the city with all ſpeed, and to get together an army ſufficient to make head againſt that of Tryphon. who was in full march againſt him, but when that traitor came to find the Jews in ſuch a brave condition of defence, he contented himſelf with ſending him word that he had ſeized his brother for a debt of a hundred talents, which he owed him, and that if he would ſend them to him, and his two ſons as hoſtages, their father ſhould be immediately releaſed. Simon eaſily ſaw through this treacherous pretence, but dared not refuſe his demand, for fear of bringing ſome unjuſt ſuſpicion on himſelf, as if he was the cauſe of his brother's detention. In the mean time, the Syrian gariſon, being ſorely preſt for want of proviſion, found means to ſend Tryphon word, and to beg his aſſiſtance; and he, having increaſed the number of his forces, was coming to their relief, but was prevented with a deep

Typhon's treachery.

[f] 1 Macc. xii. 39, & ſeq. Antiq. xiii. 10. [g] 1 Macc. xiii. paſſ. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. c. 11.

(X) It ſeems as if the aſſembly, however, had ſome ſcruple about the regularity of this election to the pontifical dignity; and therefore we find a kind of an apology made for it in the enſuing chapter (16); where, having recapitulated all his glorious deeds and his lineal deſcent from Joarib, they add, that they had choſen him their governor and high-prieſt, and intailed thoſe dignities on his poſterity, *until there ſhould ariſe a faithful prophet* (17), who might ſet them to rights about it.

(16) 1 Macc. xiv. 26, & ſeq. (17) Ver. 41.

snow, and forced to withdraw into winter quarters; soon after which he caused both Antiochus and Jonathan, with his two sons, to be murdered (Y), as we have elsewhere related; and returned to Syria. As soon as he was gone, Simon ordered their bones to be fetched from that place, and to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin, with the solemnity suitable to his rank, and then caused a stately monument to be reared over it (Z) [h].

Jonathan buried at Modin. Year of the flood 2856. Year before Christ 143.

His next care was to send an embassy to the Roman senate, to notify to them the treacherous murther of his brother, his succession to his office, and to renew his alliance with them. They were to do the same with the Lacedæmonians, and in both places they were received with great honour. Both nations shewed an uncommon resentment at Tryphon's treachery, and chearfully renewed their friendship with Simon, to whom they sent back letters of congratulation on his accession to the Jewish high-priesthood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance engraved on copper. All which being received, Simon caused them to be read before their great assembly; and then set about fortifying afresh both Jerusalem and other places of Judæa, and to raise new forces against any future invasion [i]. Having thus far strengthened himself by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other necessary stores, he sent an embassy to Demetrius, whom Tryphon had by this time stripped of

Alliance with Rome and Sparta renewed.

[h] 1 Macc. xiii. 20, & seq. Ant. ubi supra. [i] Id. ibid.

(Y) The text says, that it was at Bosçama that he caused the three last to be put to death and buried; but it is not easy to find the situation of that place; only one may conjecture, that it was in the land of Gilead, where he is said to have taken his winter quarters. Josephus calls the place Basca (18).

(Z) This noble piece of architecture stood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and being in itself raised to a great height, was seen at a great distance at sea, and served for a land-mark. It was made of white marble, curiously carved and polished. Simon caused also seven pyramids to be built round it, viz. two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the last for himself The whole was surrounded with a stately portico, whose arches were supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The top of it was adorned with shields, armour, ships, and other such embellishments curiously carved. All which were still to be seen, not only in Josephus, but in Eusebius, and St Jerom's time (19).

(18) Ant. l. xiii. c 11. (19) Ibid. Euseb. περὶ τοποτακῶν ὀνομάτων. Hier Loc. Hebr

of almoſt his whole kingdom; and, in his letter to him, offered to acknowledge him king of Syria, and to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his kingdom from the uſurper, upon condition that he confirmed him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities. He backed his offers with a rich crown of gold and ſome other preſents; and Demetrius, glad at heart to accept the conditions, ſent him a letter under the royal ſignature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amneſty and oblivion for all paſt hoſtilities, and conſtituted Simon ſovereign prince of the Jewiſh nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time Simon took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-prieſt of the Jews, which dignities having been confirmed to him and to his deſcendants on the next year, by an act of the ſanhedrin, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward to be made in his name (A).

SIMON'S

(A) In purſuance, and by virtue, of this grant, the Jews from that time ceaſed to date their contracts and other inſtruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the Syrian kings, and dated them by the years of Simon and his ſucceſſors (20). This change was made by the general aſſembly of the Jews, both prieſts and elders, wherein the ſupreme government and high-prieſthood were beſtowed on Simon, upon account of his great exploits and extraordinary merit, which are there enumerated (21); and with this further addition, that thoſe dignities ſhould be intailed on his poſterity, as we obſerved in a late note. Moreover a copy of the grant, which was inſcribed, King Demetrius unto Simon the high-prieſt, and friend of kings, and to the elders and nation of the Jews (22), was ordered to be ingraven on tables of braſs, and to be hung up in the ſanctuary, and the original to be depoſited among the archives of the nation.

This grant, which continued ſome generations in his family, was dated on the eighteenth day of the month Elul, anſwering in part to our Auguſt, in the hundred and ſeventy-ſecond year of the Seleucidæ, and the third of Simon's pontificate. It is ſaid to be given at the general aſſembly held at Sarameel, which the margin of our Engliſh verſion ſuppoſes, with Vatablus and others, to mean Jeruſalem, by tranſpoſition of the letters. The vulgate reads it Aſaramel, which, if right, may be properly enough ſuppoſed to be put according to the Greek way of writing Hebrew words and names, for chazar-mello, or the court or porch

(20) 1 Macc. xiv. 26, & ſeq. (21) Ibid. ver. 4, & ſeq. (22) Ibid. cap. xiii. 36.

Simon fortifies Judæa.

SIMON's main buſineſs now was to ſtrengthen himſelf in this new dignity, to which end, he ſet about repairing and fortifying all his gariſons afreſh, eſpecially that of Bethzura, which, being on the confines of Judæa, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the firſt places they would attempt. He therefore took care to ſecure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a gariſon of the ſtouteſt Jews. About the ſame time he ſent Jonathan the ſon of Abſalom with a good army to beſiege Joppa, which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications; and, liking the ſituation of it, built himſelf a houſe and ſettled there. The place from this time became the head ſea-port to Jeruſalem and all Judæa, being diſtant about forty miles from Jeruſalem, and opening a trade to all the Mediterranean coaſts and iſlands. Strabo [l] tells us, it was a port of the Jews in his time, and it has continued ſo ever ſince, notwithſtanding its being a dangerous one, by reaſon of the great rocks that lie before it [m]; though in other reſpects very pleaſant, being ſituate on a beautiful plain, and having Jamnia on the ſouth, Cæſarea on the north, and Ramah on the eaſt [n]. About the ſame time Simon went with another army to reduce the city of Gaza, or, as ſome more probably gueſs, that of Gazara (B), which had revolted ever ſince

Takes Joppa.

[l] Geogr. l. xvi. [m] Joſeph. Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 15. [n] Vid. int. al. Rel. Palæſt. illuſt.

porch of Millo. Millo was the deep valley between old Jeruſalem and the city of David, which that monarch, and after him Solomon, cauſed to be filled up at a vaſt labour and charge, and was therefore called by that name from the Hebrew root, which ſignifies to fill; but whether this conjecture be right, or what the meaning of Sarameel or Aſaramel is, is hard to gueſs.

(B) Dean Prideaux juſtly ſuſpects the former to have ſlipt in by the inadvertency of the Greek tranſcriber, inſtead of the latter (23), which is the Gazer or Gezer often mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorians (24); and was likewiſe called Gader, Gedara, Gaderoth, and by Strabo Gadaris (25), who places it, as the book of Maccabees (26) doth Gazara, near Aſoth, or Azotus, and Euſebius about two miles from Nicopolis (27).

For, firſt, as the learned dean above-mentioned rightly obſerves, Gazara, and not Gaza, is mentioned among the towns taken

(23) Connect. ſub an. 143 note (X) (24) Vid. int. al. 2 Sam. v. ver. ult. (25) Geogr. ubi ſupra. (26) xiv. 34. (27) ubi ſupra.

since Jonathan's death. He battered it some considerable time with his engines, and was just on the point of storming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls, men, women, and children, with their cloaths rent, and implored his mercy with such doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to spare their lives, and to send them away to shift for themselves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments, put a strong garison of Jews in it, and caused a house to be built for himself, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order °. An Gdaza.

On the next year, the fortress of Acra, which had been invested, as we hinted above, near two years, without any supply from without, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate, after it had been held by the Syrians about twenty-five years, to the great nuisance of the Jewish nation. Simon, who wanted to be rid of them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilst he and his troops entered it with palms in their hands at the sound of their trumpets and other instruments, accompanied with songs and other demonstrations of joy. At first he ordered it to be lustrated, and cleansed from all the heathenish idols and other superstitious trash, intending probably to put a Jewish garison in it. But having thought better on it, he called a grand council, and proposed to them the demolishing of both it and of the hill on which it stood. He reminded them, among the other mischiefs it had caused hitherto, of its having been a constant refuge for all the discontented and renegado Jews, and of the danger of its becoming so again, in case it should be taken from them P. This proposal met with a general approbation; the work was immediately set about, and carried on with indefatigable assiduity, during the space of three years, every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain

Year of the flood 2857. Before Christ 142.

Acra surrendered,

And is demolished.

° 1 Macc. xiii. & xiv. pass. Joseph ubi supra. P Iid. ibid. ad fin.

taken by Simon (28). Secondly, Gazara is often mentioned, as in the hands of Simon in this and the foregoing chapter; but Gaza only in this place. Lastly, he is said to have built him a house in that town (29, after he had taken it; and yet we find his son dwelling in Gazara and made governor of it; so that upon the whole, it is most likely, Gaza was only a slip of the pen.

(28) 1 Macc. xiv. 7, 34. (29) Ibid. xiii. 48. (30) Ibid. ver ult.

mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might never more be in a condition to annoy it (C). All this while Simon employed another set of hands in repairing and fortifying the outer wall, and other parts of the temple, building of new apartments, particularly a palace for himself, where he dwelt from thenceforth. In memory of the surrender of that fortress, Simon ordered a festival to be kept yearly; and that he might the more fully vacate on the religious and civil affairs of the nation, appointed his son John general of all his forces, and ordered him to fix his residence at Gazara [9], as was observed in a late note. It was in this year that the great sanhedrin and the whole assembly of the Jews confirmed to him all his dignities, and intailed them on his posterity, in consideration of the eminent services he had done to his country; which are therefore recapitulated (D) in

[9] 1 Macc. xiii. 49. ad fin.

(C) This circumstance of demolishing the fortress and the hill, which we have mentioned out of Josephus and those who have followed him, is not only omitted, but seems even contradicted by the first book of Maccabees, which affirms (31), that Simon fortified and garisoned it with Jews; and in the very next chapter, that Antiochus sent Simon a challenge to surrender it to him (32), which was three years after,

However, since that fortress was actually demolished, and the hill itself lowered to the level of the temple, it is likely, that Josephus has only antedated it by some years.

(D) Among other things that are there mentioned to his great honour, it was not a small one, that Judæa enjoyed a perfect peace during the whole time of his government, whilst Syria and other neighbouring kingdoms were almost destroyed by the wars which were then raised by competitors to their crowns, by traytors, and hostile depredations; so that it is there observed, that the Jews lived quietly every man under his vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear the fruits of their labours, and beholding with pleasure the flourishing state of their country; their trade increased by the reduction of Joppa and other maritime places; their territories inlarged; and their religion and liberties secured; their towns and other fortresses well garisoned; their army under good discipline, the land free from heathen enemies and Jewish apostates, their friendship courted by all the nations about them, and even by the Romans and Greeks, and themselves free from all foreign yoke and from danger of invasion (33).

His panegyrist adds, that he was no less zealous for the service of God, in exterminating apostacy, superstition, idolatry, and every

(31) xiv. 36, 37. (32) xv. 28. (33) Ibid. xi. 4, & seq.

in the preamble to their decree, which we have had occasion to mention a little higher.

Year of the flood 2859. Before Christ 140.

We have seen in a former chapter *, how Demetrius, driven from his dominions, had been taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, whilst Tryphon's tyranny caused a general defection from him to Cleopatra. This princess, despairing ever to recover her captive husband, sent to invite his brother Antiochus out of his retirement, to make a push for the Syrian crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the Jewish high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority, and to his nation all the freedom and immunities which had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in Judæa, which John immediately made use of (E). But when that prince had established himself on his throne

Alliance renewed with Rome, &c.

* vol. ix. p. 135, & following.

every thing else that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true Israelites and a friend to the poor; that he restored the service of the temple to its ancient splendor, and multiplied its sacred utensils; so that we need not wonder, if the Jewish sanhedrin thought no dignity or honour too great for a man of such uncommon merit.

The Jewish chronologers tells us moreover, that in his days, and about this time, flourished those two great lights of their synagogue, Simeon Ben Shetach and Jehuba Ben Tabbai, directors of the divinity school at Jerusalem; and that the former was resident, and the latter vice-president, of the sanhedrin (34).

(E) Several pieces of this Jewish coin are still preserved by the curious: the inscription of some of them is, The shekel, or half-shekel of Israel; in others, the first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of Israel, of Sion, of Jerusalem, &c. Others again are inscribed, Simon prince of Israel. What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new Assyrian characters, adopted by Ezra, but in the old Samaritan; for which no other reason can be assigned, if they be authentic †, except that Simon was willing to preserve the ancient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, and figure, and weight.

Accordingly, these, like the old ones. have on the one side a cup or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the

(34) Seph. Juchasin, Shalshel, &c.

† See what has been said, vol. iii. p. 449, 450, sub note.

throne by the marriage of Cleopatra and the death of Tryphon †, Simon, whether he ſuſpected the ſincerity of his late promiſes, or was willing to make his friendſhip to him appear more conſiderable, ſent a freſh embaſſy to Rome, to renew and ſtrengthen his alliance with that nation. Among other valuable preſents which he ſent, one was a ſhield of gold, which weighed a thouſand minæ, amounting, according to the loweſt value of the Attic mina, to ſixty thouſand pounds of our money. His deputies were received with the uſual honours, and procured letters from the ſenate to the kings of Syria, Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, and to other ſtates, to notify their alliance with the Jews, and to threaten them with an immediate war, who ſhould venture to commit any hoſtilities againſt them, and ordering them, if any Jewiſh criminals, apoſtates, or other Jewiſh outlaws had ſheltered themſelves in their dominions, to ſend them bound to the Jewiſh high-prieſt; if demanded by him.

Antiochus's ingratitude to Simon.

That to the king of Syria was indeed directed to Demetrius, it being written before that prince's falling into the hands of the Parthians; but had it been directed to Antiochus, it is likely he would have had as little regard to it, as he had to that which he had ſent to the Jewiſh chief. For even whilſt he was beſieging Tryphon in Dora, whither Simon ſent him two thouſand choſen men, with warlike ſtores, engines, and other ammunition, inſtead of accepting of them, he ſent them all back, together with a threatning meſſage to Simon, inſiſting upon his ſurrender of Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel of Jeruſalem, which he ſaid did belong to the crown of Syria, or elſe to pay him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the Jews had done in his dominions.

Athenobius ſent to Jeruſalem.

Athenobius, one of that monarch's favourites, was the perſon who was diſpatched upon that errant, and came accordingly to Jeruſalem, and beheld with wonder the richneſs and ſplendor of the high-prieſt's court, at the ſame time that he informed him of his maſter's

† vol. ix. p. 139, & following.

the other a branch, or the budding rod of Aaron, or a palm branch; ſome a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-ſheaf; ſome have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, ſuppoſed to be that of the temple.

Thoſe we have left of him are all of ſilver; whether he coined any gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

maſter's demands (F). Simon, nothing terrified at this meſſage, anſwered him coolly, that he was in poſſeſſion of nothing but what was the inheritance of his anceſtors; except indeed the fortreſſes of Joppa and Gazara, which he had been forced to ſeize, to ſuppreſs the continual ravages and devaſtations they made in Judæa: that for theſe therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents; but as to the fortreſs of Acra, he could by no means think that he had any right to demand it from him. Athenobius did not ſtay to make any reply, but went off abruptly and returned to Antiochus, who was ſtill carrying on the ſiege of Dora, and to whom he returned the anſwer which the Jewiſh pontiff had given him. He likewiſe related to him the pomp and grandeur of his houſhold, the great quantity of ſilver and gold veſſels uſed at his table, and other ſuch marks of the Jewiſh wealth, which he knew would not fail to incenſe that monarch againſt him; for, as Joſephus obſerves, he was very covetous, and conſequently ungrateful, and could not fail envying him ſo much riches and grandeur; and juſt ſo it happened. Antiochus, forgetting at once his letter, and Simon's ſervices, ordered Cendebeus, one of his nobles, to invade Judæa with a powerful army, whilſt himſelf went with another in purſuit of the traytor Tryphon *.

Judæa invaded: Year of the flood 2860. Before Chriſt 139.

CENDEBEUS, having received the government of all the coaſts of Phœnicia and Paleſtine, and being at the head of a powerful army of horſe and foot, began his expedition with fortifying the town of Cedron, or, as the vulgate perhaps more properly calls it, Gedor [r], a place advantageouſly ſituated, and putting a ſtrong gariſon in it. In the mean time, he himſelf marched towards Jamnia and Joppa, from whence he made many inroads into Judæa, took a great number priſoners, and laid waſte all that part of the country [s]. The news of it ſoon reached John, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the Jewiſh forces, and kept his reſidence at Gazara. He went immediately to Jeruſalem to acquaint his father

* 1 Macc. xv, 38, & ſeq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13. [r] De hac vid. Joſhua xv. 58. [s] 1 Macc. ibid. 40, & ſeq. Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

(F) Thus ſays the book of Maccabees (35); but Joſephus, who takes no notice of this meſſage by Athenobius, relates the ſtory ſomewhat otherwiſe, and tells us (36), that Antiochus having writ to Simon to ſend him men and proviſions for the ſiege, did alter his mind before they were come, and ſent Cendebeus preſently after to invade Judæa.

(35) Ch. xv. 28, & ſeq. (36) Antiq. l xiii. c. 12, & 13.

father with it; and Simon, being at this time too old to head the Jewish troops, called his two brave sons, viz. this John and his brother Judas, to whom he committed the command of them, charging them on his blessing, to imitate the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties (G). On this these two setting out at the head of twenty thousand choice foot, besides some horse, they incamped on the first night at Modin; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in sight of the enemy, and drew so near each other, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of John at first expressed some reluctancy to cross it; but he, ashamed to see their backwardness, flung himself first into it, and moved forward; which so animated his men, that they immediately followed him. As soon as they were got over, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obstinate onset immediately ensued, in which the enemy, being seized with a sudden fright at the sound of the sacred trumpets, did immediately give way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the rest fled, some to the sconces, which they had in the plains of Azotus, where about two thousand of them perished in the flames, John, now surnamed Hyrcan (H), having caused them to be set on fire. The rest with Cendebeus

† 1 Macc. xvi. 1. & seq.

(G) Here again Josephus (37) differs from the book of Maccabees, and makes the good old priest to forget his age, and to sally out at the head of his troops, with as much vigour and resolution, as if he had been but in his prime; so fond is he to raise the character of his own ancestors.

(H) The fourth book of the Maccabees, of which we have given an account in a former note †, tells us, that John received the surname of Hyrcan on account of his defeating a famous general of that name, and killing him with his own hand, which some think may be the Cendebeus, whom he here defeated, who might be also surnamed Hyrcanus, either because he was a native of Hyrcania, or on some other account (38).

Josephus Bengorion says, it passed from the eldest son of Simon, who was called Hyrcan, to his brother John (39). Others think he had it given him on account of his beating the Hyrcanians (40), all without any certainty; since neither the first book of

(37) Ibid. † sup. p. 97, in fin. note (Q). (38) Calmet. hist. V. T. sub A. M. 3869. (39) l. iv. c 2. (40) Euseb. in chron. S. Sever. hist. l. ii. & al.

Cendebeus fled as far as Cedron, the place lately fortified by him, and John purſued him all the way thither; after which he faced about, and came and rejoined his brother Judas, who, having received ſome wound in the action, had been forced to ſtay behind. The two brothers, having by this defeat cleared thoſe parts from the Syrian troops, led their victorious army back to Jeruſalem, without any conſiderable loſs [t]. After this Judæa continued quiet and free from invaſion, till the murder of their worthy high-prieſt, which happened about three years after, and brought Antiochus again with an army againſt that metropolis. The manner in which this perfidious act was perpetrated, is as follows.

SIMON had then a ſon-in-law named Ptolemy, the ſon of Abadus, whom he had made governor of Jericho and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but ſuch was his ambition, that nothing leſs could ſatisfy him, than his being maſter of all Judæa. This wretch took the opportunity of Simon's taking a progreſs about the country with his two ſons Judas and Mattathias, to invite them to his caſtle of Dog, where he prepared a ſumptuous entertainment for them. The old pontiff, who ſuſpected nothing leſs than what was deſigned againſt him, was eaſily perſuaded to accept of the invitation; but after they had feaſted and drank pretty freely, ſome ruffians, whom he had privately poſted, ruſhed upon the three gueſts and murdered them. His deſign was to have cut off Hyrcan alſo, who was then at Gazara; and to this end he diſpatched ſome meſſengers to invite or bring him to him: but, happily for him, one of his father's retinue had eſcaped the ſlaughter, and had brought notice to him of what had paſſed; ſo that Hyrcan was before-hand with him, and cauſed his meſſengers to be taken and put to death (I). Hyrcan, thinking himſelf now no

Simon treacherouſly murdered.

[t] 1 Macc. xvi. 1, & ſeq.

of the Maccabees, nor Joſephus, give us any reaſon for it; beſides, we have ſeen that all the ſons of Mattathias had their particular ſurnames; ſome of them more uncommon, and as little to be accounted for as this of Hyrcan.

(I) Thus far goes the firſt book of the Maccabees, which concludes its epocha of forty years with this eſcape of Hyrcan, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of chronicles (41) long ſince loſt; ſo that we muſt now fill up the ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory for the moſt part out of Joſephus; in the following of whom care ſhall be taken to diſcover ſuch errors of

(41) Cap. ult. ver. ult.

no longer safe there, made the best of his way to Jerusalem, whither Ptolemy arrived as soon as he. Both offered themselves

of his, as are either accidental or otherwise, by comparing him with himself or other historians, till we come to the sacred ones of the New Testament; so that whatever we find in him, either that bears not an authentic face, or clashes, or has been confuted by other authors, will be either thrown into the margin, or, if of small moment, quite set aside.

To begin then with some of the improbabilities with which he continues the history of this high-priest, he tells us (42), that as soon as he was installed in his new dignities, he put himself at the head of the Jewish army, and went and besieged Ptolemy in his castle of Dog or Dagon, where he still kept alive Simon's wife and his two sons, contrary to the book of Maccabees, which says, that he assassinated the two latter with their old father, and mentions nothing of the wife.

He goes on, and tells us, that, as Hyrcan went on with the siege, Ptolemy caused his mother and two brothers to be brought upon the walls of the castle, and there had them severely scourged, threatening at the same time to cast them headlong down, if he did not desist; and that the old lady, observing her son to relent at the sight of her danger and cruel usage, made signs for him to go on with the siege, and to take no thought of her safety or life; and that her son, being unable to see them so cruelly tortured, did as often slacken his hand.

At length, continues he, the sabbatic, or seventh, year being come, which was a year of rest as well as the seventh day, and Hyrcan upon that account being obliged to raise the siege, gave the murderer an opportunity to escape beyond Jordan; so that having put to death his three prisoners, he retired to Zeno surnamed Cotylas, who had usurped the government of the city of Philadelphia.

The fourth book of the Maccabees tells us much the same story, and only differs in two circumstances from Josephus The first is, that Gaza, and not Jerusalem, was the place where Hyrcan was received and preferred to the assassin; and the second, that the feast of the tabernacles, and not the sabbatic year, obliged that pontiff to repair to Jerusalem to perform the function of his office; during which solemnity Ptolemy found means to escape far enough out of his reach.

This account, did it not contradict the first book of Maccabees, which expressly says, that the father and the two sons were murdered at the same time (43), would be much more probable than that of Josephus, at least with regard to the suspension of the siege; since

(42) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 14, & 15, & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 2.
(43) Cap. ult. ver. 16.

ſelves at different gates and demanded admittance; but Hyrcan was received out of reſpect to his worthy father, whilſt his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulſed. Hyrcan was immediately declared prince and high-prieſt in his father's ſtead, and put himſelf at the head of his army, fortified himſelf in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own ſafety, and for that of the city and country. On the other hand, Ptolemy, ſeeing himſelf diſappointed of his deſigns on Hyrcan and Jeruſalem, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe ſome of the heads of the Jews over to his intereſt by ſumptuous promiſes, was at length reduced to the neceſſity of writing to Antiochus, to acquaint him with what he had done, and to beg of him to come to his aſſiſtance; promiſing him at the ſame time to reduce all Judæa under him, provided he made him governor of it. Antiochus, whom the late defeat of Cendebus had ſtill more exaſperated againſt the Jews, did eaſily embrace his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his aſſiſtance; but whether through fear, or for whatever other reaſon, the rebel did not think fit to ſtay till his arrival, but fled to Zeno, tyrant of the city of Philadelphia. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of the Maccabees adds to what we obſerved in the laſt note, that after he had killed the mother and two brothers of Hyrcan, he fled, and retired into ſome place where he could not be come at, whilſt Hyrcan was detained at Jeruſalem to perform the prieſtly function, it being then the feaſt of tabernacles. All that we know is, that no further mention is made of him, either by Joſephus or the firſt book of the Maccabees, ſince his flight into Philadelphia.

ANTIOCHUS, allured into Judæa, partly at the news of the brave Simon's death and of the riches of his ſucceſſor, and partly

ſince there is no law that obliged the Jews to abſtain from war, eſpecially a defenſive one, during the ſabbatic year: if there had, how could they have continued a nation without a miracle? And yet Joſephus not only affirms it to have been the cauſe of Hyrcan's raiſing the ſiege of Dagon, but of Antiochus's taking the advantage of it to invade Judæa and beſiege its metropolis. This ſiege of Dagon is therefore juſtly called in queſtion by ſeveral learned men (44).

(44) Vid. int. al Salien. annal. ſub A. M. 3919, & 3920. Vide & Uſſer. ſub A. M. 3869.

Judæa invaded. Year of the flood 2834. Year before Christ 135.

partly by the fair offers which the traitor Ptolemy had made to him, entered Judæa on the ensuing year with a powerful army, and went directly to besiege Jerusalem, driving Hyrcan all the way before him, till he had shut himself up with his men into that metropolis. To inclose him the more effectually, Josephus tells us [u], that he caused two deep and spacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into seven camps; so that all possibility of ingress or regress was entirely stopped. He reared likewise one hundred towers; the fourth book of the Maccabees says one hundred and thirty, which were three stories high, upon which he placed his men to annoy those that defended the walls, whilst he was battering them from below. Josephus adds that his army suffered some time for want of water, and was at length relieved with a good lasting rain. On the other hand, the besieged made a vigorous defence, and, by their frequent sallies, did greatly annoy the besiegers (K). As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or

Jerusalem besieged.

provisions, Hyrcan bethought himself at first of a way of ridding himself of all useless mouths, by putting them out of the city; by which means they, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, must infallibly have been starved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raised the compassion of those within the walls was the approaching feast of tabernacles, which was usually solemnized with great joy and feasting, and could not but have been very much disturbed by the cries of their perishing brethren without. Hyrcan then sent to Antiochus to desire a truce of seven days, that they might quietly celebrate that festival; which was not only readily granted, but that prince, being thereby stirred up to some sense of religion, sent them a considerable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with

Antiochus's piety.

[u] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

(K) To what we have related of this siege out of Josephus, the fourth book of Maccabees adds, that as Antiochus was ordering the sapping of the walls, he observed, that the foundations were of timber; upon which he caused them to be set on fire, which soon brought down a great part of the wall; but that the besieged coming instantly to defend the breach, not only hindered the besiegers from entering the town, but drove them back, and made a stout sally after them, in which, besides a great number of the Syrians, which they killed, they destroyed most of the enemies towers.

with several rich vessels of gold and silver [w], filled with precious perfumes, and some money and other necessaries; which were, by Hyrcan's orders, thankfully received by the priests at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple (L). This unexpected instance of the king's piety and liberality gave him some hopes, that a peace might probably be obtained from him with the same ease. He was not mistaken, and Antiochus, whether tired with the brave and constant defence of the besieged, which is not unlikely, if the account we have just now given in a note out of the fourth book of the Maccabees is not exaggerated, or moved by some other reason, granted it to him, upon the conditions following:

Grants peace to the Jews.

THAT the Jews should deliver up their arms; that the city wall should be demolished; and that John should pay him a certain tribute for Joppa and other towns he held out of Judæa. The king insisted hard upon two other conditions, namely, that they should receive a Syrian garrison into their metropolis; and secondly, that the fortress of Acra should be rebuilt. The first of these they bought off at the price of five hundred talents, three hundred of which were to be paid instantly, and the rest at some distance of time. They likewise engaged to put into the king's hands a sufficient number of hostages to secure him of their future allegiance, that they might be wholly free from any commerce with strangers. As for the second, Hyrcan, who remembered what a grievous thorn in their side the late fortress had been to them, would by no means agree to the building of a new one; and the king, according to his usual clemency, remitted this also. And yet Josephus tells us, that when this peace was transacting, the city was reduced to the last extremity, having quite exhausted all their provisions; and, which is still more surprizing, that the besiegers were so well informed of it, that they earnestly pressed the king to make use of so favourable an opportunity to destroy and extirpate the whole Jewish nation, which they traduced to him in the bittersest terms, as the pest of mankind, and sworn enemies of all other nations; so that, all things considered, it seems as if providence had interposed in their behalf, and had mollified that monarch's heart towards

[w] Idem ibid. Vide & Plut. in Apophtheg.

(L) In this, and the following particulars relating to the peace, Josephus and the fourth book of the Maccabees agree, tho' they seem to differ in those which relate to the siege and the defence made by the besieged.

wards them. And a heathen author owns [x] with Joſephus, that it was owing to his ſurprizing goodneſs and generoſity, that the whole nation had not then been entirely deſtroyed, and that they obtained a peace upon ſuch eaſy terms.

HOWEVER that was, the peace was ſigned on both ſides, and the proper hoſtages ſent to Antiochus, among whom was Hyrcan's brother; the city was diſmantled; the money paid; and the ſiege raiſed: but Hyrcan was forced to make uſe of a ſtrange expedient to procure the three hundred talents ſtipulated. It ſeems their treaſury was then at ſo low an ebb, that it could not furniſh him with that ſum; ſo that John was forced to open a hidden treaſure, which had been laid up by ſome of the kings of Judah [y]; Joſephus ſays the tomb of David [z], from which he took out three thouſand talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predeceſſors, nor was after him by any, except by Herod (M). With this freſh ſupply he paid Antiochus

[x] Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l. xxxiv. & apud Phot. cod. 244. [y] Lib. 4. Maccab. [z] Ubi ſupra. ad fin. & bell Judaic. l. iv. c. 2. & alib.

(M) The ſtory of a hidden treaſure, whether laid up by David, or by any of his ſucceſſors, is juſtly ſuſpected by the judicious, as a fable invented by thoſe two authors, without any foundation; only that of the Maccabees delivers it as a common report; whereas Joſephus affirms it both of Hyrcan and Herod without heſitation.

That both David and Solomon heaped immenſe riches, we have formerly ſeen; but that they cauſed any part of them to be hidden under ground, much leſs in their own tombs, is no-where ſaid, either by the ſacred or apocryphal writers; but the contrary may be fairly deducted from them. For, if they had left any ſuch hidden treaſure, is it likely, that their wicked ſucceſſors, who made no ſcruple to rifle the temple of its ſacred utenſils and ornaments (45), would have left it untouched? Is it likely, that good king Hezekiah would have choſen to take all the ſilver and the gold veſſels of the temple, and even tear off the gold with which the gates, pillars, and other parts of that ſacred building were covered (46), rather than to break into this immenſe, but uſeleſs, treaſure?

Again, is it probable, had there been any ſuch depoſitory, that ſo many Aſſyrian and Chaldean monarchs, as had formerly rifled both city and temple, would not have got ſome knowledge of it, and gutted it of all its riches? And if they had till then been

(45) Vide int. al. 2 Kings xvi. 8, & ſeq. xviii. 18. (46) Ibid xviii. 15, & ſeq.

tiochus, and undertook, what had never been done before, to take a number of foreign troops into his ſervice. This peace was followed with an alliance with Antiochus, after which that monarch was invited into Jeruſalem with his chief officers, where he was received and feaſted in a ſumptuous manner, and, after mutual aſſurances of friendſhip and aſſiſtance, the king ſet out for Syria, and Hyrcan about repairing the breaches and damages which had been made during the ſiege. This peace was made on the ninth month after Simons death (N). Hyrcan was punctual in his promiſes to that prince

Year of the flood 2868. Before Chriſt 131.

for been preſerved by ſome kind of miracle (for nothing leſs could do it) how ſhould Hyrcan dare to break in upon them, and not rather, like the good king abovementioned, have rifled the temple of ſome of its valuable ornaments, which, by what we have ſeen hitherto, were by this time grown very numerous and coſtly, by the generoſity not only of his predeceſſors, but of foreign princes?

We have lately ſeen, that there was a treaſury or bank in the temple, part of which conſiſted of donatives for the ſupport of the poor, partly of the portions and dowries of the fatherleſs and widows, and partly of the ſubſtance of the richer ſort, who depoſited their wealth there for ſecurity *, beſides that which was allotted for the maintenance of the divine ſervice (47). Now, if we conſider, that they were ſo continually harraſſed with wars, invaſions, and oppreſſions, it is not improbable, that they kept theſe riches in ſome proper ſubterranean places, known but to a few truſty men at the head of affairs, and kept the whole as much a ſecret as poſſible; if therefore Hyrcan was now hard put to to raiſe money, is it not more probable, that he borrowed it out of this bank, till better times enabled him to repay it?

But when Herod did totally rifle it for his own uſe, if ever he really did, might he not trump up this plauſible ſtory, that it had been depoſited there by David, or his ſucceſſors, againſt times of need? And might not that cunning monarch colour this wicked deed with the ſpecious pretence, that Hyrcan, a perſon of unexceptionable character, had done the ſame thing upon the like emergency †?

(N) Joſephus (48) tells us, that, in the firſt year of Hyrcan's pontificate, a prieſt of the family of Joarib, named Matthias Aphlias, was married to a daughter of the late Jonathan, by whom he had Matthias Curtus, who begot Joſephus, who was his grandfather.

In the ſecond year of the ſame Hyrcan, came from Jeruſalem into Egypt Jeſus the ſon of Sirac, a learned Jew, who there tranſlated

* Supra p. 101, ex. 2 Maccab iii. 10. (47) Ibid. ver. 6. † Vide Salien. Uſſer. & Prid. (48) In vita ſua.

for some years after, and did him several signal services in his war against Phates, spoken of a little higher *, and bore a great share in the victories which that prince gained against him. Some authors think [a], that it was in this war that John got the name of Hyrcan, on account of some signal victory he gained over the Hyrcanians. However that be, Josephus tells us [b], on the authority of N. Damascen, that Antiochus shewed him so much regard, as to halt two days on account of the feast of pentecost, because it beginning that year on the day immediately following the sabbath, it was not lawful for the Jews to march on these two days.

Antiochus's death. Year of the flood 2869. Before Christ 135.

Antiochus was soon after defeated and killed, as has been elsewhere related †; and Hyrcan, in his return to Jerusalem, took Aleppo, and laid it under a tribute [c]. After this, finding that the kingdom of Syria was rent with intestine disturbances, and their cities naked and defenceless, he marched thither with a good army, resolved to seize upon such of them as lay most convenient for him. The first he took was that of Madeba, which cost him a six month's siege. From thence he went to that of Samega, which he subdued, with several others both in Arabia and Phænicia [d]. From this time we may date the total deliverance of the Jews from the Syrian yoke; for neither he nor any of his descendents paid either homage or obedience to those monarchs ever afterwards, but lived free and independent from them [e]. From thence he turned his arms against the Samaritans, and took Shechem and mount Garizzim, and the temple formerly built by Sanballat, and demolished it, after it had stood two hundred years; together with all the edifices, altars, and monuments which had been built there by Jezabel, and put several of the Samaritan priests to death (O). The following year

Hyrcan shakes off the Syrian yoke.

His conquests.

* See vol. ix. p. 141. [a] Eusеb. in Chron, Sulp. Sever. & al. [b] Antiq. l. xiii. 16 † See vol. ix. p. 141, 142. [c] 4 Maccab. [d] Idem. Joseph. Antiq. l xiii. 17. Strabo, Geogr. l. xvi. [e] Justin. ex. Trog. l. xxxvi. c. 1.

translated the book of Wisdom, written by Jesus his grandfather, into Greek, for the use of the hellenistical Jews (49). We have already spoken of that work and its author in a former note, to which we refer (50).

(O) These two last particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the Maccabees, Josephus says nothing of; but only

(49) Vide prolog. in eund. (50) Pag. 113, note (F).

year Idumea was likewise conquered by him [f], where he caused proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all those that would not be circumcised to depart out of the land; but the Idumeans chusing rather to forsake their old idolatry than their country, submitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the Jewish commonwealth (P).

In the year following Hyrcan sent Simon the son of Dositheus and Apollonius the son of Alexander, on an embassy to the Roman senate, to renew the alliance they had lately made with Simon his father, and sent some valuable presents

Hyrcan renews his alliance with Rome.

[f] Joseph. ubi. supra. & al. xv. c. 11. Strabo, ubi. supra, See also, vol. ii. p. 171.

only mentions the demolishing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt; however, the Shechemites built themselves an altar there, on which they offered their sacrifices, according to the Mosaic law, and have continued to do so ever since.

(P) From that time downward to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, they continued in the Jewish religion; so that the word Idumean signified no more than incorporated Jews, in contradistinction to those that were so by natural descent (1); and from their total dispersion, the former name has been entirely absorbed in the latter.

With respect to these Idumean proselytes, it will be proper to observe here, that Herod, who obtained afterwards the kingdom of Judæa, was of that race. From his reign therefore the Jewish writers began to style it מלכות הגרים malkuth hagerim, the kingdom or reign of proselytes or strangers; which not being observed by Scaliger and Munster, they have translated it the kingdom of the Hagarens; but our learned Usher has sufficiently confuted that mistake (2); and we shall further shew, when we come to the reign of that prince, that he was really one of these Idumeans, incorporated into, and thereby intitled to all the privileges of a natural Israelite. There was indeed to be this difference in the true Edomites, that they could not intermarry with them till the third generation, according to the law of Moses (3); but as we have shewn these Idumeans to be of a different race, or rather a mixture of other nations, how that matter was regulated by the sanhedrin, we know not. We

(1) Vide Prid. connect. sub. ann. 129. note t. & Buxtorf. lexic. Rabbin. sub voce אדום (2) Sub. A. M 3875. (3) See before, vol. ii. p. 171, & iii. p 321, Vide & Deut. xxiii. 7, 8.

by them (Q). These met with an honourable reception at Rome, and a ready compliance with all their demands. The senate, besides the renewing of the alliance, granted the Jews the possession of Joppa, Gazara, and some other places, which Antiochus had taken from them, and ordered the embassadors a sum out of the publick treasury, to defray their charges homewards. They likewise sent letters to all the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass in their return, to see them treated with all the marks of honour due to their charecter. The senate likewise ordered, that all the complaints they had exhibited against the Syrians should be redressed; declared null and void all that Antiochus, or his successor, had done, or should do, contrary to their late league with the late Jewish high-priest; that the Syrians should reimburse to them all the losses sustained by them, and appointed commissaries to come and see the purport of their decree fully executed. The embassadors had likewise desired letters from the senate, directed to all the princes and free states with whom they were in alliance, to recommend the Jewish interest to them; but there being at that time other important matters on the tapis, the affair was deferred for further deliberation; and they returned to Jerusalem highly satisfied with what they had.

A second embassy sent to Rome.

This embassy having so well succeeded, Hyrcan, on the next year, sent a new one with fresh presents, to thank the senate

We have heretofore observed †, that the word Edomite and Idumean, which often occurs in the rabbinic writings, is not that of any nation, but the name by which they call the Christians, against whom they write, and is indeed one of the civileſt; but they oftner use those of goi, heathen, and Nozri or Nazarite, and sometimes that of Samaritan and Cuthean; which caution we here repeat, to prevent those that read them being mistaken by any of those feigned names.

(Q) Among these the fourth book of Maccabees mentions a large dish and a shield, amounting to fifty thousand pieces of gold. That author mentions some other particulars, which are not in Josephus; such as, that the embassadors were made to sit down with the Roman consul; that they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and that the letter which they brought from the senate to Hyrcan, did give him the name and title of king, which that pontiff took upon him, and bore it thenceforward. The letter is there related at full length; but as it contains nothing particular except that inscription, we shall refer the reader to that book for it.

† Vol. ii. p. 171. note.

ſenate for their laſt favour and to obtain a ratification of all their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily granted, and the embaſſadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may ſee at full length in Joſephus (R). By theſe

(R) Here Joſephus has again committed a manifeſt blunder, by inſerting this decree in the wrong place (4), and inſtead of another then granted by the ſenate upon another occaſion, and at the recommendation of Julius Cæſar, to Hyrcanus the ſecond. This has been fully proved by ſeveral learned men whom the reader will find in the margin (5); and he may further convince himſelf by comparing the contrariety between the decree itſelf and the occaſion upon which the Jewiſh hiſtorian there quotes it, with reſpect to the following particulars;

1. He ſays it was obtained for the rebuilding of the city wall demoliſhed by Pompey: but there is not a word in the decree about the wall, but only of renewing and confirming the former alliances. 2. The decree was dated on the ninth year of Hyrcanus, who could not be the ſecond of the name; for if it had been obtained to this laſt by Julius Cæſar, it muſt have fallen in the ſeventeenth, not of his reign, for that he had been diſpoſſeſſed of by Gabinius, but of his prieſthood, which was all the dignity that was left to him, as Joſephus himſelf owns in another place (6); and if his reign were to be dated, not from his reſtauration by Pompey, but from the death of his mother, it muſt have been the twenty-third, and not the ninth of his reign.

Again, there is a manifeſt difference between the dates of the preamble to and the decree itſelf. The one dates it the ninth of Hyrcan, in the month Panemus, anſwering to our July, and the other the ides (or thirteenth) of December. From all which it is evident, that Joſephus has, by a miſtake, inſerted here one decree for another; and that this belonged not to any year of Hyrcanus the ſecond, but to the ninth year of Hyrcanus the firſt.

Another ſtrong proof of this is; Numenius the ſon of Antiochus, who is mentioned in the decree as one of the embaſſadors ſent by Hyrcan to procure it, is the ſame who had been ſent about ſeventeen years before, on the like errand, to Rome by Jonathan, as we have already ſeen; he might therefore be ſtill young enough to be ſent on this new embaſſy in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the firſt; but muſt have been long dead and rotten before the decree obtained by Cæſar in favour of Hyrcanus the ſecond, there being near eighty years diſtance between them.

To

(4) Antiq. l. xiv. 16. (5) Scalig. animad. in chron. Euſeb. num 1671. Uſſer. annal. ſub. A. M. 3877. Salien. ſub. A. M. 4007. ſect. 36. Prid. connect. ſub. ann. 127. (6) Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10.

theſe alliances John ſaw himſelf more and more ſtrengthened in his dominions, whilſt the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt were ſtill troubled with continual wars. Alexander Zebina having by this time mounted the Syrian throne *, was glad to make him his friend; but being ſoon after killed, and ſucceeded by Antiochus Gryphus, this laſt did ſo reſent it, that he was preparing himſelf to invade Judæa; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at Cyzicum, and coming againſt him. Hyrcan left them to fight it out between them, without concerning himſelf on either ſide, chuſing rather to enjoy his ſovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immenſe treaſures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flouriſhing land, and from thoſe countries which he had lately ſubjected to his dominions. At length ſome hoſtilities, which the Samaritans committed againſt the Mareſſans (S), who were then in friendſhip with him, gave him a fair handle for renewing the war, which he had lately begun againſt thoſe of the city of Shechem. He went therefore with his two ſons Ariſtobulus and Antigonus, at the head of a powerful army, and with all the proper engines for the ſiege of Samaria, which had been ſince rebuilt and fortified (T). Theſe

* See vol. ix. p. 146, & ſeq.

To all this may be added, that the decree here inſerted is that of an alliance made by proper embaſſadors between the Roman ſenate and a free ſtate, ſuch as the Jewiſh was in Hyrcan the firſt's time; whereas that obtained by Cæſar for Hyrcan the ſecond was not an alliance by embaſſy, but a favour conferred on the Jews, in conſideration of the ſervices they had done the Roman general in the Alexandrian war; at which time they were no longer a free, but a conquered nation, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſoon ſhew.

(S) The city of Mareſſa, or Mareſa, which ſtood at about two miles diſtance from Eleutheropolis, had been ſome time before taken by him, and ſince retaken by the Syrians, under whom it now was; but ſtill in alliance and friendſhip with the Jews (7).

(T) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that theſe Samaritans were not of the old race and ſect ſo much hated by the Jews; for theſe, we have ſeen a little higher, had been either deſtroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by Alexander the Great, for the murder of his favourite Andronicus; immediately after

(7) Vide antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

Theſe encompaſſed the city with a wall and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thouſand paces circuit; by which they ſoon reduced the city to ſuch ſcarcity of proviſions, that they began to eat all manner of unclean beaſts, ſuch as cats, dogs, and other carrion. In this extremity they found means to ſend and implore the aſſiſtance of Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was now on the Syrian throne*, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief [g].

Samaria beſieged. Year of the flood 2889. Before Chriſt 110.

In the mean time, the grand expiation day being at hand, Hyrcan was obliged to go to Jeruſalem to perform the office of it, and left his two ſons to carry on the ſiege. Upon their hearing that Antiochus was coming againſt them, Ariſtobulus was diſpatched with part of the army to meet him. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the Syrians were totally routed, and purſued as far as Scythopolis; and Antiochus eſcaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the ſiege was renewed with ſuch vigour, that Antiochus was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a ſecond battle, contented himſelf with ſending ſix thouſand men to make a diverſion in Judæa, in hopes to oblige the Jews to raiſe the ſiege; neither were theſe his own troops, but ſuch as he had with ſome dificulty obtained from the king of Egypt. We have already ſeen the ill ſucceſs of this expedition in a former volume, as well as the betraying of Scythopolis to Hyrcan by Epicrates, and the ſurrender and utter demolition of Samaria †. From this time Hyrcan became more and more powerful, and made himſelf maſter not only of all Paleſtine, but added alſo unto it the provinces of Samaria and Galilee; all which he enjoyed to the end of his life without any moleſtation from without, or diſcords from within his dominions. His reign was no leſs remarkable on the account of his great wiſdom and piety at home, than his conqueſts abroad. Never did the Jewiſh religion or commonwealth appear in greater luſtre ſince the return from captivity; but that which raiſes his

* See vol ix. p. 151. [g] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. † See vol. ix. p. 154.

after which he repeopled the place with Syro-Macedonians, or a mixture of Syrians, Macedonians, and Greeks.

Theſe being ſettl:d there did encompaſs the town with a double high wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications; thoſe therefore are miſtaken, who think, that the Jewiſh hatred againſt the former ſort of Samaritans was the occaſion of this war; for theſe were all heathens, and conſequently ſtrangers to the diſputes and intailed enmity between theſe two.

his glory, above any of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors, was, if we may believe Joſephus [h] and the fourth book of Maccabees[i], his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely, the royal dignity, the high-prieſthood, and the gift of propheey. Of the laſt of theſe we ſhall give two or three inſtances out of thoſe authors in the margin (V); but the ſecond, or high-prieſthood, tho' he had exerciſed it in ſuch a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the ſource of ſuch perſecutions from the proud and hot-headed Phariſees, as quite embittered the latter end of his reign, if not ſhortened his days. It is under his reign that this ſect, as well as thoſe of the Sadducees, and Eſſenians, of which we have already ſpoken ſomething, are ſuppoſed to have ſtarted up. This therefore may be thought a proper place of ſpeaking of them more at large, as well as of that of the Caraites, which ſprung up afterwards; but as each of thoſe four ſects had many favourite tenets, quite oppoſite to the ſpirit and doctrine of the goſpel and its divine author, and proved ſo many invincible obſtacles againſt its reception, we ſhall defer ſpeaking of them, till we come to that glorious epocha. By this means the reader will have them ſo freſh in his mind, and, as it were, in one

[h] Antiq. ubi ſupra, & bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 3. [i] Cap. vii.

(V) Joſephus affirms him to have had very extraordinary viſions and revelations, more particularly about his own children. He tells us for inſtance, that on the day on which his forces defeated thoſe of Antiochus, himſelf was then offering up incenſe in the moſt holy place, where he heard a voice telling him of the victory gained by his ſons.

As he was very fond of thoſe two brave youths, he was no leſs importunate with heaven to know which of them was to ſucceed him; but, to his great mortification, he ſaw in a viſion a third ſon, not yet born, who was pointed at as his ſucceſſor. This grieved the good old man ſo much, it ſeems, that when Alexander was ſoon after born, he ſent him to be privately brought up in Galilee; but this did not hinder the viſion being verified by the ſequel; of which he was made, however, ſo ſenſible before he died, that he foretold the reigns of his two eldeſt ſons Ariſtobulus and Antigonus to be but ſhort, after which Alexander would ſucceed them.

There are ſome other ſingularities related of him, which have ſtill more the air of fables, and therefore not worth mentioning; only this one is very remarkable, if true, that the ſtones of the breaſt-plate and the carbuncle on his ſhoulder quite loſt their luſtre after his death, and never recovered it ſince.

one view, that, instead of wondering at the Jews rejecting so universally the person and doctrine of the Messiah, he will rather look upon it as a kind of miracle, that so many of that blind and prepossessed nation should so readily embrace them.

But, to return to our subject, Hyrcan had always shewed himself a zealous stickler for the Pharisees; they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and enjoyed the most considerable posts under him, whilst the other two were despised and kept under by him. But an untimely piece of condescension towards them, or perhaps rather of vanity, from which the best of men are not always exempt, gave one of the heads of that imperious sect, named Eleazar, an opportunity to cast a reflection against him, which touched him in the most sensible part. It was no less than calling in question his legitimacy, at least as being less pure and undefiled than the Mosaic law requires in a high-priest; and this he did by pretending, that his mother had been formerly a slave, intimating thereby, that either she was not of Jewish extraction, or else, that being so, she had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to prostitute herself for a maintenance. The story being as Josephus assures us, absolutely false, and only trumped up by that proud Pharisee to mortify the good old prelate, we shall throw it in the margin (W), and only add, that Eleazar's

(W) Hyrcan's desire to ingratiate himself still farther to this imperious sect, which he observed to grow daily more and more the darling of the people, by reason of their specious pretence to a greater degree of sanctity, made him one day, after he had given some of the heads of them a most sumptuous entertainment, ask them, if they had any thing to object or to find fault with against his government, that he might rectify it; since he had always made it his chief study and delight to act with the utmost regard to God, and according to the rules and maxims of their sect.

Whilst therefore the rest of the company were extolling his piety, zeal, valour, and conduct up to the skies, the surly and turbulent Eleazar started up, and, with his wonted ill-nature, told him, that if he was really desirous to deserve the praises which his brethren had so lavishly given him, he ought to devest himself of his high-priesthood, and be content with the civil government of the nation. Being asked the reason of so strange a proposal, he answered him, That they were well assured, upon the testimony of antient persons still living, that his mother had been taken captive in the wars, which rendered him incapable by the law of Moses † to succeed to the pontifical dignity.

This

† See what has been said of these marriages, vol. iii. p. 255.

zar's baſe ſuggeſtion, and the partiality of his brotherhood in aſſigning him a condign puniſhment, did ſo exaſperate the high-prieſt againſt the whole ſect, that from that time he gave himſelf up wholly to that of the Sadducees, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront as hatched againſt him by the whole Phariſaic body, tho' one only of them had had the courage to blab it out. From thenceforth therefore there grew the bittereſt enmity between him and that revengeful ſect, who ceaſed not to raiſe troubles and ſeditions againſt him during the ſhort time he lived, and againſt his ſons after him. Hyrcan was then in the twenty eighth year of his pontificate, when this quarrel happened, and he died in the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the Phariſaic crew, who left no ſtone unturned to blacken his memory, and to get into the ſame credit and authority they had formerly enjoyed under him (X) [k].

HYRCAN

[k] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.

This malicious ſuggeſtion, it ſeems was reſented by all the company; but much more by the old pontiff, who thereupon reſolved to take ſome ſignal ſatisfaction for the calumny caſt on his mother and himſelf. He had then a favourite friend named Jonathan, a zealous Sadducee, who took occaſion from it to intimate to him, that Eleazar was but the tool and mouth of the Phariſaic ſect; but that the ſlander muſt have been concerted by the whole party. To convince him of it, he adviſed him to conſult the brotherhood concerning the puniſhment of the calumniator, and he would ſoon find, either by their lenity or ſeverity towards him, whether they had any hand in the calumny.

Hyrcan took his advice, and aſked the heads of that ſect, what puniſhment they thought Eleazar deſerved for raiſing ſuch an impious and unjuſt ſlander on the prince and high-prieſt of their nation? expecting, no doubt, but they would have condemned him to death; but, to his ſurprize, they told him, that as calumny was no capital crime, the ſevereſt puniſhment, he could inflict on him, was that of ſcourging and impriſonment.

There wanted no more to convince the pontiff of the truth of what Jonathan had ſuggeſted to him; ſo that from that time he became an irreconcileable enemy to the whole ſect, forbad, under ſevere penalties, the obſervance of their commandments and traditions, and became a zealous patron of the oppoſite ſect of the Sadducees. On the other hand, the Phariſees became mortal enemies, not only to him and his family, but to the whole Sadducean party; and never ceaſed plotting againſt them till they had gained the ſaddle again; which they did in ſome few years after, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(X) Joſephus is very inconſiſtent in the years of this prelate's reign

HYRCAN is affirmed by Josephus to have built the stately tower, or rather castle, of Baris (Y), the same which served afterwards for a palace to the Asmonean princes. and was some time after rebuilt, enlarged, and fortified by Herod, and called by him Antonia, in honour of Marc Antony. This castle was built upon a steep rock, fifty cubits high from the valley that ran beneath it to the top on which the building stood, and was inaccessible on all sides, except that towards the temple, with which it was even. It was of a square figure, two forlongs in compass; that is, half a furlong, or three hundred feet, on every side. The rock stood without the outer square of the temple, and upon the same mountain with, and on the north-side of it, running parallel with its outer wall, but encompassed with that which Simon had built to stop the communication between the temple and the fortress of Acra. Here Hyrcan built an appartment where he deposited

reign, if there be not some error crept into the copies we have of him, and in the Latin version of Ruffinus; for in one place (8) he gives him thirty-three, and in two others (9) thirty-one; yet Eusebius out of him gives him but twenty-nine (10), and so doth St. Jerom in his Latin version of him, and elsewhere (11), and rightly too; for, as the learned Usher observes in the place last-quoted, Simon, Hyrcan's father, died in the 177th year of the Grecian kingdom, and in the 11th month Sebat (12) answering to the 4579th of the Julian period; and his wife Alexandra, who reigned after his sons, died, as the sequel will shew, in December 4644 of the same period; so that the distance is 65 years, and about nine months; from which if we subtract the 37 years which Josephus allows to her and her sons, the remainder will be 28 years and 9 months.

(Y) St. Jerom, in his comments on those sacred books, which were written after the Babylonish captivity, such as those of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and on some other prophets (13), observes the word Baris to be of Chaldee extraction, peculiar to Palestine, and to signify a house or castle inclosed on every side. In the same sense the Septuagint have used it likewise; and as that word in the plural is Βαρεις, which likewise signifies heavy, their interpreters have sometimes taken it in the latter sense without any reason, and puzzled thereby several places of scripture, which were plain enough in the former signification, particularly the ivory palaces mentioned by the psalmist (14).

(8) Bell. Judaic. l. i. 3. (9) Antiq. l. xiii. 18. & l. xx. 8. (10) In chronic. & demonst. Evang. l.viii. 2. (11) Comm. in ix. Dan. Vide & Usser. annal. sub. A. M. 3896. (12) Vide 1 Maccab. xvi. 14. (13) Vide & comm. in Ferem. xvii. & Hos. ix. (14) Psal. xliv. 8. Vide Calm. sub voce Baris.

depoſited his pontifical robes and ornaments, whenever he deveſted himſelf of them to vacate on his other affairs; which method was afterwards obſerved by his ſucceſſors. Here he kept his court and ſpent moſt of his time; and ſo did they after him [l], till Herod, obſerving the ſtrength of its ſituation, turned it into a fortreſs; in which, however, the prieſtly attire was ſtill kept, even after the Jews were ſubdued by the Romans, and under the cuſtody of the commander of that garriſon, called by St. Luke the captain of the temple [m]. This officer kept them in his cuſtody under lock and ſeal, and delivered them up to the high-prieſts upon all ſolemnities in which they were required; immediately after which they were put into his hands again, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

HYRCAN left three ſons, according to the fourth book of Maccabees (Z), or five, according to Joſephus [n], who gives us, however, the names but of four of them; namely, Ariſtobulus, who was alſo called Judas, and ſurnamed Philellen, by reaſon of his fondneſs for the Greeks; 2. Antigonus; 3. Alexander, and Abſalom, who was the youngeſt. What was the name of the fourth he no-where tells us. Ariſtobulus ſucceeded his father in all dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the Moſaic law; and having a great affection for his brother Antigonus, he admitted him to ſhare the government with him for ſome ſhort ſpace; after which, upon ſome ſuſpicion or diſlike, he cauſed him to be put to death. The other three he kept cloſe priſoners during his ſhort reign, which laſted but one year, which he yet ſtained with

Ariſtobulus ſucceeds Hyrcan. Year of the flood 2892. Before Chriſt 107.

His cruel reign.

[l] Bell. Judaic. l. vi. 5. Antiq. l. xviii. 6. Vide & Lightfoot's view of the temple, c. 7. [m] Acts xxi 31. & ſeq. & alib. [n] Antiq. l. xiii. 19. & l. xiv. 8. bell. Judaic. l. i. 3.

(Z) This author adds (15), that Hyrcan was ſo exceſſively fond of his two eldeſt ſons, that he would name neither to the ſucceſſion, but left it wholly to providence to direct it. On the other hand he bore as great an averſion to Alexander, who had been pointed out to him as his ſucceſſor in a viſion, of which we have ſpoken in a late note, but yet without attempting any thing againſt him to prevent it.

Joſephus, on the contrary, tells us, that he left the government to his wife during her life, tho', by the cruelty with which her eldeſt ſon uſed her, one would rather think, that ſhe had forged ſome ſuch will againſt him.

(15) Cap. vii.

with his own mother's blood; for that princeſs having claimed a right to the ſovereignty, by virtue of Hyrcan's will, her unnatural ſon not only ſhut her up in a priſon, but there barbarouſly ſtarved her to death. Soon after this he aſſumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe Joſephus, had never been done by any of his predeceſſors [o], who had till then contented themſelves with the title of governors, or at moſt with that of prince (A). As ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade Iturea; but being taken ill in the midſt of his ſucceſſes, he was forced to be brought back to Jeruſalem, and to leave his brother to complete the conqueſt of that province (B); which he ſoon after did, cauſing all the Itureans either to be circumciſed and incorporated with the Jews, or elſe to depart into ſome other country [p].

Invades Iturea.

WHILST he was carrying on this ſucceſsful war, there wanted not thoſe at court, who, envying his happineſs, endeavoured to prepoſſeſs the ſick king with ſtrange ſuſpicions againſt him. The queen more particularly ſeemed to have conceived ſome irreconcileable hatred againſt that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened ſoon after, when Antigonus innocently furniſhed her with the means of working it more effectually. For as ſoon as he had finiſhed the conqueſt of Iturea, he marched directly to Jeruſalem, it being then the feaſt of tabernacles; and being

Antigonus murdered.

[o] Antiq. l. xiii. 19. & bell. Judaic. ubi ſupra. [p] Id ibid. c. 20.

(A) We have ſeen, however, in a late note *, that Hyrcan took the royal name and dignity upon him long before. Strabo ſays (16), that it was Alexander, Ariſtobulus's ſucceſſor, who firſt took that title upon him.

(B) This province was ſo called from Itur the ſon of Iſhmael, whom our Engliſh and ſome other verſions wrongly call Jetur. It was ſituate on the other ſide of Jordan, on the north-ſide of the half tribe of Manaſſeh, between that and the territories of Damaſcus; ſo that it made one part of Cœle-Syria, and did lie on the one ſide of Judæa, as Idumæa, formerly conquered in the ſame manner, did lie on the other. It had the province of Battanea on the eaſt, and the Trachonitis mentioned by St. Luke (17) on the ſouth (18). The Reubenites, Simeonites, and Manaſſites, are ſaid in the chronicles to have invaded theſe territories (19), and to have ſubdued the Itureans.

* Supra, p. 200. (Q). (16) Lib. xvi. (17) c. iii. 1. (18) Vide Reland. Paleſt. l. i. c. 22. (19) 1 Chron. v. 19.

ing in haſte to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his ſucceſs and his vows for his brother's recovery; he went directly thither in his armour, without ſtaying to ſhift his cloaths, and accompanied with a number of his men. This was immediately interpreted to the timorous king as a manifeſt attempt upon his life, to which he gave but too eaſy credit. However, to ſatisfy himſelf more fully about it, he ſent him orders to put of his armour, and to come immediately to him, which, if he complied with, would ſufficiently juſtify him; but if not, would fully prove his treaſonable intent. The king was then at his caſtle of Baris, mentioned a little higher, where he ordered ſome of his guards to be privately poſted in the ſubterranean gallery, through which Antigonus was to paſs, and who were charged to murder him, if he preſumed to come armed to him. But the miſchievous queen corrupted the meſſenger, and made him go and tell the young prince, that his brother having heard his armour highly commended, deſired to ſee him in it immediately; ſo that when Antigonus came to paſs through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him and killed him (C). The king however, was ſoon undeceived, and could not think upon his brother's murder without reflecting on the more cruel one, which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorſe of

(C) The gallery here ſpoken of was, it ſeems, under one of the towers of the caſtle called upon ſome account or other Straton's tower; and ſo verified according to Joſephus, the prediction of one Judas, of the ſect of the Eſſenians, concerning this prince's death. This man, who was then at Jeruſalem, had foretold, ſome time before, that Antigonus ſhould be killed on that very day at Straton's tower; but as he underſtood it of another more famed on the ſea-coaſt, and at a diſtance from this, he was not a little ſurprized to ſee that prince come to the temple, looking upon it as a demonſtration of the falſhood of his prediction, ſince, the day being already far advanced, it was impoſſible for him to reach it, it being above ſix hundred furlongs from Jeruſalem.

This threw him into ſuch a fit of raving, that he vented his complaints for the ſuppoſed deluſion in a very indecent manner, and, Jonas like, cried out, it had been better for him to have been dead, before he had been found a falſe prophet. Whilſt he was in the height of his murmuring, news was brought of Antigonus's murder, and the name of the tower convinced both him and the reſt of the truth of his prediction (20).

(20) Antiq. l xiii c. 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

of which encreaſing his diſeaſe, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A ſervant happening ſoon after to ſpill ſome of that blood, which he was carrying away in a baſon, upon the very ſpot where that of his brother Antigonus was ſtill to be ſeen; ſome of the by-ſtanders, thinking he had done it wilfully, gave a great cry, which was heard by the king. He ſent to aſk the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; which made him ſtill more deſirous of knowing it. At length he forced the fatal ſecret from them, which threw him into an exceſs of grief and deſpair, which he vented in words to this effect: Since the privacy of the place could not hide from God's all-ſeeing eye the deteſtable deed I have committed, but I muſt now vomit up my own blood, as it were, by drops, to atone for that which I have ſo inhumanly ſhed, would not a ſpeedy death be much more deſirable to me? He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after, having reigned but one year (D), and was ſucceeded by his brother Jannæus, or Alexander, whom the queen Salome, called by the Greeks Alexandra, releaſed out of priſon with his other two brethren, and cauſed him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldeſt of the three, and of a milder diſpoſition than either of them.

He was, however, forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made ſome treaſonable attempt againſt him; but was much kinder to Abſalom the youngeſt of all, whom finding contented to lead a private life under him, he took under his protection as long as he lived; and ſo privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till about forty-two years after, when, having engaged in the war againſt the Romans, he was taken by Pompey and ſent priſoner to Rome. Alexander being a ſubtle and warlike prince, and Syria being then torn by civil wars between the contending brothers, Antiochus Cyzicenus and Antiochus Gryphus *, and therefore in no capacity to

* See before, Vol. ix. p. 151, & ſeq.

(D) Ariſtobulus had ſo far ingratiated himſelf to the Greeks, of whom he was exceſſive fond, that they were great admirers of him; and Joſephus quotes one of their authors (21), who gives him the character of a prince of great equity and beneficence; but the actions of his ſhort reign ſhew him to have been of a quite different diſpoſition.

(21) Timagen. ap. Strabon. ex Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupra.

oppoſe him, he led an army in the very firſt year of his reign againſt the city of Ptolemais; but met with worſe ſucceſs in that ſiege than any of his predeceſſors had done, being forced to raiſe it to ſuccour his own territories, which were invaded by Ptolemy Lathyrus, who took from him the city of Azochis in Galilee, and carried off ten thouſand captives, and gave him ſoon after a dreadful overthrow near the banks of the Jordan, as we have ſeen in a former chapter †. This defeat, in which he loſt thirty thouſand men, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners, and which was a juſt reward for his treachery to that prince, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into Judæa, Alexander being now in no condition to have ſtopped his progreſs; had not Cleopatra come to his aſſiſtance. It was indeed that princeſs's intereſt not to let Lathyrus grow too great, and be thereby enabled to come and wreſt the crown from her; but there was another ſpring that moved her to what ſhe did. The Jews of Alexandria were highly in her favour, and Chelkias and Ananias, two of the moſt conſiderable, being the ſons of Onias the high-prieſt, who built the Jewiſh temple at Alexandria, were at the head of affairs: and theſe could not behold Judæa in ſuch imminent danger from an exaſperated enemy, without uſing all their intereſt with that queen to prevent it. We ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid in a former chapter ** concerning the ſucceſs of her arms againſt that competitor. Alexander reaped ſo far the benefit of it, that it obliged Lathyrus to ſet aſide the invaſion of Paleſtine for ſome time; and Cleopatra being come to Ptolemais, which had ſurrendered to her, the Jewiſh monarch came to acknowledge her favour to him by preſents ſuitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in diſtreſs, and who had no other refuge than her friendſhip; but that which ingratiated him moſt to that politic princeſs was, his being an enemy to her ſon Lathyrus, who was by that time returned into Paleſtine, and had taken his winter quarters at Gaza.

Year of the flood 2895. Before Chriſt 104.

Year of the flood 2897. Before Chriſt 102. Alexander aſſiſted by Cleopatra.

During Alexander's ſtay with Cleopatra, ſome of her friends adviſed her to take ſo favourable an opportunity to make herſelf miſtreſs of Judæa; which would at once encreaſe her dominions and ſtrength, and give her a ſuperiority over her competitor. But Ananias the Jew lately mentioned, who was one of her head generals, diſſuaded her from ſuch an attempt,

† Ibid. p. 249, & ſeq. ** Ibid. p 247, & ſeq.

attempt, alledging that it would be very ungenerous and unjuſt to diſpoſſeſs of his dominions an ally, who was come to implore her friendſhip and aſſiſtance; that it would leſſen her character in the eyes of the world, and, above all, make her deteſted by all the Jews. Theſe reaſons, joined to the influence which that general, who was Alexander's kinſman, had over her, did not only divert her from her deſign, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of Scythopolis; after which Alexander returned to Jeruſalem, where, being now pretty ſecure of any danger from Lathyrus, he recruited his broken army, and, croſſing the Jordan, went to beſiege Gadara, and took it at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to Amathus, another ſtrong fortreſs on that ſide of the river, into which Theodotus the ſon of Zeno tyrant of Philadelphia, had laid up an immenſe treaſure; and took it in a much ſhorter time than he had that of Gadara; and with it all Theodotus's treaſure, But he did not keep it long; that prince, having got together a numerous army, fell ſuddenly upon him, as he was returning from the ſiege, killed him ten thouſand men, routed the reſt, recovered all his wealth, ſeized on Alexander's baggage, and carried off a conſiderable plunder from his men [q]. This defeat, however, did not diſcourage Alexander from purſuing his warlike views, only it afforded great matter of triumph to the Phariſees, his implacable enemies, who took occaſion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to uſe all poſſible means to make his crown ſit uneaſy on him.—

Takes Gadara.

Year of the flood 2899. Before Chriſt 100.

As ſoon as Alexander had recruited his army, he ſtayed not in Jeruſalem to quell the Phariſaic faction, but left them to make the moſt of his late diſgrace, whilſt he went to vent his reſentment on the treacherous Gazeans, who, by inviting Lathyrus againſt him and furniſhing him with auxiliaries, had been the cauſe of his late overthrow. He immediately beſieged the towns of Raphia and Anthedon, ſince called Agrippias by Herod: theſe two places ſtood at a few miles diſtance from Gaza, by which means having in ſome meaſure blocked up this laſt, he on the next year ſet about beſieging it with a powerful army. The city, being then under the command of Apollodotus, a man of great valour and conduct, made a ſtout defence againſt him one whole year, and in one ſally were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer it might have held out in all likelyhood, had not the brave governor been treacherouſly murdered by his own

Goes againſt Gaza.

[q] Antiq. xiii. 21.

His cruelty to the Gazeans.

brother Lysimachus, and the place betrayed by him to the besiegers. Alexander upon his entering it made great shew of clemency to the Gazeans, but soon betrayed his rancour and cruelty against them, by abandoning them to the fury of his men; who thereupon made such horrid slaughter of them, as was like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the Gazeans, standing desperately on their own defence, killed him almost as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at last glutted himself with the blood of those unfortunate wretches, he vented the rest of his resentment on that great and antient city, by reducing it into a heap of ruins; after which he returned with his army to Jerusalem [r]. The fourth book of Maccabees adds [s], that he took afterwards the cities of Emath and Tyre, but Josephus says nothing of it.

But whilst he had been abroad with his army, the Pharisees, who, as we hinted before, bore a mortal hatred to him and his whole family, had taken such means to exasperate the people against him by evil surmises and slanders, which they privately instilled into them, that it broke out at last into an open affront, which came little short of rebellion. They chose the feast of tabernacles, on which solemnity they go to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, especially that of a kind of citron, which they call attrog, with the fruit upon it (E); and when he was performing the

[r] Ibid. [s] cap. xxix.

(E) This attrog, which the Jews imagine to have been the forbidden fruit which our first parents eat in paradise, very much resembles a citron or lemon, except that it has on the rind some unevenness, (such as we observe sometimes in the Seville orange) and which they fondly believe to have been originally impress upon it by Eve's planting her teeth upon it, from which time they think that fruit has retained the print of it on both sides.

Where-ever therefore it is to be had, they carry it during this festival in their hands to the synagogues, as they did then to the temple, and are very curious in the choice of such only as best represent that fatal bite; and as our Jews here, and in Holland, Germany, &c are forced to have it from some parts of Greece, none but the richer sort are able to purchase it; and it sometimes happens, either through contrary winds, ships being taken or cast away, that there is such a scarcity of them, that the price of them advances to a guinea a sprig. Those who are curious enough

the prieſtly office at the great altar, probably on the laſt day of that ſolemnity, they pelted him, not only with thoſe attrogs, but with the moſt injurious reflections and opprobrious language, crying aloud, that ſuch a ſlave as he (F) was unworthy of either the pontifical or regal dignity. This inſolence, which ſeemed the fore-runner of ſomething worſe, did ſo exaſperate the pontiff, that, ſuſpending his office for a while, he ordered his ſoldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob; which they did with ſuch ſpeed and fury, that they killed ſix thouſand of them, and diſperſed the reſt [t]. As ſoon as the tumult was quelled, he cauſed the court of the prieſts to be incloſed with a wooden wall, to prevent ſuch inſults being offered to him for the future, and at the ſame time provided for his further ſafety, by taking into his pay ſix thouſand auxiliaries out of Piſidia and Cilicia, being afraid to truſt his perſon any longer to the guard of thoſe of his exaſperated nation, who, as he found now to his great grief, were not to be quelled by the greateſt ſeverities, nor mollified by the greateſt lenitives. So that being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he marched out of Jeruſalem at the head of his army, croſſed the Jordan, and went and deſtroyed the city of Amathus, without meeting with any oppoſition from Theodotus, who contented himſelf with carrying off his treaſure and garriſon, leaving the city to his mercy; ſo dreadful was become the name of Alexander by

Alexander pelted by the people. Year of the flood 2904. Year before Chriſt 95.

[t] Antiq. xiii. 21. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

enough may ſee them on that feſtival in their ſynagogues, it ſeldom or never happening but ſome quantity is brought over againſt that time. But when it doth, they are forced to ſubſtitute ſome other odoriferous tree inſtead of it; but the poorer ſort content themſelves with branches of willows.

On the ſeventh day, which cloſes the feſtival, they break their branches or throw them away; and we ſuppoſe it was on this day that the mutinous crowd did pelt the high-prieſt with thoſe attrogs, they being ſo common at that time in Paleſtine, that the meaneſt people might purchaſe them.

(F) By calling him a ſlave, it is plain, they harped upon that ſcandalous ſuggeſtion of Eleazar mentioned in a late note, of his mother having been a ſlave. But the true foundation of the Phariſaic grudge was his treading in his father's ſteps, not only in careſſing the oppoſite ſect, but in continuing the penal laws againſt thoſe who ſhould obſerve the traditions and cuſtoms introduced by the Phariſees. This was ſuch a crime againſt them, that nothing but his blood could expiate, and they did not ſcruple to tell him ſo ſoon after, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

this time to all the nations round about. From thence he marched againſt the Arabians, whom he ſubdued; after which he laid the Moabites and the mountaineers of the land of Gilead under tribute. Soon after this, as he was carrying on the war againſt Obedas king of the Arabians, he fell into an ambuſh near Gadara, where he was forced by a large drove of camels into a ſtreight ſo narrow and craggy, that it was with the greateſt difficulty that he eſcaped and regained his own metropolis (G). Here he found, to his great mortification, that the news of this laſt defeat had not only reached the place, but had given a new life to his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever againſt him. His endeavours to quell them, as he had done before, did now but encreaſe the tumult, till it broke out into an open inſurrection againſt him. He was, however, too wiſe and brave to be either ſurpriſed or terrified by it, but quickly gathered a number of forces to make head againſt them. A civil war immediately enſued, which laſted ſix whole years, during which above fifty thouſand of the rebels loſt their lives, beſides thoſe he loſt on his own ſide (H), and the innumerable calamities it brought on the Jewiſh nation.

Makes war abroad.

The Phariſees cauſe a rebellion.

ALEXANDER, however, though he ſtill got the better of them, was ſo weary with deſtroying both his people and country, that he ſpared no means, no offers or promiſes, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels, and they of the Phariſaic leaven, every advance

(G) Joſephus mentions theſe wars ſo confuſedly, that it is impoſſible to gueſs at what time they happened, or how long they laſted. It ſeems as if he had lumped them thus together at the fag end of a chapter (22), to ſhew his readers what a warlike prince Alexander was, and that his neighbours led but a weary life during his reign. Perhaps it would have been better for him to have continued them longer, ſince his return to Jeruſalem proved the cauſe of freſh tumults, which ended at laſt in an open rebellion.

(H) The fourth book of the Maccabees tells us, that this inteſtine war was between the Phariſees and Sadducees; and that Alexander having declared himſelf againſt the former, had put fifty thouſand of them to death, within the ſpace of theſe ſix years; which did ſo exaſperate the reſt of them, that they would hearken to no accommodation, but ſent to invite Demetrius king of Syria to come to their aſſiſtance againſt him (23).

(22) Ant. l. xiii. in fin. cap. 21. & Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3. (23) Cap. 29.

vance he made did but harden them the more. At length, being reſolved, if poſſible, to bring them to a better mind, he ſent ſome of his friends to know what would ſatisfy them, promiſing to grant them whatever they ſhould in reaſon and juſtice demand. To this they unanimouſly cried out, that he muſt cut his own throat, telling him at the ſame time, that he ought to think highly of them, if they thought his death a ſufficient recompence for the blood he had ſhed, and the miſchiefs he had brought upon his nation [u]. This anſwer made him loſe all hopes of an accommodation, and look out for ſome more effectual means to ſuppreſs their horrid inſolence, whilſt they, on the other hand, ſent to Damaſcus, to beg of Demetrius, ſirnamed Eucherus, to come to their aſſiſtance [w].

DEMETRIUS came accordingly into Judæa with an army of three thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot, who were partly Jews and partly Syrians; and Alexander came againſt him with another, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Greek auxiliaries and twenty thouſand Jews; each of them tried ſome time to gain over the troops of his competitor, Demetrius to debauch the Greek auxiliaries to forſake the Jewiſh king, and this latter to bring over thoſe Jews that were in the Syrian army. But all their efforts proving vain, they came at length to a deciſive battle, in which Alexander was defeated, and forced to flee to the mountains for ſhelter, with the ſmall number of men that ſtuck cloſe to him. This is the account which Joſephus gives us of this action, wherein he again claſhes with the fourth book of Maccabees, which makes the advantage to have been vaſtly on Alexander's ſide, as the reader nay ſee in the margin (I). But be that as

Alexander defeated by Demetrius.

[u] Id. ibid. [w] Ibid. c. 22. Bell. Judaic. ubi ſupra.

(I) This author tells us (24), that Alexander defeated the Syrian king, and purſued him quite to Antioch, where he kept him beſieged three whole years; that at length Demetrius, having ventured out with his army againſt him, was killed; and that Alexander after this ſecond victory came back to Jeruſalem, where he was well received by the people; that he went afterwards and ſubdued the Idumeans, Moabites, Ammonites, Philiſtines, and Arabian mountaineers; but all this ſeems exaggerated, and Joſephus's account is perhaps more juſtly preferred to it, who is ſeldom leſs liable to ſuſpicion, than when he ſpeaks againſt his

(24) Chap. xxix.

as it will, the former tells us, that he was reduced by this defeat to such a low ebb, that he seemed irrecoverably lost, when an unexpected accident turned again the balance on his side. Those Jewish troops, whom he could not, with all his art and fair promises, withdraw from the enemies army, before the battle was fought, were now, upon his losing it, taken with such a fit of compassion, that they came all over to him; so that Demetrius, fearing lest the defection should still encrease, left Judæa and marched against his brother Philip. This retreat gave Alexander an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched against the rebellious Jews, and beat them in every engagement he had against them; though without being able to bring them to submission, or in the least abate the fury of their resentment against him, till a decisive battle put an end to the war. In this last action Alexander cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the rest, at least the chief of them, to Bethome, where he closely besieged them, and on the next year made himself master of the place; and here it was that he began to let loose the reins of his fury against them, in such barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our historian has not exaggerated the matter. He caused eight hundered of the principal of them to be carried to Jerusalem, and there to be all crucified, in one day and at one place; and as if this had not been punishment sufficient to appease his resentment, he caused their wives and children to be brought and butchered before their faces, whilst they were hanging each upon their cross. But what swells the account of his barbarity almost beyond all credibility is, that he caused a banquet to be prepared for himself and his concubines, near enough to this scene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their sufferings. Hence the historian adds [x], that he had the name of Tracidas or Thracian giving him, that nation being infamous above all others for their horrid barbarities; and was indeed a name

Relieved.

Year of the flood 2913, Before Christ 86.

His cruelty to the rebels.

[x] Id. ibid.

his own nation. Yet it must be remembered here, that Josephus was a zealous pharisee, and Alexander an inveterate enemy to, not to say in some measure a prosecutor of, that whole sect; and how far this consideration may have sowered the pharisaic leaven in that historian, and have made him represent that prince as less successful than he really was, and guilty of such cruelties as he was a stranger to, may be easily guessed.

a name rather too good for him, if he was really guilty of all theſe cruelties.

AFTER this dreadful havock the rebels did quite diſperſe themſelves, and eight thouſand of them diſappeared on the very night following, aud never more moleſted him during the remainder of his reign, ſo that from that time forth the phariſaic faction never dared to lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this, the king of Syria, intending to invade the territories of Arabia Petrea, marched his army through part of Judæa, which was the only paſſage he could have to come thither. Alexander, who ſuſpected him to have ſome deſign againſt him, endeavoured in vain to obſtruct him, by drawing a deep trench twenty miles long, that is, from the town of Capherſaba, now Antipatris, quite to the ſea of Joppa, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient diſtances. Antiochus forced his way through them and penetrated into Arabia, where he loſt his life, as we have ſeen elſewhere*; and Alexander, being rid of that fear, marched his army over Jordan, to recover ſome of thoſe places in Arabia and the lands of Moab and Gilead, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to ſurrender during the civil wars, to prevent the Arabian king's ſupporting his rebellious ſubjects. This brought Aretas, now both king of Arabia and Cœle-Syria, into Judæa, where he defeated Alexander; but having ſoon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to purſue his other conqueſts. Alexander accordingly marched againſt the city of Dion, and took it by aſſault[y]. Pella was taken next[z], after which he went and beſieged Eſſa, alias Geraſa, into which Theodotus had ſecured all his treaſure; and having built a treble wall about it, took it by ſtorm, and carried off all the rich plunder he found in it. The inhabitants of Pella having refuſed to be circumciſed, he forced them, according to the cuſtom of the Aſmonean princes, to leave the country, and their city was demoliſhed. Alexander marched from thence and took Gaulana, Seleucia, the valley of Antiochus, and Gamala, and ſtripped Demetrius, who commanded in thoſe places, of his principality, becauſe he had been guilty of ſome foul crimes and malverſations. This expedition took him up three whole years, after which he returned triumphant to Jeruſalem, and brought Demetrius priſoner with him thither, where his late conqueſts gained him the loud acclamations of his ſubjects[a]. But giving himſelf from thenceforward to drinking

His conqueſt,

* See Vol. ix. p. 157. & ſeq. [y] Antiq. ibid. 23. [z] Bell. Jud. l. i. 4. [a] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

drinking and other debaucheries, he was ſeized with an obſtinate quartan ague, which ſtuck to him till the day of his death, which happened about three years after. All this while, neither his diſtemper, nor his pleaſures, which he ſtill purſued, could alleviate his invincible thirſt after conqueſts (K). Perhaps alſo he was in hopes to overcome the one by the other; but it happened quite otherwiſe, and his ſtrength being quite exhauſted by fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before Ragaba, a fortreſs in the territories of the Geraſens, beyond Jordan, which he was then beſieging, in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign [b].

His death. Year of the flood 2920, Before Chriſt 79.

He left two ſons at his death, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to his wife Alexandra, during her life, and then to which of her two ſons ſhe ſhould think fit to leave it. The queen, who was then with him at the ſiege, ſeeing him to be paſt recovery, addreſſed herſelf to him, all in tears; and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, repreſented to him the extreme danger ſhe and her children were going to be expoſed to, from the inveterate grudge which the phariſaic faction did ſtill bear to him and to all that belonged to him; and who, being the idol of the people, would not fail to make her feel the effects of their bittereſt rancour, by raiſing up new ſeditions againſt her, as they had formerly done againſt him, and perhaps to the total extirpation of his race. As her fears were but too well grounded, they could not but awake thoſe of her dying huſband

[b] Ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(K) Witneſs the vaſt number of places he died poſſeſſed of, in Syria, Idumea, Phœnicia, Arabia, &c. beyond all his predeceſſors, and which we ſhall here ſubjoin out of Joſephus, that the reader may have them all in one view †.

Along the ſea, the tower of Straton, the ports of Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocorura. In the mid-land of Idumæa, Adora, Mariſſa, and all Samaria, with the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr, and the cities of Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulona, Seleucia, and Gabala. In the land of Moab, Heſhbon, or Eſſebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Telithon, and Zara In Cilicia, Aulon and Pella; this laſt and that of Gaza were demoliſhed, as we have ſeen before. Beſides thoſe he conquered in Arabia, and was forced to ſurrender to Aretas, and many more in the land of Gilead, and ſome freſh ones in the land of Syria, whoſe names our author has omitted; and what a ſubject would there have been for a lofty panegyric, had the hiſtorian been a ſadducee, or the prince a phariſee! and how truly is the ſaying verified, Cedunt arma togæ!

† Antiq. l. iii. 23.

band, who, luckily for her, happened to have ſtill preſence of mind enough to bethink himſelf of an expedient, which would effectually put her out of all danger from that revengeful ſect. Having therefore thought ſome time upon it, he ſpoke to her to this effect: "You know, ſaid he, but too well the cauſe of our mutual enmity; and ſince your ſecurity and happineſs muſt riſe or fall, according as you make them your friends or your foes, when I am dead, be ſure to conceal the ſecret from my army, till they have taken the fort; and then lead them triumphant to Jeruſalem, carry my body along with you, and, as ſoon as you are come thither, ſend for the principal leaders of that factious ſect, and lay it before them, and tell them that you wholly ſubmit it to them, either to give it a burial, or to throw it in the high-way, for the injuries I have done them. Aſſure them at the ſame time, that as to yourſelf, you are ſo entirely devoted to them, that you deſign to place them again at the head of affairs, and that you will do nothing without their advice and conſent. Give them immediately ſome marks of your favour and friendſhip, and then you need not doubt, but they will not only extol me to the ſkies and give me a royal burial, but will likewiſe ſupport you, and my ſons after you, in the peaceful enjoyment of your kingdom". He juſt lived to give her this ſalutary counſel, and then expired in the forty-ninth year of his age.

His dying advice to his queen,

ALEXANDRA was too wiſe not to follow his injunctions, if they were really his, and not a pretence trumped up by that politic princeſs. However, it had the deſired effect; and the Phariſees, glad to ſee themſelves again at the head of affairs, were beyond meaſure laviſh of their praiſes and honours to the deceaſed king. They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they beſtowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wiſdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. He did certainly right in that, ſeeing his eldeſt ſon Hyrcanus, who was then about thirty years of age, was a prince of a ſluggiſh diſpoſition, without ambition or ſpirit. Him therefore the queen thought fit to nominate to ſucceed his father in the pontifical function, not ſo much out of reſpect to his primogeniture, as becauſe he was leſs likely to interfere with the affairs of ſtate than the younger brother; who, being of a more enterprizing genius, was for that very reaſon ſecluded and confined to a private life. But though ſhe had ſo carefully ſecured her prerogative from any attempt from her two ſons, yet was ſhe far enough

from

from enjoying it ſo abſolutely and quietly as ſhe expected. For the Phariſees, as they grew more and more powerful, grew alſo more and more inſolent and intractable, inſomuch, that the fear of their raiſing a new rebellion forced her to conſent to many of their demands, much againſt her will, as well as her intereſt.

THE firſt thing they obtained of her was, a total revocation of all the edicts which Hyrcan the firſt, and the late king, had made againſt their conſtitutions and traditional doctrines; the next was, an amneſty for all their faction, together with the releaſe of ſuch of their brethren as had been confined ſince the late civil war; and the third was, the recalling of all thoſe who had been either baniſhed or forced to fly the country ſince the concluſion of it, and their being re-admitted into the poſſeſſion of all their forfeited eſtates. By the firſt of theſe, the Phariſaic traditions grew again into credit, by which means they became more and more numerous; and that ſect being at full liberty to impoſe them on the people at their pleaſure, they not only became an intolerable burden to the people, but by degrees quite obliterated the written word, of which they were pretended to be the true ſenſe and explanation; and by the other two decrees, they ſo encreaſed and ſtrengthened the party, that the queen was now afraid to deny them any thing; whereby they became ſtill more exorbitant in their demands, till they let her ſee plainly that they deſigned to leave her only the name of ſovereignty, and the power to command her ſubjects to obey them. She retained indeed ſix thouſand auxiliary troops in her pay, by which ſhe kept at leaſt her neighbours and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time freſh hoſtages from them [c]. But as the Phariſaic crew looked upon this as the effects of their friendſhip to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themſelves, and ſoon gave her to underſtand, that nothing leſs than the total extirpation of the Sadducees, who were the only ones that ſtuck cloſe to the late king, ſhould purchaſe the continuance of their friendſhip and aſſiſtance. They began with inſiſting upon her puniſhing all thoſe, who had counſelled him to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned, with immediate death. Accordingly Diogenes, one of the chiefs of the Sadducees and a confident of Alexander, was preſently diſpatched, and after him a great many others, againſt whom they laid the ſame accuſation, right or wrong, that is, againſt as many of that ſect, as they thought had been too attached to that monarch's ſervice [d].

Year of the World 2922, Before Chriſt 77,

Sadducees proſecuted,

THESE

[c] Antiq. ubi ſupra, comp with l. xx. c. 8. & bell Jud. l. i c. 4

[d] Id ibid.

THESE proſecutions were continued ſeveral years, though much againſt the queen's mind, who could not but feel ſome lively remorſe to ſee ſo many of her huſband's moſt zealous friends daily butchered; but the Phariſees ſtill inſiſting, that to put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities would be to ſtop the courſe of juſtice, contrary to the laws of God, and the ſecurity of every good government; the fear of a new inſurrection, the dreadful effects of which ſhe had ſo lately felt, made her ſtill look upon thoſe executions as the leſſer evil of the two. At length ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons of that perſecuted party, having got young Ariſtobulus at their head, came to the royal palace, to beſeech the queen that ſhe would put an end to their miſery. They reminded her of their great ſervices and invincible loyalty to her late huſband, and that it was in conſideration of them that he had beſtowed on them thoſe marks of his favour and eſteem, which expoſed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to ſuffer the late king's beſt and moſt loyal friends, to be thus daily ſacrificed to the rancour of his ambitious and bittereſt enemies, in a time eſpecially of a profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witneſs of all the difficulties and hardſhips they had ſuffered with and for him. They concluded with their earneſt prayer, that if ſhe could not ſuppreſs the phariſaic rage againſt them, ſhe would at leaſt give them the liberty of ſheltering themſelves from it, either by retiring into ſome foreign countries, or by her placing them in ſuch of her garriſons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. Ariſtobulus at the ſame time backed their petition in ſuch manner, as ſufficiently ſhewed his diſguſt to ſuch cruel proceedings. The queen, though doubtleſs highly affected with their diſtreſs, dared not grant the firſt part of their petition, for fear of exaſperating the phariſees. To grant them the ſecond, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herſelf of ſo many faithful ſubjects, whoſe friendſhip might one time or other be of ſervice to ſuppreſs the arrogance of that tyrannic ſect. Upon mature deliberation therefore, ſhe agreed to the laſt expedient propoſed, of placing them in the ſeveral garriſons of her kingdom, whence ſhe might at any time fetch them when occaſion ſerved, and where they might be either ſafe from their enemies, or at leaſt in a condition to ſtand in their own defence. She excepted, however, thoſe of Hyrcania, Alexandria, and Macheron, in which ſhe had depoſited her moſt valuable treaſures, leſt by ſhewing too great a confidence in them, ſhe ſhould give umbrage to their enemies the

Petition the queen,

Phariſees

Phariſees (L). How ſhe took her ſon's interceſſion on their behalf, our hiſtorian doth not tell us; but intimates, that ſhe ſent

(L) The fourth book of the Maccabees (25) takes no notice of their being ſent into garriſons; but only tells us, that ſhe gave them liberty to retire into what cities of Judæa they pleaſed: and that the Eſſenians, no leſs hated by the Phariſees, joined themſelves to them.

In this year, our learned Uſher obſerves, (26) was born Herod, ſince king of Judæa, of whom we ſhall have a great deal to ſpeak in the ſequel; for he was twenty-five years old when he was made governor of Galilee in the year before Chriſt 47.

Concerning his father Antipas, or, as he greciſied his name, Antipater, authors have given us various accounts, according as they were well or ill affected towards his ſon. Thus N. Damaſcen, who had received great obligations from him and publiſhed his hiſtory in Herod's life, derives his pedigree from one of the principal Jews that returned from the Babyloniſh captivity; for which flagrant flattery Joſephus, who muſt have been better informed, doth ſharply reprove him, and aſſures us (27), that Antipater was of a noble Idumæan family, and had been made governor of Idumæa by Alexander Jannæus, and continued ſo under his queen Alexandra; ſo that, according to this laſt hiſtorian, he was of Idumæan race, but by religion a Jew, the Idumæans having long ſince been proſelyted, and incorporated into the Jewiſh church and ſtate, as we have ſeen before.

But a modern jeſuit (28), who has pretended to prove Joſephus's hiſtory to be a mere forgery, makes Herod to have been an Athenian; his proofs are, that he is called in ſome medals a benefactor to Athens, and that there actually was one of his name in that city in Cæſar's time. He has advanced ſeveral other ſingularities concerning that prince, which we may have occaſion to mention, when we come to ſpeak of his reign.

But none have more debaſed his origin than Julius Africanus, who, in his letter to Ariſtides mentioned by Euſebius (29), makes Antipater to have been the ſon of one Herod an Aſcalonite, who was veſtry-keeper of Apollo's temple in that city; and withal ſo poor, that when his ſon (this our great Herod) was taken priſoner by ſome Idumæan robbers, he was not able to redeem him, ſo that he was brought up among thoſe banditti, who were, however, of the Jewiſh religion; and this notion, it ſeems, was readily adopted by ſeveral of the fathers (30).

One

(25) Ch. xxxii. (26) Sub A. M Jul. per. 4642. (27) Antiq. l xiv. c. 2. (28) Hardouin de Numm. Herodian. (29) Eccl Hiſt. l. i. c. 6 & 7. (30) Vid. Ambr. Comment. in Luc. c. iii.

ſent him ſoon after with an army into Syria againſt Ptolemy Meneus, who infeſted all the neighbouring countries, and that he returned ſoon after without effecting any thing worth notice [e].

ABOUT the ſame time news came to her, that Tigranes king of Armenia was come into Syria with an Army of fifty thouſand men, and had beſieged Ptolemais, and that his deſign was to march from thence into Judæa. This knews threw the whole kingdom into the greateſt conſternation, it not being in a condition to make head againſt ſuch a powerful invader. She therefore haſtened ſome embaſſadors, laden with the richeſt preſents, to beſeech him to ſpare her dominions and to grant her his friendſhip. Both preſents and embaſſy were received with marks of the ſincereſt kindneſs and affection, not ſo much out of regard to that princeſs, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn; his territories being now threatened with an invaſion from the Romans, who had already penetrated into Pontus and Cappadocia, where Lucullus was then ravaging all that country. So that he was forced to go and defend his own territories, inſtead of invading thoſe of his neighbours [f].

THE queen was ſcarcely rid of this danger before ſhe fell into new ones. A fit of ſickneſs, which ſeized her about this time, dangerous in its nature and much more ſo on account of her great age, made her youngeſt ſon believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was therefore high time for him to think of ſecuring the crown for himſelf, which his

The queen's ſickneſs.

[e] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 24. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4. [f] Id. ibid.

One thing ſeems beyond contradiction, namely, that one of the main cauſes of the invincible hatred which the whole Jewiſh nation bore againſt that prince, in ſpight of all his grandeur, generoſity, and munificence, was his not being of Jewiſh extract; ſo that what Damaſcen and after him the Arabic hiſtory, printed at the end of the Paris polyglot, affirm of his noble deſcent, from a Jewiſh ſtock, muſt be falſe and groundleſs.

His oppoſite pedigree from a ſexton of Apollo's temple, is at beſt founded on a tradition, attributed to Chriſt's kinſmen, according to the fleſh, without the leaſt authority, and ſeems to be trumped up to debaſe the whole Herodian family, which was univerſally hated; and can conſequently never outweigh the teſtimony of Joſephus, who wanted neither means nor inclination to inform himſelf of his genealogy, and whoſe authority is ſtill univerſally received, in ſpite of all the cavils which the jeſuit above-quoted has raiſed againſt it.

his elder brother was unfit for. To this end he went out of Jeruſalem one night accompanied by one ſingle confident, with a deſign to go and bring over to his intereſt thoſe friends of his father, who had the cuſtody of the ſeveral fortifications, of which we have lately ſpoken. This ſecret he entruſted with none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her children, till he came to the caſtle of Agaba, where Gabeſtus, one of his father's chief confidents, who commanded there, received him with no ſmall joy. He immediately declared to him the deſign of his coming, and the reaſons he had to fear, leſt, if his mother died before he had made ſure of the crown, not only he and his whole family, but all their friends in general, ſhould again fall under the tyranny of the Phariſaic ſect, through the indolence and ſtupidity of his elder brother, who would doubtleſs ſuffer himſelf to be wholly governed by them. As his fears were but too well grounded, he eaſily gained Gabeſtus, whoſe example was ſoon followed by all the governors of the other fortreſſes, who all declared for him. The queen miſſed her ſon from the firſt night, but did not ſuſpect him of any deſign, till the alarmed Phariſees brought her word, that theſe fortreſſes were gone over to his intereſt, by which means he had got in ſome meaſure the whole ſtrength of the kingdom into his hands. As to the army, and even the people who were heretofore ſo ready to idolize their ſect, they were ſenſible they had uſed them of late with ſuch ſeverity and inſolence, that, inſtead of expecting any ſupport from them, they had great reaſon to fear they would upon the very firſt occaſion go over to Ariſtobulus, and embrace the milder government of the Sadducees [g].

Ariſtobulus ſecures the crown.

They had brought Hyrcan with them to the queen, when they came to acquaint her with the diſmal ſituation of their affairs, and both he and they were very preſſing with her to adviſe them what to do in ſuch a dangerous caſe. The queen who found herſelf dying, had juſt ſtrength enough to tell them that her condition would not now permit her to think of their ſafety, and that ſhe left it wholly to them to ſee to it themſelves. She added, that they wanted neither ſoldiers, arms, nor money to make head againſt her other ſon, and that ſhe appointed Hyrcan her ſucceſſor. She expired immediately after, in the ſeventy-third year of her age and the ninth of her reign, to the inexpreſſible grief of the Phariſaic faction, who now could expect nothing elſe but a ſevere retaliation

The queen's death.

[g] Ant. l. xiii. c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

retaliation for all their cruelties to the late king's friends; but to the great joy of all the rest of the kingdom, who now hoped to see an effectual end put to the Pharisaic tyranny, by her brave son Aristobulus (M).

Whilst therefore the hopes of such a happy change brought daily both army and people over to him, the Pharisees found no other expedient to provide for their own safety, than seizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the castle of Baris, to be kept there as hostages against him. But when they found that this did not stop his progress, but that he took the royal title and state upon him, and daily gained strength, they raised an army against him; and Aristobulus, who desired nothing more than a decisive battle, well knowing the valour and fidelity of his army, and that he had little to fear from that of his brother, soon gave him an opportunity of joining issue with him. A battle was accordingly fought near Jericho, in which most of Hyrcan's forces went over to his brother, so that he had no way left but to retire to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the same

(M) This defection from Hyrcan, whom she had nominated her successor, to her younger son, who was in some measure in open rebellion against her, did not proceed from any disrespect the people had for her; for she appears to have been a princess of great wisdom and conduct; and could she have suppress the Pharisaic tyranny, would have left an unblemished character behind her; and even this circumstance of her giving too much way to it, appears to have been rather her misfortune than her fault.

Some authors (31) have absurdly confounded this queen with Salome the wife, and afterwards the widow, of Aristobulus, the elder brother of the late Alexander, and who, as we observed a little higher, out of Josephus, was also called Alexandra; so that they have supposed her to have been the same person, and that being left a widow, Alexander the next brother had been obliged, according to the Mosaic law, to marry her, and to raise up seed to his brother.

But this has been fully confuted by our learned Prideaux in the place above-quoted, since Hyrcan, who is every-where allowed to have been the son of Alexander, is there proved to have been five years old before Aristobulus died; for Hyrcan being according to Josephus above eighty years of age when he died, which happened in the year before Christ 30, eighty-one years will carry us back to the year before Christ 111, whereas Aristobulus did not die till the year 106.

(31) Capel. & al. Vid. Prid. Connect. sub. A. 70.

caſtle, where they had confined Ariſtobulus's wife and children. The few forces that ſtuck by him followed his example, and took ſanctuary within the verge of the temple, where they had not been long, ere they came over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this deſperate ſtate, Hyrcan was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms; and Ariſtobulus granted it to him, upon condition that he veſted himſelf of his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly reſigned them to him, and contented himſelf with a private life, with the enjoyment of his private fortunes. Hyrcan, who, as we have obſerved more than once, was a man without ambition or ſpirit, made no difficulty to yield to thoſe conditions, and to deveſt himſelf of a government he could keep no longer, after a three months troubleſome poſſeſſion of it (N) [h].

This

[h] Ant. l. xiv. c. 1, 2, 3. Bell Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(N) So ſays the text in Joſephus; but our excellent Uſher has clearly ſhewn from the ſix years which elapſed between the conſulate of Q. Hortenſius and Q. Metellus, in which Hyrcan began his reign, and that of C. Antonius and M. T. Cicero, in which his brother Ariſtobulus was depoſed by Pompey, that there muſt be an error crept into Joſephus, who allows but three months reign to the former, and three years and ſix months to the latter.

But the learned prelate has not ſo well ſucceeded in correcting that miſtake, by ſuppoſing that Hyrcan reigned three years and three months (32), and that the former of the two numbers had been dropped by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers; but this ſeems quite contrary to the tenor of Joſephus, who makes his reign and depoſition to have followed much cloſer than this ſuppoſition will admit of.

Another great antiquary (33) has taken a different way to ſolve the difficulty, by ſuppoſing that Hyrcan was deveſted of his regal dignity after the firſt three months; but that he preſerved the high-prieſthood three years longer, that is, till his flight to Aretas, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and-by; and that the three years and ſix months allowed to his brother by the Jewiſh hiſtorian are to be reckoned only from the time that he aſſumed the pontifical dignity. But this is again contradicted by Joſephus, who makes Ariſtobulus to have deveſted his brother of both dignities, and to have taken them upon himſelf at one and the ſame time, and Hyrcan to have been reduced to a private ſtate.

Dean Prideaux, in the place above quoted, ſuppoſes therefore, that the original had ſix years and ſix months, it being more reaſonable

(32) Sub A. Jul. per 4647. (33) Petav. ap. Prid. ubi ſupra.

THIS depoſition did not, however, hinder Hyrcan's retaining ſtill a powerful party, which conſiſting chiefly of Phariſees; who had nothing to hope for, but a great deal to fear, from his ſucceſsful brother, were ſtill buſily plotting to raiſe up their old idol over him. This was gladly obſerved by Antipater the father of Herod, whoſe nation and pedigree we have ſpoken of in a late note. This perſon, though in all likelihood indifferent as to the diſtinction between Phariſee and Sadducee, being, as we there obſerved, an Idumean proſelyte, was in as great danger of feeling the reſentments of Ariſtobulus, as any of the former ſect. His peculiar ſkill and addreſs, backed by an unmeaſurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king Alexander and of his queen Alexandra, who had beſtowed the government of Idumæa upon him; and as he ſtill looked upon

ſonable that a numerical letter ſhould be changed by the careleſsneſs of the ſcribe, than a whole word, that is, that he ſhould miſtake a three for a ſix, rather than a month for a year, as in the ſuppoſition of archbiſhop Uſher.

From the objection that Joſephus in another place (34) gives him but three years reign, and that not in numerical letters, but in words at length, which might be therefore looked upon as a confirmation of the former; the ſame judicious author rather confirms his own hypotheſis in as clear a manner as the ſubject can admit of. To give his anſwer at length would ſwell this note too much; we ſhall therefore content our ſelves with hinting at the main ſtreſs of his argument.

He obſerves, that this laſt place has three years, and the ſame number of months, whereas the former has three years and ſix months; from whence he ſuppoſes, that ſome critic, finding this difference between thoſe two places, and not ſuſpecting this laſt to have been corrupted, that is, three to have been put inſtead of ſix years, has altered the other place according to it, in order to reconcile the Jewiſh hiſtorian; and ſo inſtead of ſix years and juſt as many months, as he found it written, he made it three years and as many months, as he found it corrupted in the other place.

This ſuppoſition, which cannot but appear very probable to thoſe who are acquainted with manuſcripts, and with the inadvertency of tranſcribers, as well as the boldneſs of critics in correcting them, takes away at once all the difficulties, reconciles Joſephus to himſelf, and fills up the ſix years ſpace between Hyrcan's reign and Ariſtobulus's depoſition, according to the conſulates under which each of them happened according to the ſame hiſtorian (35).

(34) Antiq. l xx. c. 8. ad fin. Conf. cum. l. xiv. 11. & xv. 9.
(35) Conf. ant. l. xiv. c. 1, & 8.

Hyrcan as their ſucceſſor, the hopes of advancing himſelf ſtill higher under that ſoft prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal for him. So that when he came to ſee his brother on the throne, he had all the reaſon in the world, not only to deſpair of further advancement, but to dread his reſentment. This determined him to join with the diſcontented Phariſees, whom from that time he ſtill took care to fill with fears and jealouſies from that prince, whom he ſtyled an uſurper; and who, he told them, would never think himſelf ſecure, till he had cut off his brother, and with him all that had been in his intereſt. By theſe inſinuations he ſoon drew them into his deſign to dethrone him, and ſet up his brother again; but his great difficulty was to prevail upon Hyrcan to join with them. That prince, being of an eaſy and indolent diſpoſition, could not be perſuaded that his brother would attempt any thing againſt his life; neither had he any ambition to recover his loſt dignities, or, if he had, it was eaſily cooled by the danger of attempting it, which he viewed in the moſt diſmal light. When therefore Antipater perceived that fear was his predominant paſſion, he raiſed ſuch a battery againſt it by repeated aſſurances that his life was in manifeſt danger, and that he muſt reſolve either to reign or die; that the weak prince was at length wrought upon to ſeek for ſafety and aſſiſtance from **Aretas** king of Arabia.

Antipater cabals with the Phariſees.

As ſoon as he had gained his conſent, he offered himſelf to go and negotiate that affair; which he did with ſuch privacy and diſpatch, that he came back very ſoon after, took Hyrcan with him in the night, and by long journies brought him to Petra, the metropolis of Arabia, where he preſented him to the king. It is likely that Antipater, at his firſt interview with Aretas, had only engaged him to protect Hyrcan againſt his brother; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his deſign, and to convince him how much it would be his intereſt to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his kingdom, by aſſuring him that he ſhould have all the places reſtored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the Jewiſh kings, which were very conſiderable (O), and which he muſt never hope to recover, as

Carries Hyrcan into Arabia.

(O) Theſe were Medeba Neballo, probably Abela, al. Arbela, and Abel of the vineyards; and Rabbah, once the capital of the Ammonites; Livias Agalla, perhaps the ſame with Gallim; Therabaſa,

as long as Aristobulus was on the throne. He told him moreover, that Hyrcan had such a powerful party in Judæa, ready to join with his forces, that he looked upon the dethroning of the usurper as a very easy task. Hyrcan was easily persuaded to confirm all his minister had said, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the Arabian king, who came soon after with them into Judæa, at the head of an army of five thousand men, where he was joined by those of Hyrcan's party. Aristobulus marched against him, and an obstinate fight ensued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into Jerusalem. Aretas pursued him thither, and entered that metropolis without opposition, drove him and his few men, most of them priests, into the precinct of the temple, and there closely besieged him, whilst the rest of the people declared for the conqueror.

Aretas invades Judæa.

Aristobulus defeated.

THE temple being thus besieged, and the approaching feast of the passover thereby likely to be wholly obstructed, many of the chief of the Jews retired into Egypt to celebrate it there. On the other hand, the besieged having neither lambs or other victims for the sacrifices of that solemnity, Aristobulus applied himself to the besiegers to supply them with a competent number of them; which those at first promised, upon condition that they payed them a thousand drachms of silver for every head, and had the money delivered before-hand. But when the sum stipulated was let down to them by a rope from the top of the wall, they refused to send the victims; upon which the priests went to the altar, and instead of them, offered up their prayers to God that he would speedily punish their perfidious contempt of his religion. To this guilt the besiegers added another, neither of which went long unpunished.

Besieges the temple.

THERE was at that time in Jerusalem one Onias, a man in high esteem for his sanctity; and who was thought to have saved the land from a famine, by obtaining from heaven a comfortable rain, after a long and grievous drought. This good man, seeing his unhappy country involved in a civil war, had retired into some of the neighbouring deserts, and hid himself there. Him they found out, and brought by main force to the siege, and would have obliged him to curse Aristobulus

Therabasa, Athone, Zoara, probably Segor; Oronæ, or Oronaim, on the dead sea; Marissa, Rydda, Lusa, and Oryba (36).

(36) Ibid. cap. ii. ad fin. De his vid. Euseb. loc. Hebr. Bochart. &c.

ſtobulus and his adherents. He reſiſted a long time, till conſtrained at length by their threats, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and addreſſed it in words to this effect: *O Lord God, ſovereign Governor of the world, ſince theſe that beſiege thy temple are thy people, and theſe that are beſieged in it are thy prieſts, I beſeech thee to hear the prayers of neither ſide.* He had ſcarce pronounced theſe words, before the exaſperated multitude let fly on him ſuch vollies of ſtones as put an end to his life. This double crime brought a double puniſhment very ſpeedily upon them: a vehement ſtormy wind did ſhortly after deſtroy all their fruit and grain, inſomuch, that a meaſure of wheat ſold for eleven drachms, and other proviſions in proportion [i]. But the moſt dreadful of all was, their falling preſently after under the yoke of the Romans; a yoke which they never more could ſhake off, but groaned under the ſevere weight of it, till the utter deſtruction of their city and temple, and their total diſperſion throughout the world as will be ſeen in the next ſections.

Onias's murder puniſhed.

[i] Ibid. & ſeq.

SECT. IV.

The hiſtory of the Jews from their being ſubdued by the Romans to the reign of Herod the Great.

ARISTOBULUS being thus ſtreightly beſieged by the Arabian king, and forſaken by all his party, was forced to have recourſe to the Romans; for Pompey, having by this time overcame Tigranes, was retired into the Leſſer Armenia, and from thence had diſpatched Gabinius into Judæa; and this laſt having received three hundred talents from Ariſtobulus, was gone back without acting for or againſt him. Scaurus came next from Syria into Judæa, and in his way was met by ſome embaſſadors from the two contending brothers (P), each to implore his friendſhip and alliance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. Scaurus,

The Romans invited by Ariſtobulus. Year of the flood 2934. Year before Chriſt 65.

(P) The fourth book of Maccabees ſays (37), that only Ariſtobulus ſent preſents to Scaurus, and that Hyrcan omitted it, which determined the Roman general in favour of the former, and made him come to his aſſiſtance; but that he retired as ſoon as he heard that Aretas had raiſed the ſiege.

(37) Cap. xxxvi.

Scaurus, who knew Ariſtobulus to be the more liberal and the braver of the two, ſuffered himſelf to be gained by him; beſides, as he rightly judged, it would be the eaſier task to reſtore him, ſince he need but oblige Aretas to raiſe the ſiege, and to depart out of Judæa, and Hyrcan would ſoon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to Aretas, in which he told him, that if he did not forthwith withdraw his troops, he ſhould be declared an enemy to Rome, and oblige Pompey to turn his army againſt him. Aretas, who had no mind to exaſperate the Roman general, did readily obey, and led his army out of Judæa, Scaurus returned to Damaſcus, and Ariſtobulus being thus timely relieved, gathered up what forces he could, and purſued after the Arabian king. He overtook him and his brother Hyrcan at a place called Papyrion, and gave him a great overthrow, in which he killed ſeven thouſand of his men, and amongſt them Cephalion the brother of Antipater [a]. Much about the ſame time, Pompey being come to Damaſcus, received embaſſadors from all the neighbouring ſtates, eſpecially thoſe of Judæa, Syria, and Egypt. Theſe three laſt being but a kind of uſurpers, were extremely deſirous to bring the Romans over to their intereſt, and endeavoured to gain their general by moſt magnificent preſents. Ariſtobulus for his part ſent him a golden vine, upon a ſquare mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions and other beaſts about it, all of the ſame precious metal. This curious piece had been formerly made by Alexander Jannæus, and was now ſent by his ſon to Pompey, who conveyed it to Rome, where it was depoſited, in the temple of Jupiter, in the capitol. Strabo tells us [b], that he ſaw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thouſand talents. However, the ſenate not being willing to acknowledge Ariſtobulus for king of Judæa, cauſed the preſent to be inſcribed to his father Alexander, king of the Jews.

Aretas defeated by Ariſtobulus.

The two brothers ſend preſents to Pompey.

Soon after this the two contending brothers ſent a ſeparate embaſſy to Pompey, on his coming into Cœle-Syria, each to implore his friendſhip and patronage againſt the other; Antipater in behalf of Hyrcan, and Nicodemus in behalf of Ariſtobulus. Both were heard with ſeeming equanimity, and diſmiſſed with fair promiſes, and the two brothers ordered to appear in perſon, and to plead their cauſes before him, and, after a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controverſy

Send a ſecond embaſſy.

[a] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5. [b] Strab. ap. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. Vid. & Plin. hiſt. l, xxxvii. c. 2.

controverſy as juſtice ſhould direct. Unfortunately for Ariſtobulus, his embaſſador took it into his head to complain of Scaurus and Gabinius, for having received the former four hundred, and the latter three hundred, talents from his maſter, by which he made thoſe two generals, who had a great influence on Pompey, to become his enemies [c]; and the fourth book of Maccabees adds, that the Roman general did acordingly promiſe him to decide in favour of Ariſtobulus, but did underhand act in favour of his brother [d].

EARLY in the following year, Pompey came again into Syria, where he depoſed ſeveral petty tyrants, took ſeveral fortreſſes, particularly that of Lyſiad, of which Silas a Jew had made himſelf maſter, and came at length to Damaſcus. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cauſe and pretenſions before him, and had brought a great number of witneſſes to their reſpective pleas. But, beſides theſe, there came alſo another ſet of Jews, to plead againſt them both, alledging, that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-prieſts of the God of Iſrael, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the ſacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their antient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the Jewiſh nation into a ſtate of ſlavery. Hyrcan ſpoke next, and complained, that, being the elder brother, he had been unjuſtly depoſed by Ariſtobulus, and by him forced into a private ſtate, with only the income of a few paternal lands, whiſt he, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continualy depredations on his neighbours both by ſea and land. For proof of all which he brought a thouſand of the principal Jews, who had been gained by Antipater, to witneſs what he had alledged. To this Ariſtobulus replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out of the government; but that it was, becauſe he was incapable of holding of it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that Hyrcan was a perſon of ſuch inactive and ſluggiſh diſpoſition, and ſo deſpiſed by the people, that he had been forced to wreſt the power out of his hands, leſt it ſhould be transferred into another family. He added, that as to the royal title, it was no other than his father Alexander had bore before him. The witneſſes he brought to juſtify his pretenſions were, a numerous ſet of young gentlemen ſo ſumptuouſly cloathed, that they

Plead their cauſe in perſon.

[c] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. [d] c. xxxviii.

they rather discredited him, and seemed to have been introduced to expose his vanity more than to back his cause. However, Pompey, after a full hearing of all parties, wisely deferred giving his sentence, lest Aristobulus, against whom he designed to declare, should obstruct his intended expedition against the Nabatheans, and contented himself with dismissing them with a promise, that, as soon as he had subdued Aretas, he would come himself into Judæa, and there determine their controversy. Aristobulus, who looked upon this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to see Pompey in Judæa, went away in a huff, first to Delion, and thence into Judæa, without so much as taking leave of him [e].

This proceeding highly offended the Roman general against him, who thereupon sent for his troops, which he had in Syria, and with those which he designed against the Arabians, and the legions which he had with him, marched streight against Judæa. Aristobulus had not been idle, but had got a good army under him, and was himself at the castle of Alexandrion, a place of no small strength (Q), when Pompey entered Judæa. As soon as this last had reached Corea, he sent for Aristobulus to come to him; who would have willingly excused himself from it, but was at lenght prevailed upon by those that were about him to obey the summons, and prevent thereby a war with the Roman general. He came accordingly, more than once or twice, to him, and conferred with him about the dispute between his brother and him, sparing neither compliments, promises, nor presents, to engage him on his side. Pompey as often dismissed him with a shew of friendship, and suffered him to return to his castle. At length he proposed to him that he should put all his

[e] Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(Q) This fortress had been built by his father Alexander Jannæus, and was from him called Alexandrion; it was situate on a high mountain, in the very entrance into Judæa, near to the town of Corea (38), which was the first place in Judæa on the Samaritan side, and upon the road to Jericho, on the frontiers of Judah and Benjamin (39). Alexandrion was afterwards the burying-place of the Jewish kings, so that, though it was demolished by the Romans, it was rebuilt by Herod, and his sons sent thither to be buried, as we shall see in the sequel.

(38) Vid. Joseph. antiq. l. xiii. c. ult. xiv. 6. & alib. (39) Ibid. & bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.

his fortreſſes into his hands, and ſend orders to all his governors to reſign them to him without heſitation. It was eaſy for him to ſee now that the Roman general was in his brother's intereſt, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himſelf againſt him. But though he had been long before ſuſpecting this partiality, and had taken all poſſible methods to ſecure himſelf againſt it, yet was he forced, though much againſt his will, to comply with the propoſal, being now in that general's hands. But as ſoon as he was got away from him, he fled with all ſpeed to Jeruſalem, with full reſolution to defeat his deſign [f].

Pompey comes againſt Jeruſalem.

POMPEY was not long in following him thither, and upon his encamping in the plain of Jericho, received the agreeable news, that Mithridates had killed himſelf, and that his treacherous ſon had ſeized upon the kingdom; and in ſuch haſte was the army to know it, that the general, for want of tribunal to communicate it to them, according to cuſtom, cauſed one to be raiſed by laying a number of ſaddles one upon another, from which he acquainted them with the Pontick king's death, and received their congratulations with the uſual ſignals of joy [g]. He purſued his march on the next day towards Jeruſalem, whence Ariſtobulus, repenting now of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himſelf at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hoſtilities againſt the Jewiſh nation, promiſing him a conſiderable ſum of money upon that condition. The general agreed to it, and, keeping him in his camp, ſent Gabinius with ſome troops to receive the money; but he was repulſed by the garriſon, who ſhut the gates againſt him and refuſed to perform the agreement. This diſappointment ſo exaſperated Pompey, that he ordered Ariſtobulus to be clapt in chains, and marched directly with his whole army againſt the city (R). We have had

[f] Ant. ubi ſupra, c. 6. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra. [g] Plutarch. in vit. Pomp.

(R) The fourth book of the Maccabees differs a little from Joſephus, and mentions nothing of this ſubmiſſion of Ariſtobulus to the Roman general; but tells us (40), that Pompey marched directly againſt Jeruſalem, where, obſerving the ſituation of the place, the ſtrength of its walls, towers, &c. he reſolved to try to gain Ariſtobulus by fair means; that he invited him to

(40) c. xxxvi.

had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of the ſtrength of this place, both with reſpect to its excellent ſituation, and of its other fortifications; ſo that being now ſo well garriſoned and provided, it might in all likelihood have found the Roman general work enough to have taken it by ſiege; but unfortunately for it, thoſe that ſhould have defended it were divided into two parties; that for Ariſtobulus were for ſtanding out to the laſt againſt a general, who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for Hyrcan, which were the more numerous, were on the contrary for opening the gates to him, and prevent thereby the ſad effects of a ſiege and deſtructive war. The prieſts declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter; ſo that Ariſtobulus, finding himſelf overpowered, was forced to retire with his men within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley, which parted thoſe two places, before Pompey could be admitted into the latter. Beſieges it.

He was accordingly invited ſoon after, and ſent Piſo, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to ſecure the place and the royal palace, whilſt thoſe that were in the temple were buſy in fortifying every part of it, that could be of ſervice to them to hold on the ſiege. Pompey at firſt ſent to them ſome propoſals of peace, but finding them reſolved to ſtand it out, he ſet himſelf immediately to beſiege them in form. He began with incloſing the place with a ſtrong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; Hyrcan gladly furniſhing him with all neceſſary things to carry on the work. Battering rams and other engines of war being brought to him from Tyre, he ordered the attack to be made on the north ſide of the temple, which was the weakeſt, though incloſed with ſtrong walls, high towers, and other fortifications; and had a large deep ditch and a ſpacious valley beneath it. As for the other ſides of it they were in a manner inacceſſible, after the bridges had been broken down, by reaſon of their craggineſs and ſteepneſs. The battering engines were accordingly raiſed on mounds and plat-forms, and began to play in earneſt againſt

to come to his camp, and promiſed him all the ſafety he could deſire; that he came accordingly, and promiſed that general to deliver up all the treaſure of the temple, if he would declare for him. But that the prieſts having refuſed to ratify their king's promiſe, made the diſappointed general lay ſiege to the temple.

gainſt the place, and to fling large ſtones into it, whilſt the beſieged were as induſtrious in levelling the one and diſmounting the other, as faſt as they were raiſed by the beſiegers. The ſiege had already took him up three months, and might in all likelihood have laſted much longer, if not perhaps been raiſed, had not the beſieged been ſeized again with their old and fatal ſuperſtition about the breach of the ſabbath, which hindered them from making ſuch a defence as they had formerly, and ſhould now have done.

Strange ſuperſtition of the Jews.

We have had occaſion heretofore to ſhew how deſtructive that notion had been to their forefathers, and how wiſely it had been condemned by the brave Maccabees, ſo that from their time they had made no ſcruple to take up arms againſt an offending enemy; but now they were, it ſeems, taken with a qualm of conſcience, that though it was lawful to ſtand in their defence on the ſabbath, when an actual aſſault was made upon them, it did not therefore follow, that they might do any thing on that day towards preventing thoſe preparatives which the enemy made towards ſuch future aſſaults. This ſcruple had ſuch an effect upon them, that they never moved a hand on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raiſed, or breaches being made on their walls; which being at laſt perceived by the beſiegers, they took the advantage of getting all things ready for an aſſault on that day, without throwing either ſtones or any miſſive weapons that might force them on their own defence, ſo that the beſieged let them go on with their other works without the leaſt oppoſition; and ſuch was their zeal for the divine ſervice of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could obſtruct it from being performed, with the ſame regularity and calmneſs, as in time of the profoundeſt peace. By theſe means the beſiegers made at length ſo deep a breach by playing down one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a conſiderable part of the wall (S), that they eaſily maſtered the place. Cornelius Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, at the head of a number of troops, mounted one end of the breach, Furius the other end, and Fabius in the middle. A horrid ſlaughter immediately enſued, in which no leſs than twelve thouſand of the beſieged were killed by the Romans, beſides

(S) The fourth book of the Maccabees (41) ſays, that ſome of the Jews, who were on Pompey's ſide, ſcaled the wall, and, having ſlain all the prieſts that oppoſed them, opened the temple gates to him.

(41) Ibid.

beſides many more, who died by their own hands; in this action the Jews of the contrary faction acted with greater fury and cruelty againſt them than the heathen.

The city taken. Year of the flood 2936. Before Chriſt 63.

WHAT was moſt ſurpriſing, during this horrid ſcene of action, was the conſtancy of the prieſts, who never intermitted one moment the divine ſervice of the temple, but continued to offer up their uſual prayers, praiſes, and ſacrifices, with the ſame calmneſs and aſſiduity, as if no ſuch ſlaughter had been then acting in the ſacred place; and at laſt ſuffered themſelves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekneſs and conſtancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it (T). Pompey, though ſurpriſed at their religious conſtancy, cauſed all the priſoners that were found to have been zealous againſt him to be put to death (U), whilſt a great number of the reſt prevented him by a deſperate exit, ſome throwing themſelves down the deepeſt precipices, and others ſetting their apartments on fire, burnt themſelves in it. Theſe were the fruits of Ariſtobulus's ambition, and of the two contending brothers calling in the Romans. Theſe new maſters, who ſeldom, if ever, lent their aſſiſtance but with a view of enſlaving, ſoon altered the face of the Jewiſh affairs, according to their uſual method. Hyrcan was indeed reſtored to the pontifical dignity, with the

Admirable conſtancy of the prieſts.

Hyrcan half reſtored.

(T) It is obſervable, that the city was taken on the very day on which the Jews were keeping a ſolemn faſt in memory of its having been formerly taken by Nebuchadnezzar, viz. on the 28th of the month Ciſleu, anſwering to our December, according to the learned Uſher (42), who takes the third month here mentioned to have been that of the ſacred year; but it is more probable to have been the third of the civil year called Thammus, anſwering to our June, as dean Prideaux has ſhewn (43). On the ſame day, twenty-ſix years after, it was likewiſe taken by Soſius, by which the Jews became ſubject to the Herodian ſceptre (44).

(U) Among theſe is ſuppoſed to have been Abſalom, the uncle and father-in-law of Ariſtobulus. This prince, who was a younger ſon of the famed John Hyrcanus, had led a private life under the protection of his brother Jannæus, without meddling with public affairs, till he unfortunately gave his daughter to Ariſtobulus. For this marriage having drawn him into his ſon-in law's party, he was taken priſoner, and in all probability put to death. At leaſt no further mention is made of him from that time (45).

(42) Sub. A. M. 3641. (43) Sub. A. ant. Chriſt 64. (44) Ant. l. xiv. c. ult. (45) Ant. l. xiv. c. 8.

the ſpecious title of prince, though from thenceforth tributary to Rome; but he was wholly deveſted of his regal one, and forbid to reſume either the diadem or royal ſtyle, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of Judæa. All the cities, which had been taken by his predeceſſors in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, were taken from him and reſtored to Syria (W), of which province Scaurus was left governor, at the head of two Roman legions, to keep the country in awe, whilſt the conqueror prepared himſelf to return to Rome.

Pompey enters into the temple.

But before he left Jeruſalem, he gave the Jews a more mortifying ſtroke than any we have yet mentioned. We have had frequent occaſion to mention how jealous they were of having their temple profaned by ſtrangers, whom they abſolutely debarred not only ſetting a foot into that holy place, but even caſting a diſtant look towards it. But Pompey was above humouring them in what he looked upon as a piece of Jewiſh ſuperſtition. Reſolved theretofore to ſatisfy his curioſity, and to view the moſt ſacred receſſes of that building, he cauſed them to be opened to him; and, attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the moſt holy place, into which the high-prieſt alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the grand day of expiation †. He viewed with a curious eye the golden table, candleſtick, cenſers, lamps, and other golden veſſels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and ſpices uſed in the divine worſhip; and in the treaſury he found about two thouſand talents. But whether the ſacredneſs of the place inſpired him with an uncommon reſpect for thoſe coſtly things, which he there ſaw, our author tells us, that he not only forbore

† See before, vol. iii, p. 220, & ſeq.

(W) Theſe were, among many others of leſs note, thoſe of Hyrcan, Scythopolis, Pella, Dion, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus, Jamnia, and Arethuſa in the inland, together with Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and the tower of Straton on the ſea-coaſts. This laſt was afterwards magnificently rebuilt by Herod, and by him called Cæſarea, as ſhall be ſeen in the ſequel.

Among thoſe cities which had been deſtroyed during the wars, that of Gadara was rebuilt by Demetrius, a native of it, and a freed-man and favourite of Pompey (46), of whoſe exceſſive inſolence Plutarch gives us ſeveral inſtances in the life of that general.

(46) Id. ibid.

forbore to touch any of them, but that he immediately ordered the prieſts and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their ſacrifices according to cuſtom. But this moderation of his did not hinder the Jews from reſenting the indignity he had offered to that holy place, more than all the miſchiefs they had ſuffered from him, and from aſcribing all the misfortunes that befel him afterwards to this ſacrilegious attempt [h]. Many chriſtians have been of the ſame mind, and men are indeed too apt to judge raſhly in matters of this nature; but whatever may have been the cauſe of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain, that this victory over the Jews was the laſt he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worſe, as we ſhall ſhew when we come to the Roman hiſtory.

POMPEY, having thus ſubdued the Jewiſh nation, to prevent a future revolt, pulled down the walls of Jeruſalem, and left Scaurus governor with a ſufficient force. He ſet out for Rome ſoon after, and took Ariſtobulus, his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters with him, as captives fit to adorn his future triumph (X). However, they were not, it ſeems, ſo cloſely guarded, but Alexander found

Ariſtobulus carried to Rome.

Alexander returns into Judæa.

[h] Joſeph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

(X) The fourth book of the Maccabees ſays (47), that Pompey reſtored the kingdom to Hyrcanus, and ſent Ariſtobulus in chains to Rome. As to Alexander, he tells us, that he could not be taken, but continued hid in Judæa, till he appeared at the head of a ſtrong party; and as for Hyrcan, though he had the title of king, yet he was to pay a yearly tribute and acknowledgment for his crown.

This expedition and ſucceſs of Pompey againſt the Jews is alſo related by ſeveral heathen authors, and, excepting ſome difference in ſmall particulars, almoſt to the ſame purport with Joſephus. Cicero highly commends the reſpect that general ſhewed to the ſacred utenſils of the temple (48). Livy Oroſius, Eutropius, Strabo, Lucan, Plutarch, Tacitus, Florus, Dio, and Appian, have made likewiſe mention of it. Only Appian (49) will have it, that Pompey cauſed Ariſtobulus and Tigranes to be put to death, which is not taken notice of by any other. On the contrary, Joſephus and Dio (50) tell us, that he ſpared them; and accordingly we ſhall find in the ſequel, that Ariſtobulus found means to return into Judæa, and to raiſe new troubles there.

(47) Cap. xxxvii. (48) Orat. pro L. Flacc. (49) In Syriac. & bell. civil. l. v. (50) Lib. xxxvii.

means to eſcape and return into Judæa; where he ſoon drew a conſiderable party after him, which proved the ſource of new and more grievous troubles. As for his father and brother, they were brought to Rome, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom Pompey had conquered. What became of Ariſtobulus afterwards, we have mentioned in the cloſe of the laſt note. Among the rich ſpoils which Pompey carried with him, was the golden vine we have ſpoken of in the laſt ſection, the worth of which is ſaid to have amounted to five or ſix hundred talents, and which he dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus [i].

Antipater's policy.

As ſoon as Hyrcan found himſelf rid of his rival brother, he relapſed afreſh into his indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to Antipater, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage and the aggrandiſing of his family. He foreſaw, however, that he could not eaſily compaſs his ends, unleſs he indeared himſelf to the Romans; and therefore ſpared neither pains nor coſt to gain their favour. Scaurus was ſoon after beholding to him for a ſupply of corn and other proviſions, without which his army, which he had led againſt the metropolis of Arabia, muſt have been in danger of periſhing. This ſervice was followed by another, and Antipater, who was ſo well known to the king of Arabia, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the Roman general [k], and thereby ſave his country from being ravaged by him (Y). It is alſo very probable, that Antipater was the perſon who procured thoſe ſervices from Hyrcan to the Athenians, for which, Joſephus tells us [l], they made that honourable act of their ſenate, in which the pontiff is ſtyled a great friend and benefactor to all the Greeks, and more particularly to the Athenians, and for which they decreed

[i] Antiq. ubi ſupra. See alſo the authors quoted in the laſt note. [k] Ant. l. xiv. c. 9. [l] Ibid. c. 10.

(Y) The fourth book of Maccabees adds (1), that Hyrcan and Antipater accompanied Scaurus into Arabia with ſome forces, and that during that time Alexander took the opportunity of ſeizing on Jeruſalem, rebuilding its fortifications, and of raiſing an army, with which he overthrew the high-prieſt on his return from the Arabian expedition: but if he got ſuch advantages over his uncle, he did not keep them long; for, according to Joſephus, we find that pontiff in Jeruſalem, and Alexander only plundering the countries round about, till ſuppreſſed by Gabinius

(1) Ubi ſupra.

creed him a crown of gold, and a ſtatue of braſs, to be placed in the temple of Demus (Z) and the Graces [m]. Thus did that politic miniſter lay the foundations for his future grandeur, by ſecuring the friendſhip of the moſt powerful ſtates. Herod his ſon followed the ſame maxims, eſpecially with regard to the Romans and Athenians, and thereby completed what his father had begun, as the ſequel will ſoon ſhew.

Alexander waſtes Judæa.

In the mean time Alexander, having got a ſtrong party in Judæa, and an army of ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, began to ſeize and fortify ſeveral eminent fortreſſes, ſuch as thoſe of Alexandrion and Macheron, ſituate near the foot of the Arabian mountains, and from them made frequent incurſions into Judæa. Hyrcan was not in a condition to ſuppreſs him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to ſhelter himſelf from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which Pompey had cauſed to be demoliſhed, the Romans, always jealous of their new conqueſts, had forced him to deſiſt; ſo that he was forced to call them to ſuppreſs this new invader. Accordingly Gabinius, who was preſident of Syria and was lately come into that province, ſent Marc Antony with ſome troops againſt him, whilſt himſelf and the reſt of his army were preparing to follow him. Antipater ſent likewiſe ſuch forces as he had raiſed to join the Roman general, and theſe being followed by a number of Jews in the Roman intereſt, with Pitolaus at their head, Alexander

[m] Id. ibid. cap. xvi.

(Z) The original has τὸ Δημὸς, which ſome verſions render Demus, as we have above, though our Engliſh one render it of the people, &c. A learned critic conjectures, that there is an error crept into Joſephus, and that it probably was the temple of the Muſes and Graces, or perhaps the temple of Academus and the Graces (2). For we are told by an antient writer (3), that there was a temple in their academy dedicated to the Muſes, in which Plato did ſet up the ſtatues of the Graces; and we don't read that the Athenians had any other temple of the Muſes beſides that.

Archbiſhop Uſher places this decree and preſents in the ninth year of Hyrcan's reign, from the death of his mother (4); he there rectifies an anachroniſm in Joſephus concerning it, which the reader may ſee in that learned author.

(2) Calmet. Hiſt. v. Teſt. l. viii. ſub A. M. 3943. (3) Diog. Laert. in vit. Leucipp. (4) Annal. ſub an. ant. Chr. 63.

Defeated. was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, where a battle was ſoon after fought, in which he was defeated, and loſt three thouſand of his men, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners. He was thence purſued to Alexandri-

Beſieged. on, where he had refuged himſelf, and there beſieged by Gabinius; but, the place being ſtrong and well provided, that general ordered a number of troops to inveſt the place, whilſt he marched with the reſt into Judæa, where he cauſed the cities mentioned in a former note to be rebuilt, according to Pompey's order. That of Samaria being one of them, he called it from his own name Gabiniana; but Herod ſoon after changed it into that of Sebaſte,[n] as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. Whilſt Alexander was cloſely beſieged, he ſent to deſire peace of the Roman general, promiſing to ſurrender that fortreſs, and thoſe of Macheron and Hyrcanion. About the ſame time his mother, a wiſe and diſcreet woman, whoſe huſband (Ariſtobulus) and her children were ſtill kept priſoners at Rome, came to the Roman general; and, partly by her addreſs, and partly by her ſervices to him, did inſinuate herſelf ſo much in his favour, that ſhe procured the peace offered by her ſon to be accepted, and him to be diſmiſſed with pardon and impunity for what he had done. After this Gabinius ordered the three fortreſſes delivered up to him to be demoliſhed, that they might be no longer an occaſion of future revolts; and then led Hyrcan, who had it ſeems aſſiſted him in the ſiege, to Jeruſalem, where he reinſtated

Change of the Jewiſh government. him afreſh into his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five ſeveral diſtricts, in each of which he erected a ſeparate court of judicature; the firſt at Jeruſalem, the ſecond at Gadara, the third at Amath, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sephoris in Galilee[o]; by which the government was changed from a monarchy into an ariſtocracy, and the Jews, who had been till then governed by their own monarchical pontiffs, fell under the ſubjection of a ſet of domineering lords (A).

In

[n] Vid. Syncel. ap. Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3979. [o] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. Id. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6.

(A) The Jews had till now been governed by two ſorts of councils or courts of judicature under their ſovereign. Theſe councils or ſanhedrins were of two ſorts, the inferior conſiſting of twenty-three, and the greater one of ſeventy-two, perſons; and this latter was emphatically called the grand ſanhedrin. Of the leſſer ſort there was one in every city, and two at Jeruſalem, were

In the mean time Ariſtobulus, towards the latter end of the year, found means to eſcape out of the priſon, into which he had been remanded after Pompey's triumph, and to return into Judæa with his ſon Antigonus. Here he was ſoon joined by a conſiderable number of Jews, and among the reſt by Pitolaus, who had till then been a chief leader of the Roman party. But a great number of them coming to him without arms, he was forced to diſmiſs them, and only reſerved eight thouſand ſtout men, with whom he went to ſecure and rebuild the caſtle of Alexandrion, which had been demoliſhed by Gabinius; but this laſt ſent Ciſenna, Marc Antony, and Servilius againſt him, who, in ſpight of the bravery of his ſmall army, defeated him, killed five thouſand of his men, and forced him to fly into the ruinated caſtle of Macheron, with only a thouſand men he had left, the reſt having taken their flight where they could. The Romans did not give him time to fortify himſelf, but came and beſieged him, and, after a two days ſtout reſiſtance, took him by aſſault, covered with wounds, and ſent him and his ſon priſoners to Rome, where he was conveyed into his old priſon. But Gabinius wrote ſoon after to the ſenate, and informed them of the promiſe he had made to Ariſtobulus's wife, upon the delivery of the Jewiſh fortreſſes; whereupon the reſt of his family were ordered to be ſet at liberty, and he only was kept priſoner during the reſt of his life [p]. Gabinius being on the next year invited into Egypt, to aſſiſt Ptolemy

Ariſtobulus eſcapes into Judæa.

Defeated and ſent priſoner.

Gabinius goes into Egypt. Year of the flood 2943. Before Chriſt 56.

[p] Id. ibid. 4 Maccab. cxl.

where there was a greater concourſe of people and buſineſs. The grand one ſat only at Jeruſalem, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. We have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this laſt in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory; and ſhall only add here, that it was the laſt reſort to which all other inferior ones might appeal, and from whoſe ſentence there could be no appeal. Both ſorts were aboliſhed by Gabinius, who erected in lieu of them a court in each of the five diſtricts independent of each other, and endowed them with the ſovereign power, from which no appeal could be made, but to Rome.

The talmud, however, tells us (5), that they retained a kind of council of three to decide all their controverſies about bargains, ſales, and other ſuch private matters; each of the contending parties choſe a judge from among themſelves, and thoſe two choſe a third, and the three uſed to decide thoſe controverſies among them; which was perhaps done chiefly to avoid the charge, trouble, or rather injuſtice and arbitrarineſs of the courts erected by the Romans.

(5) Tract. Sanhedrin.

Ptolemy Auletes in the recovery of his kingdom, as has been related in another volume †, Hyrcan, or rather Antipater, proved very serviceable to that general, not only by furnishing him with necessary provisions of corn, arms, and money, for his army; but also by writing to the Jews of Onion near Pelusium, which was the key of that part of Egypt, to forward the Romans to the best of their power. By this means Gabinius and Marc Antony easily succeeded in the expedition, which might otherwise have proved too hard for them. The fourth book of the Maccabees, in the place last quoted, tells us, that Gabinius having sent to desire Hyrcan to come and join him in Egypt, the high-priest sent his favourite Antipater, with an army to him, who helped him to beat the Egyptians and restore the king; after which, they returning into Judæa, the Roman general renewed his alliance and friendship with the Jewish pontiff, and then returned to Rome.

Alexander raises new troubles.

During this Egyptian expedition, Alexander, taking the advantage of Cisenna's weakness, a rash unexperienced youth, whom Gabinius had left to command in Syria with a small number of troops, had got a considerable army, and was entered Judæa, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every where without controul. He fell on the Romans where-ever he met them, and killed a great number of them: the rest retired to mount Garizzim, where he came soon after, and closely besieged them. The news of this having brought Gabinius into Judæa, the first thing, he did was to send Antipater to try by fair means to withdraw the revolters from Alexander's party; and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number of them. But all his address could not persuade Alexander to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, enraged to see such defection of his men, resolved with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle. It was accordingly fought near mount Tabor, and he totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight.

Defeated by Gabinius.

Gabinius after this victory returned to Jerusalem, where he settled the Jewish affairs according to Antipater's mind, and left Judæa, and soon after the government of Syria (B), and was succeeded by Crassus [q].

This

† See before, vol. ix. p. 269, & seq. [q] Joseph. 4 Maccab. Dio Cass. ubi supra.

(B) We shall not so far anticipate the Roman history as to enter into

THIS laſt upon his coming into his new government, found the whole province, and particularly Judæa, in peace, ſo that he was at leiſure to purſue his favourite deſign of invading the Parthians; for which expedition he had obtained, though with ſome difficulty, a decree from the ſenate [r]. As avarice was the chief paſſion that puſhed him to it, he began with plundering the temple of Jeruſalem, not only of the two thouſand talents which Pompey had left there untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the ſum of eight thouſand Attic talents more. Among theſe there was a large beam of maſſive gold, covered with another hollow beam, which went acroſs the partition, which divided the holy from the moſt holy place. The veil that ſeparated thoſe two rooms was faſtened to it, and over it they threw all the old veils, whenever they hanged a new one; ſo that this valuable piece, which weighed three hundred Hebrew minæ (C), was ſo well concealed, that none knew of it but

[r] Dio. lib. xxxix. Vid. & Plutarch. in Craſſ.

into the merit of this general, and the cauſes of his being deprived of his government. It will be ſufficient here to obſerve, that though he was accuſed to the ſenate of great corruptions, extortions, and ſuch-like crimes, yet Joſephus (6) gives him a quite different character, and ſpeaks of him as of a perſon who had filled that poſt with great exactneſs, honour, and applauſe. But Pompey and Craſſus were then Conſuls, and the latter, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, had got an invincible itch after the province of Syria, ever ſince he had heard what treaſures the former had left untouched at Jeruſalem. Thoſe riches he thought would come in a good time to help him forward in his Parthian expedition. In all this he only followed the motions of his inſatiable avarice; and what crimes might not ſuch a man trump up againſt Gabinius, in order to deveſt him of that government?

But whether the latter was really ſuch as Joſephus has repreſented him, or had really given cauſe for thoſe accuſations preferred againſt him, two things are ſure; 1. that he was grown exceeding rich; and, 2. that he was forced to diſgorge all his wealth, to bribe his judges and ſave his life, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(C) The mina amounted to about two pounds and a half of our weight, ſo that the whole bar or beam weighed about ſeven hundred and fifty pounds. The fourth book of Maccabees adds, that all the old veils, which were taken down when a new one was hung up (and which were all extremely rich and beautiful), uſed

(6) Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11.

the treaſurer of the temple. A prieſt named Eleazar, then in that poſt, and being appriſed of Craſſus's plundering deſign, was imprudent enough to endeavour to ſave all the reſt of the coſtly temple furniture at the expence of this; but did not diſcover it to him, till he had made him ſwear that he would ſave the reſt; but the greedy governor made no ſcruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every valuable thing he could lay his hands on, without ſparing the moſt ſacred utenſils belonging to it. The whole amount of this ſacrilegeous plunder was ſo great, that Joſephus, fearing it would ſcarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of Strabo of Cappadocia, and other records not now extant [s]. What we have ſaid at the end of the laſt note will further confirm his account, and the immenſe treaſures of which that rapacious governor ſtripped that ſacred place, though it amounts to above two millions of our money.

Craſſus's treachery and ſacrilege.

WE have ſeen, in the cloſe of the laſt volume *, the ill ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the Parthians. That general having been defeated and killed, Caſſius brought the ſhattered remnant of his army into Syria, to ſuppreſs the incurſions which the now elated Parthians made into that province; and here he gave them ſo many overthrows, that he ſoon forced them to ſend home for a freſh ſupply of troops. From thence he marched into Judæa, where he beſieged Tarichæa, a city on the ſouth ſhore of the lake Gennezareth, where Pitolaus had ſhut himſelf up with the few remains of Ariſtobulus's faction; and having taken it, carried thirty thouſand Jews priſoners. Pitolaus was put to death by the advice of Antipater, to prevent his raiſing new troubles in favour of Ariſtobulus (D). As for Alexander, Caſſius contented himſelf

Caſſius's ſucceſs in Syria. Year of the flood 2947. Before Chriſt 52.

[s] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. * vol. ix. p. 502.

uſed to be thrown over it (7). Beſides theſe and other coſtly utenſils and ornaments of the temple, we may add the continual offerings ſent to it by the Jews from all parts of Aſia and Europe; but eſpecially thoſe which were preſented to it, not only by the Jewiſh monarchs, but by thoſe of other nations, of which we have given ſome inſtances in a former ſection out of the books of the Maccabees (8).

(D) The fourth of the Maccabees adds (9), that Caſſius came afterwards to Jeruſalem, and there reconciled Hyrcan and his ſubjects, who were then in open rebellion againſt him.

This

(7) ubi ſuppra. (8) Cap. xli. (9) Ibid.

ſelf with forcing him to be quiet, whilſt he marched towards the Euphrates to ſtop the incurſions of the Parthians [t].

THREE years after, Julius Cæſar having made himſelf maſter of Rome, and thinking that Ariſtobulus might be of ſervice to him againſt Pompey, releaſed him out of his priſon, and ſent him into Paleſtine [u], with two legions under his command, to keep Syria in awe; but thoſe of Pompey's party found means to poiſon him, and thereby fruſtrated the deſigns of that crafty general. His body was afterwards imbalmed by ſome of Cæſar's partiſans, and kept in honey in a coffin, till they could convey him into Judæa, there to be interred with his anceſtors [w]. His ſon Alexander did not meet with better fate; the news of his father's return into Judæa had made him raiſe forces there, to join him on his arrival; but Pompey, who kept a watchful eye over him, ſent orders to his ſon-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, formerly his collegue in the conſulſhip and now preſident of Syria, to put him to death. Scipio cauſed the unhappy prince to be ſeized, and brought before his tribunal at Antioch, where he condemned him, and cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, hearing of their death, ſent to Alexandra the widow of Ariſtobulus, who was then retired to Aſcalon, and offered to take her ſon Antigonus, and her two daughters under his care, who ſent them to him accordingly. His ſon Philippion married one of the daughters, named alſo Alexandra; but ſome time after either for ſome miſbehaviour, or perhaps out of love to that princeſs, Mennæus cauſed him to be put to death, and married her himſelf ſoon after [x].

Ariſtobulus poiſoned.

Alexander beheaded.

IN the mean time, the war between Cæſar and Pompey, as well as thoſe that followed between the former and the aſſerters

[t] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. [u] Dio. lib. xli. [w] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7. [x] Id. ibid. Vid. & Plutarch. in Pompei. Dio, ubi ſupra. Cæſar. Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Comment. lib. i.

This is that Caſſius who had formerly refuſed the command which the ſoldiers had offered him, out of hatred to Craſſus; but now that general being dead, and the Roman army miſeraby ſhattered, he was forced to take the government of Syria upon him, in order to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the Parthians (10). He was afterwards one of thoſe who aſſaſſinated Julius Cæſar, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

(10) Dio Caſſ. lib. xl.

asserters of the Roman liberty, afforded the Jews, not only a long breathing, but also an opportunity of ingratiating themselves to that conqueror. He was now in Egypt waiting impatiently for those new levies which Mithridates the Pergamenian was bringing to him from Syria and Cilicia, where he had been raising them. But, these not being sufficient to break through Pelusium, the strong key of Egypt on that side, he was forced to stop at Askalon till new reinforcements came to him. But what did him the greatest service at this juncture, and facilitated the taking of that city, was the coming of Antipater, at the head of three thousand Jews well armed, together with some other succours which he had drawn from Armenia, and Syria, and mount Libanus. He also brought letters from Hyrcan, whether real, or forged by himself; exhorting the Jews of the territories of Onion, Delta, and Memphis, to assist the Roman emperor with all their might. By these means the city of Pelusium was easily carried by assault, Antipater himself being one of the foremost in scaling it, and a way thereby was made into Egypt. We have seen in a former volume the success of that expedition †; some have imagined, that Hyrcan came thither in person at the head of fifteen hundred men [y], but without any likelihood. That pontiff was wholly governed by Antipater, whose main view was the aggrandising of himself, rather than recommending of the Jewish pontiff to that conqueror; and Hyrcan being in himself a man of no genius or ambition, it is more probable he contented himself with the credit of sending such seasonable aid to Cæsar, whilst Antipater, like a consummate politician, took the advantage of ingratiating himself to him by his valour and gallantry, as well as by his good offices with his master. Accordingly, we find in the subsequent battle, which was fought in the place called the Jewish camp [z], that Mithridates, who commanded the right wing, must have been totally defeated, had not Antipater, who had been victorious in the left, which he commanded, came to his rescue, and gained him that signal victory over the Egyptians, which enabled him to join Cæsar's army, and soon made that emperor master of all Egypt. In all these actions Antipater behaved with such valour and gallantry, that Mithridates did not scruple to own his late successes to be owing to him; and in a letter he wrote to Cæsar, he

Antipater succours Cæsar in Egypt.

His valour rewarded.

† See before, vol. ix. p. 286, & seq.

[y] Ipsicrat. ap. Strab. Joseph. Ant. l. xiv. c. 17. Cæsar. tabul. æn. ap. eund.

[z] Ant. l. xiv. c. 15.

he gave the Jewish commander such encomiums, that he conceived a more than ordinary esteem for him; and in token of it, before he left Alexandria, he gave him some considerable posts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of Judæa, and citizen of Rome, with all the privileges belonging to it, which places he held with great credit all the time of the war (E). Cæsar also confirmed Hyrcan in his priesthood, added to it the principality of Judæa, to be intailed on his posterity for ever; and the Jewish nation their antient rights and privileges; and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon all these grants and his own decree should be engraven, which was accordingly done, soon after Antipater's return into Judæa. Cæsar being come into Syria, Antigonus came to him; and preferred a severe complaint against Hyrcan and Antipater, for the injuries which he pretended they had done to him; and at the same time represented to him the misfortunes of his family, for having stuck close to his interest; and particularly the poisoning of his father by Pompey, and the beheading of his brother by Scipio. In consideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he would restore him to his fathers principality, of which Hyrcan had unjustly stripped him. But unfortunately for him, Antipater was then attending upon Cæsar, who defended his own and Hyrcan's cause so well, that they were both absolved with applause, and Antigonus repulsed as a factious and turbulent person, that could never be at rest. Antipater added farther, that as to Antigonus's father, he had been justly sent prisoner to Rome for being a constant enemy to the Roman nation, and that his brother had been deservedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging that of the Jews. Cæsar had too many obligations to Hyrcan and Antipater, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cause. But he was resolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them: he

Cæsar's gratitude to the Jews.

Rejects Antigonus's suit.

(E) The fourth book of Maccabees (11) adds, that Mithridates, being totally defeated in the action, was so closely surrounded by the Egyptians, that he must have been cut in pieces by them, had not Antipater come in a lucky minute, and rescued him and the victory out of their hands. But what the same author adds, that Cæsar gave him the command of his own troops, and took him with him into Persia, seems quite to clash with Josephus, who doth not so much as hint, that he had the command of any of the Roman troops, neither doth it appear, that Cæsar carried any war against the Persians.

(11) Cap. xlii.

he confirmed his former decree in favour of them and of the Jewish nation, and caused it to be engraven on brazen tables in Latin and Greek, and to be hung up in the temples of Tyre, Sidon and Askalon (F), as well as in the capitol at Rome, whither Hyrcan sent soon after his embassadors to renew the old alliance with that nation; which was by his order published in all the principal cities of the empire, that all the world might know that the Jews were acknowledged the friends and allies of Rome. These embassadors, who were there received with great marks of honour, did likewise obtain a permissory decree for the fortifying of Jerusalem, and for rebuilding of the wall which had been pulled down by Pompey (G) [a].

CÆSAR

[a] Ibid. l. xx. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.

(F) This decree, which at once abolished the aristocracy lately set up by Gabinius, and restored the Jewish state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by Josephus (12), and runs to this effect:

"Julius Cæsar, emperor and dictator the second time, &c. "Forasmuch as Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, a Jew, hath "given us many singular proofs of his affection, both in time "of peace and war, and particularly by the supply sent to me "in the late war; in consideration of these his services, I do "hereby confirm unto him and his heirs the perpetual govern- "ment of the Jews, both as their prince and high-priest, after "the manner and rule of their own laws. I inroll him from "henceforth among my trusty friends; and ordain, that all the "regal and pontifical rights and privileges be devolved upon him "and his sons for ever; and that in all controversies, that shall "arise concerning the rights and discipline of the Jews, he or "they be the only Judges; and further, that the Jews be "henceforth discharged from the burden of winter-quarters and "all public tribute."

About the same time the Athenians renewed their alliance with Hyrcan, and sent their decree to Jerusalem, in which they acknowledged that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the Greeks, and to their own republic in particular. The reader may see it at length in Josephus in the place last quoted.

(G) The fourth of Maccabees adds (13), that Cæsar did those embassadors the singular honour of making them sit down in his presence; and a little lower, that that emperor had decreed for himself and successors, that all the maritime part of the Syrian province, from Gaza to Sidon, should pay yearly to the Jewish temple

(12) Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. (13) Cap. xliv.

CÆSAR, having left the government of Syria to Sextus Cæsar his near relation, was accompanied by Antipater as far as Tyre, where he embarqued for Sicily. On his return to Jerusalem, Antipater took care in every place he came through to extol the Roman emperor and nation, and to exhort the people to peace and obedience; representing to them with his usual eloquence, that, whilst they behaved like faithful subjects, they would be blest with a mild government, and enjoy their rights, liberties, and religion; but that, if they grew discontented and mutinous, they would soon find themselves forced to submit to a severer yoke, and that Hyrcan, from a mild and pacific prince, might easily become their tyrant, and the Romans, from friends and protectors, would not fail to turn their bitter enemies. This was not said so much to keep the Jews in obedience to Hyrcan, whose stupidity and indolence Josephus himself tells us was but too visible to all his subjects. But, by thus over-awing them with the dread of the Romans anger, he plainly intimated to them his own credit and interest with them to be such, that they would never see his measures opposed, without interposing their own authority; and therefore closed the whole with these words; For they (the Romans) will be obeyed [b]. By these speeches he gained two main ends, he kept a divided and factious people in awe, and took the advantage of his own established power, and of Hyrcan's weakness, to aggrandize his family.

Antipater's speech.

UPON his arrival at Jerusalem, he set himself about putting Cæsar's decree in force, and settling, or rather restoring, the Jewish government to its antient model, and ordering the repairs of the walls and fortifications of Jerusalem. He made his eldest son Phasaelus governor of that metropolis, and

[b] Antiq. ubi supra in fin c, 16.

temple the tribute they were wont to pay to the empire; and that that of the town of Sidon amounted yearly to twenty thousand five hundred and fifty measures of wheat; and that the cities of Laodice and others, which had been formerly in the possession of the high-priests, should be now surrendered to Hyrcan.

All these grants, our author says, were bestowed on the Jewish nation in consideration of the eminent services which they and Antipater at their head had done the emperor in his Parthian expedition. But whether he really was sent thither by the high-priest, as is there affirmed, 'tis certain that this great change in favour of the Jews was owing to the wisdom, conduct, and valour of Antipater; and how much it contributed to raise his power and interest, not only in Judæa, but in Rome and other nations, the sequel will soon shew.

and Herod his second son governor of Galilee (H); whilst he and the high-priest took a progress about Judæa, to settle the government and peace of the kingdom. Herod soon signalized himself by the suppression of a band of thieves, who had till then much infested that and the neighbouring provinces. He took their chief, named Hezekiah, with some others of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby dispersed the rest of their gang. This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to Sextus Cæsar, the new president of Syria. On the other hand, his elder brother neglected nothing that could recommend him to the people of Jerusalem, over which he was governor; so that Antipater saw with pleasure himself and his sons become the darlings of the nation, without lessening, at least outwardly, any part of their respect to the high-priest, who seemed still to be at the head of all the national affairs, and to give his sanction to them.

But it was this greatness, this excessive growing power, of Antipater, which raised at length the envy and jealousy of the principal Jews. Herod's action was doubtless a noble one, and the country felt the benefit of it: but he had gone some unjustifiable lengths in it, in putting the banditti to death, by his own authority, and without any formal tryal; and this they looked upon as an earnest of what he might do in time, if his enterprising genius was not nipped in the bud. This made them at length resolve to try to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to summon that

(H) Antipater had four sons by his wife Cypris, who were by this time grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wisdom and valour. We have mentioned the two first in the text: Josephus indeed allows the latter of them but fifteen years of age, but that must be a mistake, either of that historian, or rather of his copyists; for both Ptolemy and Nicolas Damascen give him twenty-five years, and our learned Usher has made it appear that he could have been no less (14).

The third son was called Joseph, and the fourth Pheroras. He had likewise a daughter named Salome, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and divisions which she created in her family, as we shall see in the sequel.

(14) Sub. A. M. 3937. Vid. & Prid. Connect. sub. an A. C. 47.

that young hero to come and answer to this and some other accusations before him and the sanhedrin.

HYRCAN, who had a great friendship for him, betrayed at this juncture an extreme partiality in excusing him of several crimes they alledged against him. They in vain represented to him how dangerous it was for him to suffer the son of a proselyte, who had already ingrossed all the power and honour, and left him only the bare title of sovereign, to arrogate to himself such an unlimited authority, as to put a number of men to death without trial, or even without asking his or the sanhedrin's consent. At length, since they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouse his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of those whom Herod had put to death, and who ceased not to come daily to the temple to demand justice of him, for so daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. Hyrcan was at length prevailed upon to send his summons to him to come and answer to the charge before him and the sanhedrin. Herod appeared accordingly, but in such a guise, and with such a numerous retinue, as gave them to understand, that he did not come as a private person, much less as a criminal to be judged by them. He was cloathed in purple, and, by his father's advice, had brought such a number of servants, as should be sufficient to defend him in case he was condemned, and yet not so numerous, as to raise any jealousy in the friendly high-priest. He also brought letters to him from Sextus Cæsar, with express orders to acquit him, and threatening him with his highest resentment in case of non-compliance.

Herod summoned before the sanhedrin. Year of the flood 2952. Before Christ 47.

THESE letters seem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the sanhedrin, rather than to recommend Herod's cause to the high-priest, who was already sufficiently in his interest. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high court, he struck such an awe upon them, that none of his accusers dared to open their mouths against him. At length Sameas, a man in high esteem for his wisdom and integrity, had the courage to stand up and arraign him, not only for his former crime, but much more now for his unjustifiable boldness in appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guise of an accused person, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himself of his accusation. I do not at the same time, continued he, so much blame him for the insolent means he takes to secure his forfeited life. What surprizes me is, to see both the high-priest and his judges thus tamely to permit it; but take notice of what I am now going

Sameas's noble speech,

ing to tell you, ſaid he, turning to them; God is a righteous and powerful judge, and this very man, whom you now ſtrive to acquit, in compliance to Hyrcan, ſhall prove the ruin of both king and judges. How true a prophet he proveed, the ſequel will ſhew; for Herod was no ſooner got into the poſſeſſion of the government, than he put both the high-prieſt and all his cowardly judges to death, except Sameas and Pollio, for whom he retained a ſingular eſteem ever after (I). Here Hyrcan, obſerving that his ſpeech had made ſuch an impreſſion on the court, that the majority were like to be againſt Herod, adjourned the court till next day, whilſt he ſent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to Damaſcus, where having gained the protection of the Syrian governor, he ſent the ſanhedrin word, that if they ſhould take it into their heads to ſummon him afreſh, he would diſclaim their juriſdiction. This contemptuous meſſage put the judges into a freſh fit of rage; they vented their reſentments againſt the pontiff, and ſtrove in vain to awaken him into a ſenſe of his danger; but he remained deaf and inſenſible to the laſt [c].

In

[c] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.

(I) Sameas, or as the Rabbins call him, Shammai, was, according to Joſephus (15), the diſciple of Pollio, another learned Jewiſh doctor in great eſteem with Herod, not unlikely the ſame which the Rabbies call Hillel; for this latter having been a famous diſciple of Sameas or Shammai, and having in proceſs of time proved the antogoniſt of his maſter, and the founder of that famed ſchool, which retained his name, it is a wonder Joſephus, ſhould never mention him, whereas he ſpeaks very honourably of Pollio in ſeveral places of his hiſtory.

St. Jerom (16) has imagined, that the phariſees had their origin from the diviſion of thoſe two ſchools; but we have already ſeen how powerful that ſect was long before Hillel or Shammai. Concerning this laſt the Rabbies tell us wonders, and if we may believe the father above quoted, they attribute the compiling of the Miſhnah to him and his diſciple Hillel, or, as he elſewhere calls them, Simeon and Helles (17).

We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to that point, as well as the rupture of thoſe two famed ſchools, in a properer place. All we ſhall add concerning them here is, a Rabbinic proverb much in vogue among the Jews: Be courteous as Hillel, and intrepid as Shammai.

(15) Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. (16) In Iſai. cap. viii. (17) Epiſt. ad Algaſ. & quæſt. x. & in Eccleſ. vii.

In the mean time Herod, having with a large sum of money purchased the government of Cœle-Syria, of his friend Sextus Cæsar, raised an army with an intent to march against Jerusalem, and be revenged of Hyrcan and the sanhedrin for the affront they had put upon him; but he was happily diverted from it by Antipater and Phasaelus, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. Herod acquiesced for the present, and was satisfied with having given them such token of what he could do whenever occasion offered, and remained quiet in his province.

About three years after this, Hyrcan having sent an embassy to Cæsar, who was by this time entered into his fifth consulship, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a fresh decree for the fortifying of Jerusalem, which Antipater immediately put into execution; and that metropolis was soon after raised to its pristine splendor and strength. Cæsar did moreover grant some further privileges to the Jews, in consideration, as he expressed it, of the signal services they had done to him in Syria and Egypt. The reader may see them more fully in Josephus. As for Hyrcan, he gave him leave to govern in Jerusalem according to his pleasure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been possessed by his ancestors; that the lands and other privileges which the Romans had bestowed on the kings of Syria and Phœnice, on account of the alliance that had been between them, should likewise be bestowed on him and his successors; that he, they, and their embassadors, should have the liberty of sitting down with the Roman senators in all publick shews and games; and lastly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the senate, they should be introduced by the dictator, or by the master of the horse, and that they should have an answer within ten days [d]. In a word, such was the emperor's gratitude and friendship to the Jews, so many and considerable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their prince and nation, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the Roman yoke. His kindness extended even to those who lived out of Judæa; witness the edict which the magistrates of the island of Paros had made against their exercise of their religion, living according to their laws, and sending their yearly tribute to Jerusalem, to

Year of the flood 2955. Before Christ 44.

New privileges granted to the Jews.

[d] Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

to maintain the ſervice of the temple (K); and which that monarch obliged them to revoke, as a piece of rigour and injuſtice, which he ſaid was not to be ſuffered againſt the friends and allies of Rome, where all thoſe privileges were indulged to them.

Sextus and Jullus Cæſar murdered.

BUT this happy ſtate was ſoon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the one in Judæa, and the other at Rome, which brought on a ſerics of diſtractions and feuds in both. In the former Sextus Cæſar was treacherouſly murdered by Baſſus, and Cæſar himſelf at Rome by Brutus and Caſſius, and their aſſociates, as ſhall be better ſeen in the Roman hiſtory. Marc Antony and Dolabella, who were then conſuls, aſſembled the ſenate; and the embaſſadors from Judæa, among others, were admitted to renew their alliance with them. Purſuant to which (ſome of the Aſiatic Jews having been forced to inroll themſelves in the Roman army), Hyrcan ſent a complaint to Dolabella, reminding him, that the Jews were wont to be exempted from the war by reaſon of their being obliged to obſerve the ſabbath; and obtained a letter from the conſul to the governor of Epheſus, enjoining him to ſee that the Jews were ſet free, and reſtored to the exerciſe of their religion and laws [c]. By this time Baſſus had ſeized upon the government of Syria, but was ſoon after driven out of it by Caſſius, who immediately came thither after Cæſar's death, and took the command of the Roman troops upon him, who were then beſieging the aſſaſſin of Sextus, in the city of Apamea. Caſſius, having drawn him and Marcus into his party, raiſed the ſiege of the place, and got all Syria into his poſſeſſion. He was, however, forced to levy new troops to reinforce his army; and hearing that Alienus, one of Dolabella's lieutenants,

Caſſius ſeizes upon Syria.

[c] Id. ibid.

(K) We have often mentioned this yearly tribute which every Jew, both of Judæa and of the diſperſion, was obliged to ſend. Beſides this, we muſt further obſerve, that as they were allowed to offer ſacrifices no-where but in that holy place, it was uſual for them to remit the money thither for ſuch victims, as either their religion or extraordinary devotions directed, to be offered up there for them; and theſe were generally ſent thither with the annual tribute of the temple; and in ſome wealthy places they ſometimes mounted to ſuch vaſt ſums, as raiſed the envy and jealouſy of thoſe among whom they lived, and have been often ſeized by covetous princes and governors, who have converted them to their own uſes.

nants, was marching through Judæa with four legions sent to that consul by Cleopatra; he posted himself so advantageously, that he surrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his service. Having by this time got an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy very large tributes on that province, particularly on Judæa, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. Antipater, who knew the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour by sending him a speedy one, committed the levying of one half of that sum to his sons Phasaelus and Herod, and ordered the rest to be raised by one Malichus and some associates. Herod failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself to Cassius, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for him. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their examples, particularly those of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, Thamna, and some other cities of Judæa, Cassius ordered all their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put Malichus to death, had not the high-priest redeemed him at the expence of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers [f].

Levies seven hundred talents on Judæa.

Cassius, being soon after forced to march against Dolabella, left the government of Cœle-Syria to Herod, as an earnest of his future friendship; but Malichus in the mean time, who bore a mortal hatred against Antipater (L), and

[f] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 9.

(L) Malichus was a Jew; he and Antipater had been the main supporters of Hyrcan's interest; so that he could not behold his rival, who was of Idumæan race, as we have hinted before, preferred before him without the deepest envy and regret; and this was the motive which made him conspire against him, not doubting, but, if he was once removed, himself would be at the head of the Jewish affairs.

The fourth book of the Maccabees says indeed (18), that they were the heads of the Jewish nation who conspired against Antipater; and very likely Malichus had drawn a great number into the same black design; it being as great a mortification to them as to himself, to see their prince held in a kind of servitude by a stranger, who had ingrossed all the power into his hand.

(18) Ch. xlvi.

ſaw him with an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, reſolved to rid himſelf and the nation of him. Antipater, having had timely notice of his treacherous deſign, preſently retired to the other ſide of the Jordan, and there raiſed ſome forces, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Whereupon Malichus, finding his plot was diſcovered, came to him in a ſeeming friendly manner, and by oaths, proteſtations, and other crafty inſinuations, ſuch as the folly of ſuch an attempt againſt his life, whilſt his ſon Phaſaelus held the government of Jeruſalem, and the warlike Herod that of Cœle-Syria; eaſily perſuaded him of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. Antipater was even forced to make uſe of all his intereſt with Marcus, now governor of Syria, and who was well acquainted with all his private plots, to prevent his putting him to death. But Malichus was not to be wrought on by ſuch an unparallelled generoſity, whilſt he beheld his rival's intereſt raiſed ſtill higher by it. For about this time Caſſius and Marcus, who had beſtowed the government of Cœle-Syria on his ſon Herod, had engaged his fidelity to them by a promiſe to make him king of Judæa, as ſoon as the war now begun againſt Marc Antony and the young Octavianus, ſince named Auguſtus, was ended. This made him dread the exceſſive power of Antipater to ſuch a degree, that upon the firſt opportunity, which was ſoon after offered, when he was to dine with the high-prieſt, he bribed that pontiff's butler to poiſon him in a glaſs of wine, whilſt himſelf with an armed force ſeized upon the government of Jeruſalem. Phaſaelus and Herod eaſily perceived that Malichus was at the bottom of this villainy, notwithſtanding his vows and proteſtations to the contrary; and Herod, who was of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the fact with open force; but his brother, who rightly judged that it would be much ſafer to diſſemble for the preſent, and to puniſh the aſſaſſin by ſome private ſtratagem, without involving the nation into a civil war, eaſily brought him over to his opinion [g].

Antipater poiſoned by Malichus.

Malichus outwitted by Herod.

ACCORDINGLY, theſe two brothers feigning to believe Malichus innocent of their father's death, the eldeſt went and buſied himſelf with rearing a ſtately monument to him, whilſt Herod went into Samaria, under pretence of ſuppreſſing ſome turbulent ſpirits there. He came ſome time after to Jeruſalem, attended with a number of his men of war, to aſſiſt at the feaſt of pentecoſt; and Malichus, who was afraid of ſomething worſe, prevailed on Hyrcan to forbi

[g] Joſeph. ibid.

bid him to enter that metropolis with ſuch an eſcort, as would profane that ſolemnity. Herod, deſpiſing his orders, entered the city by night, but forbore attempting any thing againſt his enemy, though he had received full power from Caſſius to revenge his father's death on that aſſaſſin. But a much better opportunity offered ſoon after, in which Malichus was caught in his own craftineſs. Caſſius had taken Laodicea, and all the chief lords of Syria and Paleſtine haſtened thither with their preſents and congratulations; and Malichus, having left his ſon hoſtage with that governor, deſigned to have taken that opportunity of getting him off, and to have gone back and excited a revolt in Judæa, whilſt the Romans were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold puſh for the Jewiſh crown. Whether Herod knew his whole deſign or no, he rightly gueſſed that he would not fail to pay his compliments to the conqueror, and ſo he did accordingly, he accompanying the Jewiſh pontiff thither. Herod fell in with them in the way, and having firſt obtained from Caſſius an order to the Tyrians to aſſiſt him in the puniſhment of Malichus, he invited Hyrcan and him to a ſupper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and ſent his ſervants into that city under pretence of getting all things ready, but in reality to acquaint the officers and garriſon of that city with Caſſius's orders. Theſe ſallied out accordingly, and having overtaken him, as many as could come at him at once ſheathed their daggers into his body (M). Hyrcan, upon hearing the news of his death, remained thunderſtruck

Aſſaſſinated.

(M) The fourth book of Maccabees relates this puniſhment of Malichus ſomewhat differently (19), and ſays, that Caſſius, being informed of Antipater's murder, exhorted Herod to revenge it as ſoon as himſelf was come to Tyre, and Hyrcan and Malichus were come to pay their reſpects to him there. Theſe being come accordingly to Tyre, as well as Phaſaelus and Herod, Caſſius commanded his men to do whatever theſe two laſt ſhould direct them.

Having therefore invited them all four to a feaſt, as ſoon as they had taken their afternoon's nap, as was uſual in thoſe countries, Hyrcan being ſeated near Malichus, and the two ſons of Antipater, Herod made a ſign, upon which ſome of Caſſius's officers fell upon Malichus, and murdered him. Hyrcan, at ſight of it, fell into a ſwoon, from which being recovered, he aſked, why they had killed the man? Herod pleaded ignorance, and Hyrcan was glad to hold his peace.

(19) Ch. xlvii,

for some time. At length, having recovered himself, he asked, by whose orders he had been killed? and Herod having calmly answered, by Cassius's, he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, since it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy [h].

New troubles in Judæa. Year of the flood 2952, Before Christ 47.

But Malichus had left a brother behind him as turbulent as himself, who, under the pretence of revenging his death, put Judæa again into a flame, whilst Cassius was gone to join Brutus in Asia. Felix, who at that time was left at the head of some Roman forces at Jerusalem, seems also to have been gained on that side. As for Hyrcan, he had not courage enough to oppose them, but acquiesced in what they did; so that Felix attacked Phasaelus on the one hand, whilst Malichus's brother went and took Massada, and some other fortresses of Judæa. Herod was then laid up with sickness at Damascus, and unable for a while to give his brother any assistance: but Phasaelus, who had still a considerable number of forces, found means to drive Felix and all his party out of Jerusalem, and from thence into some fortress, out of which he did not suffer him to come, but by capitulation.

Quelled.

By this time Herod being recovered, came to his assistance, and drove the remaining part of Malichus's faction out of their fortresses, and forced the brother to surrender Massada to him, and to capitulate for his life [i]. The two brothers returned to Jerusalem, where they reproved Hyrcan's baseness in the severest terms; but were soon after reconciled to him, by the marriage of Herod with Mariamne, the beautiful grand-daughter of that pontiff.

Antigonus invades Judæa.

In the interim another enemy started up on the sudden, namely Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, Hyrcan's brother. He was upheld by Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, to whom he was related, and on that account had been adopted by him (N). He had likewise gained Marion

[h] Bell. Jud. ubi supra. Antiq. ubi supra. cap. 20. [i] Id. ibid.

(N) The reader may remember, that after Pompey had caused his father and brother to be put to death, Mennæus invited Alexandra into Chalcis, where he afterwards married her beauteous daughter, and for her sake took both the mother and her children into his protection (20).

As for that Marion, who joined with young Antigonus, he had been lately made prince of Tyre by Cassius; for that general, being in great want of money for the carrying on the war against the triumvirs,

(20) Conf. Joseph Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. & 21.

rion prince of Tyre, and bribed Fabius governor of Damaſcus into his intereſt; ſo that having gained a ſufficient army, he put himſelf at the head of it, with an intent of reviving his father's pretenſions to the kingdom; but he had ſcarce entered the frontiers of it, before Herod met him with a powerful army, and totally defeated him. This prince acted with his uſual generoſity towards the Tyrians, who had aſſiſted his enemy, not only ſparing their lives, but ſending ſome of them home with rich preſents, by which he gained the affections of that city; after which he returned triumphant to Jeruſalem, where the people, and among the reſt Hyrcan, who now looked upon him as one of his family, came and offered him the uſual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with Mariamne were not, however, celebrated till ſome years after, when he had by her three ſons and two daughters, beſides his eldeſt ſon Antipater, whom he had by a former wife of his own country, named Dores [k].

Marc Antony's edict in favour of the Jews.

BRUTUS and Caſſius having been defeated in the following year by Marc Antony and Octavius, the latter marched into Gaul, and the former came into Syria to ſettle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival into Bithynia, where he was complimented by vaſt crouds of embaſſadors from all the neighbouring ſtates, the Jews came and preferred a ſevere accuſation againſt Phaſaelus and Herod, as having ingroſſed all the power and adminiſtration of Judæa, and left Hyrcan only the bare name of a prince. But Herod, who was there alſo, found in that general a ſtedfaſt friend, not only on account of former kindneſſes which he had received from Antipater, whilſt he ſerved under Gabinius in Judæa, but much more on that of a large ſum of money, with which he had taken care to bribe him, ſo that he would not ſo much as hear their accuſers. Upon his coming to Epheſus, an embaſſy came to him from Hyrcan, deſiring that the Jewiſh priſoners, whom Caſſius had formerly ſold by auction, contrary to their alliance with Rome, might be reſtored to their liberty and lands. Antony readily granted their requeſt, and ſent an

[k] Ibid. cap. 21.

triumvirs, had divided the country of Syria into ſmall diſtricts, and ſold them to the higheſt bidders, one of whom was this Marion, who had bought the principality of Tyre of him (21). Theſe petty tyrants, however, were afterwards turned out by Marc Antony, upon his coming into that province.

(21) Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. c. 10.

obliging letter to Hyrcan, which was ſoon followed with an edict to the Tyrians, and other neighbouring ſtates, enjoining them to reſtore all thoſe captives, according to Hyrcan's deſire and the purport of the edict which the reader may ſee in the margin [1] (O).

New complaints againſt Herod rejected.

But all theſe favours of the triumvir, though chiefly owing to his friendſhip to the ſons of Antipater, were not able to reconcile them to the generality of the Jews. For as ſoon as Antony was come ſo near them as Daphne, a city near Antioch †, he was accoſted by a freſh embaſſy from Jeruſalem, who preferred the old complaint to him againſt them. Meſſala undertook their defence, and was backed by Hyrcan, who, looking upon them now as part of his family, was come

[1] Ibid. c. 22. † De hac vid. vol. viii. book 2. Chap. 2. ſect. 9. note (E) near the beginging. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell Jud. l. 1. c. 11.

(O) Marc Antony, emperor and triumvir, &c. to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Tyre, greeting:

Foraſmuch as the gods have deciared themſelves the dire revengers of the late Cæſar's death, by the total defeat of his moſt deteſtable aſſaſſins Brutus and Caſſius, and by granting the triumvirate ſuch a ſignal victory, as promiſed nothing leſs than a ſolid and laſting peace to the Roman empire; and foraſmuch as the Jewiſh nation, notwithſtanding their known and conſtant attachment to the Roman intereſt, has been greatly oppreſſed by Caſſius, and great multitudes of them ſold for ſlaves by him; we order the ſaid Jews to be reſtored to their liberties, lands, and to all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to that allied nation by Dolabella, and charge all thoſe cities, in which any ſuch Jews are detained, whether bond or free, forthwith to diſcharge and reſtore them, purſuant to the ſtrict tenor of this edict.

In another he writes to the Tyrians, that Hyrcan having complained to him, that they had in the late Caſſius's time invaded ſome of his territories, he expected that they ſhould be reſtored to him. Nevertheleſs, that if they had any reaſons to offer againſt ſuch a reſtitution, they ſhould do it upon his coming into that province, when having heard the allegations of both parties, he ſhould decree in favour of that which had right on their ſide.

Theſe edicts he ordered to be copied out in Greek and Latin, and the original to be preſerved in their archives, and the copies to be affixed in ſome public place, where they might be publicly read. He likewiſe ſent ſome others to the ſame purport to the Sidonians, and to the cities of Antioch and Arad (22).

(22) Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 23.

come thither to ſecond their defence. After a full hearing, Antony asked the pontiff, which of the two parties he thought beſt qualified for the government, and being anſwered in favour of the two brothers, he likewiſe declared for them; and, as a further mark of his friendſhip, made them both tetrarchs, put Judæa under their care, and wrote a letter to the ſanhedrin in their favour. Fifteen of the moſt turbulent of their accuſers were put into priſon, and would have been put to death, had not Herod interceded for them. All this did only exaſperate the faction the more, and produced a third embaſſy, which came to meet the triumvir at Tyre, and conſiſted of a thouſand perſons. But Antony, whom freſh preſents, and large ſums of money, had faſtened ſtill more to Herod's intereſt, ſent orders to the magiſtracy of that place to aſſiſt him in the puniſhment of thoſe factious mutineers, as he termed them; whereupon Herod met them out of the city, and adviſed them in a friendly manner not to puſh the matter further. Hyrcan likewiſe tried in vain to forewarn them of their danger, in caſe they perſiſted in their deſign. They refuſed all advice, till the Tyrians, ruſhing in upon them, made them repent of their raſhneſs, when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, and others taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed. This put an end indeed to the controverſy, but not to the faction, which vented their reſentment againſt Herod in ſuch open manner, that Antony, in a fit of anger, cauſed all the priſoners to be put to death [m].

A third embaſſy ſent, and ſeverely puniſhed.

HEROD had no ſooner weathered this ſtorm, but another was raiſed againſt him by Antigonus. Ptolemy, the ſon of Mennæus, had been ſucceeded by his ſon Lyſanias, and this laſt had prevailed upon Pacorus, the ſon of the Parthian king, and his general Barzanes, who by this time had made themſelves maſters of Sidon and Ptolemais, to invade Judæa, depoſe Hyrcan, and ſet Antigonus on his throne; in conſideration of which, the latter was to pay him a hundred talents, and five hundred women (P). Pacorus, purſuant to this agreement, ſent his cup-bearer, named alſo Pacorus, with part of his cavalry, to invade Judæa. Antigonus, who had got together by that time a great number of diſcontented

Antigonus invades Judæa.

[m] Id. ibid.

(P) The fourth book of the Maccabees (23) ſays, eight hundred women the faireſt and beſt bred in all the country.

(23) Cap. xlix.

ed Jews, who joined him from mount Carmel, had made himself master of the canton of Dryma (Q), where a great number of other Jews coming still to him, persuaded him to march on to Jerusalem, and attack Phasaelus and his brother in the royal palace. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with the Parthian cup-bearer; and these two, being met by the two tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were forced to retire into the temple. Herod, for the better security of that place, clapped a guard of soldiers in all the adjacent houses; but these were soon set on fire, and the soldiers burnt in them before any help could be brought. Herod did not let this loss go long unrevenged, but gave them a sharp defeat, in which he made a great slaughter of their party. Thus they continued skirmishing with one another till the feast of pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by Antigonus, in hopes that the great concourse of the Jews to that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of Antipater. He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted unto him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms nor experience, Herod, who with his brother had retired into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without; made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple.

And Jerusalem.

THE two parties, being at length tired with shedding so much blood, came to an agreement, that Pacorus, who was by that time encamped without the walls of the city, should be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though set on foot by Antigonus, who wholly relied on the friendship of the Parthian general, was yet agreed to by Phasaelus, who went out to meet him, and courteously lodged him in the royal palace. Here Pacorus taking the advantage of the confidence his kind host put in him, persuaded him to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, who was then

(Q) It is not easy to guess what canton this was, unless it be the same with the daroma of Eusebius and St. Jerom, by which they mean the southern part of the tribe of Judah, extending about twenty miles from east to west, from Beersheba to the dead sea, and is called in Hebrew Darom, which signifies south (24).

(24) Vid. Reland. Palæst. illustrat. l. i. c. 32.

then governor of Syria under the Parthian king, aſſuring him, that it was the only means to ſettle his affair on a firm footing. Herod, who juſtly ſuſpected the treachery of the Parthians, was entirely averſe to the propoſal; but Phaſaelus, more credulous than he, conſented to it; and, taking Hyrcan with him, ſet on the journey, attended with an eſcort of two hundred Parthian horſe, and with Pacorus, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in Galilee (R), they were met with a guard of armed men, who were ſent to conduct them to Barzapharnes, and Pacorus returned to Jeruſalem. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and Barzapharnes lodged them in a houſe near the ſea-ſide, where Phaſaelus was ſoon after informed by ſome friends of the contract which had paſſed between the Parthian king and Antigonus; 'twas then that he firſt became ſenſible of their treachery and of his danger. However, though he was earneſtly entreated to make his eſcape, and was offered tranſport ſhips to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forſake either Hyrcan's or his brother's intereſt; for here he was likewiſe told, that Pacorus was ſent back to Jeruſalem to ſurprize Herod alſo. The beſt expedient therefore he could think on was, to go to Barzapharnes, and to expoſtulate the matter with him; which he did in the ſevereſt terms, telling him at the ſame time, that if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honeſt and come over to his intereſt. The Parthian had no other way to come off, but by forſwearing the charge, and aſſuring him, that nothing was falſer than ſuch a ſurmiſe; but as ſoon as he thought that Pacorus had made ſure of Herod, he marched directly towards him, and ordered Hyrcan and Phaſaelus to be ſeized, and clapt in priſon.

Phaſaelus betrayed.

PACORUS, however, had miſſed his aim, and Herod, having had timely notice of the treachery, had found means to convey himſelf out of Jeruſalem, together with his mother, his beloved Mariamne, her mother Alexandra, his brother Pheroras, with all his ſervants, friends, and valuable things

Herod's eſcape.

(R) Joſephus doth not tell us the place where Barzapharnes then was, but only that he was in Galilee, near the ſea ſide; but in his wars of the Jews, he ſays (25), they met him at Ecdipon, which place was near the ſea-ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance north of Ptolemais; but the fourth book of Maccabees ſays, it was at Damaſcus, the capital of Syria (26).

(25) Ch. 11. (26) Ch. xlix.

things and a numerous escort of his own men of war, and made the best of his way towards Idumæa. He met with several stops in his journey (S), being forced to fight his way through the Parthians and Antigonians, who pursued him; but his valour and that of his guards got him clear of all, and in memory of a signal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty stades, or seven miles, from Jerusalem, he afterwards built a stately palace, and called it Herodion [n].

When he was come to Thressa, or, as Josephus calls it elsewhere, Ressa, a small town in Idumæa, his brother Joseph met him at the head of a considerable reinforcement; but when they arrived at Massada, the place where he designed to retire, it being a very strong and almost impregnable fortress, he found it too small to contain all his men, so that he was forced to dismiss nine thousand of them. Here he left his family and treasure, under the care of his brother Joseph, and of a garrison of eight hundred men; and, having furnished it with all necessaries, he set out for Petra, the metropolis of Arabia, where Malchus had succeeded his father Aretas, a prince who had formerly been highly obliged to him. His design was to borrow as much money of him as would buy his brother Phasaelus's freedom; and to that end he had brought his son with him, who was but seven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the Arabian king. But that ungrateful prince sent him express orders to depart out of his territories, pretending, that he had been forbid by the Parthians to receive him; so that he was forced to dismiss some of his attendants, and to make the best of his way into Egypt.

Goes into Arabia.

And Egypt.

In the mean while, his flight out of Jerusalem having been discovered by the very next morning, the first thing the Parthians did was, to plunder his palace, city, and all the

[n] Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 25. the reader may see that palace described by Joseph. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 16.

(S) One of them was the overturning of the chariot in which his mother sat, by which she was so terribly bruised, that her life was despaired of; which sad accident went so near his heart, that he drew his sword with full intent to kill himself, but was happily prevented by some of his retinue.

The fourth book of the Maccabees (27) says, that Herod sent all his family and riches before him, but that himself stayed behind with his guards to prevent their being pursued.

(27) Ibid.

the country about it. They ſpared, however, Hyrcan's treaſure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and ſome of Herod's riches that were left behind; but they made themſelves amends by the plunder of Mariſſa, an opulent city, which they totally deſtroyed. Antigónus was next inſtalled on the Jewiſh throne, according to their agreement, and Phaſaelus and Hyrcan were ſoon after brought to him in chains. The new king, however, did not think proper to put the high-prieſt to death, but contented himſelf with incapacitating him for the pontifical function, by cauſing his ears to be cut off (T). As for Phaſaelus, he eaſily foreſaw that he could not eſcape ſome cruel death; but being bound with chains, and unable to kill himſelf by any other way, he knocked his brains out againſt a ſtone. Our hiſtorian adds, that there was a report that his wounds not being mortal, Antigonus ſent ſome phyſicians to him, under pretence of trying to cure, but in reality to poiſon them, and make ſure of him. However, he had the pleaſure before his death to hear that his brother was eſcaped, and got to Rhinocorura, and there it was that Herod heard of his death. The Parthians, having thus far performed their contract with Antigonus, began their march homeward and took the unfortunate high-prieſt with them, to prevent any freſh tumults being raiſed upon his account °.

His palace plundered.

Hyrcan's ears cut off.

Phaſaelus's death.

BY that time Herod was got from Rhinocorura to Peluſium, he received a meſſage from the Arabian king, who was now aſhamed of his baſeneſs, with an apology and new offers of his ſervice; but he rejected them, and would have embarqued for Rome, but the ſailors obſtinately refuſed to take him in; whereupon he applied himſelf to the magiſtrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ſhip. During his ſtay in Egypt, he was courted by Cleopatra to continue there longer; the Maccabitiſh

Herod's ſucceſs at Rome.

° Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

(T) The Moſaic law (28) required, that the high-prieſt ſhould be perfect in all his limbs, &c. ſo that upon the loſs of any of them, he was to be immediately deveſted of that office, and another was to be choſen in his room.

Joſephus adds, that Antigonus was not able to pay the Parthian king the five hundred women, becauſe Herod had ſeized upon them, and carried them off into his place of retreat.

(28) Vid. Levit. xxi. 16. & ſeq. & vol. iii. p. 255. & ſeq.

bitiſh book often quoted adds, that ſhe offered to make him her prime miniſter, and general of all her forces; but he was fully bent upon going to Rome with all ſpeed, and getting on board a veſſel, which was bound to Pamphylia; a violent ſtorm forced them to land at Rhodes, where he met with ſome friends and aſſiſtance, and paſſed thence to Brunduſium, and came at length to Rome. Here he addreſſed himſelf firſt to Antony, and then to Octavianus, to whom he related all that had happened in Judæa, and the deſperate condition his affairs were in; and partly by his entreaties and reminding them of his father's friendſhip to Julius Cæſar, and partly by the promiſe of a large ſum of money, did ſo work upon them, that they reſolved to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. Antony, on the ſcore of the old kindneſſes of Antipater, did even perform more than Herod expected or even deſired of them. The utmoſt of his aim was, to have had Ariſtobulus, the brother of his beloved Mariamne, ſettled on the throne (U), and himſelf to have been at the head of the Jewiſh affairs under him, as his father had been under Hyrcan; whereas the triumvirs did actually reſolve to procure him the crown, though this was contrary to the Roman method, who, in caſes of the like nature, did always pay ſuch a due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings, as not to ſet up a ſtranger over them; but our triumvir's intereſt eaſily over-ruled that good maxim.

Create I king of Judæa.

THE ſenate was accordingly convened, and Herod introduced to them by Meſſala and Atratinus, two noble ſenators, who there ſet forth the merits of Antipater's family to the Roman nation, and repreſented Antigonus as a turbulent and ſeditious perſon and a known enemy to their nation, who had not ſcrupled to accept of the Jewiſh crown from the hands of the Parthians. To this Antony added, how advantageous it would be to his expedition againſt Parthia, to have ſuch a ſtedfaſt friend as Herod to be king of Judæa; upon which he was unanimouſly choſen by the ſenate, and Antigonus voted an enemy to them. As ſoon as the decree was paſſed, Herod was conducted with great ceremony into the capitol, Octavianus and Antony marching on

(U) This prince had certainly the beſt title to the crown, being the ſon of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcan, by Alexander the ſon of Ariſtobulus, the brother of that pontiff; ſo that the rights of thoſe two brothers were united in him.

on each side of him (W), accompanied by the consuls and senators; where, after the usual sacrifices, the decree was deposited among the archives, after which Antony gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus Herod became king of Judæa, by the friendship and interest of Antony and Augustus, in the consulship of Caius Domitius Calvinus and Caius Asinius Pollio. The condition he had left his affairs in in Judæa, and his family in Idumea, not permitting to stay longer than seven days after his inauguration, he set out again for Brundusium, and sailed from thence to Ptolemais, where he landed about the latter end of the summer, so that he spent but three months in this expedition both by sea and land [P]. Year of the flood 2959, Before Christ 40,

WHILE he was successful at Rome, Antigonus had so closely besieged the fortress of Massada, that, though it was well provided with all other necessaries, yet they were much distressed for want of water, insomuch that Joseph, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally, and to break through the besiegers, in order to escape into Arabia and get some fresh succour from Malchus, who, as we hinted before, was highly ashamed of his late treatment of Herod. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to sally out, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns again; so that he thought on nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came and relieved him, whilst he still made some bold sallies, and killed not a few of the besiegers. In the mean time, Ventidius the Roman general in Syria, having driven the Parthians out of that province, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, under the pretence of relieving Massada, but in reality to extort money from Antigonus: for as soon as this last had satisfied his greediness with a good round sum, he marched Massada besieged by Antigonus.

[P] Antiq. ibid. c. 26, 27. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12.

(W) The fourth book of the Maccabees adds (29), that the senate ordered him a golden crown, and to be conducted to and from the capitol on horseback, whilst a herald marched before him, crying, "Long live Herod, king of the Jews, and of the "holy city."

Antony having afterwards given the company a sumptuous feast, he and Herod embarqued with a numerous army, and being arrived at Antioch, he ordered one half to go with him into Judæa, and with the other he marched into Parthia.

(29) Cap. 1.

marched away, leaving, for formality's ſake, ſome part of his men with Silo, a penſioner whom Antigonus had been forced to make by dint of money, till he could get himſelf ſtrengthened by the Parthians, whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſtill in hopes of.

Mariamne's character.

HEROD on the other hand was not idle, his thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his diſtreſſed family; but eſpecially his beloved Mariamne, a princeſs, who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern, whether we conſider her as deſcended from a long ſeries of illuſtrious kings and high-prieſts, or a perſon of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the moſt endearing charms of body and mind. As ſoon therefore as he was arrived at Ptolemais, he got an army together of Jewiſh and other troops, which his generoſity ſtill encreaſed as faſt as he went, inſomuch, that a very little time had brought almoſt the whole province of Galilee into his intereſt. At the ſame time his friend Antony ſent orders by Dellius to Ventidius to aſſiſt him with all his forces; ſo that he was now ſtrong enough to march againſt Antigonus and to relieve Maſſada. He ſtopped, however, to lay ſiege to Joppa, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. Silo took this opportunity to withdraw his forces from him, and was like to have paid dear for his deſertion. For Antigonus fell upon him, and had infallibly defeated him, had not Herod come to his reſcue. Joppa being ſoon after ſurrendered, he marched directly to relieve his beſieged friends, and, in ſpight of the many ambuſhes which Antigonus did lay in his way, and the treachery of Silo, who extorted money from both ſides, and did all he could to obſtruct inſtead of aſſiſting him; he reached Maſſada, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege (X), and was joyfully received by all his family [q].

Joppa taken by Herod.

By

[q] Id. ibid.

(X) The fourth book of Maccabees adds (30), that Herod ſurprized Antigonus before the place, and made a vigorous attack on one ſide of him, whilſt Joſeph ſallied out againſt him on the other; ſo that he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into Jeruſalem, whither Herod purſued him, and laid cloſe ſiege to him.

It will not be amiſs to cloſe this note with a hint on a more remarkable occurrence out of our learned Uſher (31), namely the

(30) Ibid. (31) Annal. ſub. A. M. 3964.

By this time Herod's army was greatly encreaſed, not only by the garriſon of Maſſada, but by other reinforcements, which came voluntarily from other parts, and enabled him to go and form the ſiege of Jeruſalem. He took Rheſſa in his way, and being come before the metropolis, he cauſed a general amneſty to be proclaimed, extending to all, none excepted, that had joined with Antigonus, and came over to him within a limited time. To this Antigonus anſwered, addreſſing himſelf to Silo and the reſt of the Roman ſoldiers, who were come to aſſiſt Herod in the ſiege; "that it was "ſhameful injuſtice in the ſenate to ſet a private perſon on "the throne, who was an Idumæan, or half Jew, con-"trary to the Jewiſh laws and right of ſucceſſion; that if "they reſented his receiving the crown from the Parthians, "there were ſtill enough left of the royal and ſacerdotal "race, who had deſerved, to the full, as well of the Ro-"mans as Herod, and on whom they might more juſtly be-"ſtow it." The conteſt between the two rivals roſe at length to ſuch a height, that Antigonus cauſed ſome volleys of arrows to be ſhot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here aroſe a freſh mutiny, ſuppoſed to have been underhand encouraged by Silo; his ſoldiers complaining aloud

Herod marches againſt Jeruſalem.

of

the birth of Saloninus, (ſo called by his father Aſinius Pollio, the then Roman conſul, in memory of his taking Salonæ, a city in Dalmatia) and which gave occaſion to the fourth eclogue of Virgil, in which that poet has given ſuch a noble deſcription of the golden age, which this child was to reſtore to the world, that he is juſtly ſuppoſed to have ſtolen it, not ſo much out of the pretended ſibylline oracles, as from the prophecies concerning the reign of the Meſſiah, the true prince of peace. For, as they were tranſlated by that time into Greek, they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been read by him, and perhaps further explained to him by the Jews, who, if we may believe Cicero (32), were very numerous at that time at Rome.

That Virgil proved a falſe prophet with reſpect to his wonderful child, the event has ſhewn, ſince he lived but nine days. But that the more miraculous child Jeſus, who was born forty years after (33), has left us ſuch a divine ſet of laws, as fully anſwer the glorious deſcription which the prophets have given us of his reign; and which, duly and univerſally obſerved, would eaſily eclipſe all that the poets have ſung concerning their fabulous golden age, cannot be denied, our enemies themſelves being judges.

(32) Orat. pro Flacc. (33) Prid. Connect. ſub. an. A. C. 40. Vid & Arch. Chandler's defence of chriſtianity.

of the want of money, proviſions, and better winter quarters; Herod was forced to ſend out for freſh ſupplies for them, which came afterwards in ſuch plenty, that there was not the leaſt pretence left for a revolt. The city of Jericho did, however, fall a ſacrifice to the Roman greedineſs; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immenſe value; after which Herod was forced to ſend them into winter quarters in Samaria, Idumea, and Galilee, whilſt Antigonus, to curry favour with Antony, obtained of Silo, as a great favour, that part of the Roman army might be ſent into Lydda, which ſtill held out for him.

THE ſeaſon by this time being too far advanced to begin the ſiege of Jeruſalem, Herod, having well glutted and quartered his Roman auxiliaries, ſent his brother Joſeph into Idumea, with a thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, whilſt he went and ſecured his family in the city of Samaria; from thence he went and took ſome fortreſſes in Galilee from Antigonus, and among others that of Sephoris, which had been abandoned by the garriſon, and where he found great ſtore of proviſions. From thence he ſent a detachment into the territories of Arbela, which was ſadly infeſted with gangs of banditti; but as they could not ferret them out of their lurking-places, he marched againſt them with his whole army, and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obſtinate fight enſued, in which his left wing began to give way; but he came ſo timely to their aid, that he gained a complete victory; by which he became maſter of all Galilee, except thoſe rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired. He rewarded his troops with a noble donative of a hundred and fifty drachms to each private man, and ſo proportionably to thoſe of a higher rank, and then ſent them into winter quarters. Silo left him ſoon after to follow Ventidius into Parthia, and Herod, who could hardly ſtay for the return of the ſpring to put himſelf into action, reſolved, if poſſible, to rid himſelf and the country of the remaining gangs of banditti. The inacceſſibleneſs of their lurking-holes made it almoſt impracticable; but Herod having cauſed a number of iron cheſts to be made and filled with ſoldiers, which were let down with iron chains, theſe made great execution amongſt them, till night obliged them to withdraw, when he cauſed a general pardon to be proclaimed to all who ſhould come and ſurrender themſelves. But this having reduced but a few of them, his ſoldiers by next morning went and ſet ſome combuſtible matter on fire at the mouth of their caverns, which put all within in a flame, and ſmothered thoſe

Deſtroys the gangs of banditte.

it could not burn; and yet ſuch was their obſtinacy, that they choſe rather to periſh than accept of a pardon. A notable inſtance of which the reader may ſee in the margin (Y).

HEROD, thinking by this time that he had pretty near reduced their gang, left the country under the command of Ptolemy, at the head of as many forces as he thought would ſuffice to keep it in awe; and took the road to Samaria, where he had left his family, with a deſign to go, and either begin the ſiege of Jeruſalem, or bring Antigonus to a battle. He was no ſooner gone, but thoſe whom he had lately drove over Jordan, returned again, ſlew Ptolemy, and ravaged the country afreſh; ſo that he was forced to come back with freſh forces, with which he ſo effectually deſtroyed them and their lurking-places, and fined thoſe towns ſo ſeverely, which had given them either ſhelter or relief, that he quite rid the province of that deſtructive vermine [r].

THE Parthians having been defeated ſoon after by Ventidius, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter, that general, by order of Antony, ſent Machæras with two legions and a thouſand horſe to aſſiſt Herod in his war againſt Antigonus; but this laſt having gained him over by a large ſum, Machæras would needs march towards him under pretence of examining the ſtrength of the place. Herod, having tried in vain to diſſuade him from it, began to ſuſpect him of ſome treachery; but held his peace for the preſent. Not ſo did Antigonus, who ſeeing the Romans draw near the walls of Jeruſalem, conceived ſuch jealouſy of them, that he cauſed his men to let fly ſome vollies of arrows and ſtones againſt them, which ſo exaſperated him, that he returned to Emmaus, and turned his arms againſt the Jews there, ſlaying indiſcriminately all that came in his way, and among them a number of Herod's friends. Herod, who was then on the

Antigonus's ill treatment of Machæras.

[r] Id. ibid.

(Y) Our hiſtorian tells us (34), that an old man being hid in one of theſe caverns, his wife and ſeven ſons, who were with him, did earneſtly beſeech him to ſuffer them to ſurrender themſelves; but he, placing himſelf at the mouth of the cave, ſtabbed them one after another, as they attempted to paſs by him, and caſt them down the precipice, and himſelf next, after having vented ſome ſcandalous reflections on the meanneſs of Herod's extraction, who was at the ſame time making him all the ſigns of pardon and clemency.

(34) Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 28. ſub. fin. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

point of going to pay his respects to Antony at the siege of Samosata, threatened to complain of it to him; but Machæras, hastening after, prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother Joseph, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his absence; on this condition, however, that they should undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. In his march to Antony's camp, he was forced to fight his way through some bands of free-booters, or, as the fourth of the Maccabees calls them [s], wild Arabs, who had attacked him in the rear, which would have been all cut off if he had not come back to their assistance and defeated the thievish gang. At his arrival before Samosata, he was received with all the marks of honour and esteem by the Roman triumvir, and did him many gallant services at that siege. In requital of which, when the city was taken, Antony left Sosius governor of Syria with the command of the Roman forces, and orders to assist Herod with them whenever he required it.

HEROD on his return found his affairs strangely altered for the worse; his brother Joseph, having forgot his orders, had made an incursion against Jericho, with his own troops and five legions, which he received from Machæras; but the Roman horse being unfit for such rocky ground as he was then encamped upon, the enemy surprised and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himself was killed by Pappus the Roman general. Antigonus caused his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother Pheroras redeemed it soon after, at the price of fifty talents. The consequence of this defeat was the total revolt of Galilee, where the wealthiest of Herod's party were barbarously slung in great numbers into the lake of Tiberias. Idumæa was also on the point of revolting, when Herod appeared at the head of a fresh army, and in a little time reduced those two provinces again. At Jericho, where he gave an entertainment to his friends, he was twice in danger of his life, the first time by the fall of the banquetting house, which the guests had but just quitted; and on the next day by a party of six thousand Antigonians, who came and assaulted his van-guard, and where he received a wound. His army still encreasing, and Machæras stoutly defending himself against Antigonus, a battle was soon fought between the two antagonists, wherein Herod gained a complete victory, and made a horrid slaughter of the enemy: Pappus being found among the

Joseph defeated and killed.

[s] Cap. lii.

the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and ſent to Pheroras. His eagerneſs to revenge his brother's death, made him purſue his flying enemy with ſuch uncommon ſwiftneſs and cruelty, that, had he not been prevented by a violent ſtorm, he might have gone ſtrait to Jeruſalem, and have taken it with eaſe, Antigonus being by that time ſo reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning it; but by that time winter coming on, and the ſoldiers not being able to bear the fatigues of a ſiege, Herod put them into winter-quarters, and ſet about getting ready all things neceſſary for beginning it early the following ſpring [t].

WHILST theſe preparations were making, Herod went to Samaria, and there conſummated his marriage with Mariamne, whom he had betrothed four years before; but had been hindered from marrying through the many troubles he was entangled in, though he had an extreme deſire to ſee this union once happily accompliſhed (Z). By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thouſand men, and Soſius, who had been ſent to his aſſiſtance at the head of eleven legions and ſix thouſand horſe, beſides ſome auxiliary troops hired from Syria, was marching through Phænice to join him, and with this numerous army they went and beſieged Jeruſalem (A). The beſieged on the other hand were no leſs numerous and reſolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with Jews, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. But theſe wanted military experience, and truſted either to their ſtrength and courage, or to the ſacredneſs of the temple, which they ſeemed confident would be defended by ſome miraculous providence, againſt an Idumæan uſurper

Jeruſalem beſieged by Herod.

[t] Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

(Z) We have already given the character and deſcent of this excellent princeſs, and Herod had great reaſon to hope that this marriage would effectually reconcile him to the Jewiſh nation, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the Aſmonean family, of which ſhe was deſcended, by the two brothers Hyrcan and Ariſtobulus, as we hinted in a former note. This he thought would likewiſe facilitate the ſurrender of Jeruſalem, by withdrawing numbers of the beſieged Jews from the faction of Antigonus.

(A) Joſephus tells us, that the Roman legions did not conſiſt of a certain number, but amounted, ſome to four thouſand, ſome to five thouſand, and ſome to ſix thouſand; but, however, if we take them at the loweſt, and join to them the Jewiſh and Syrian forces, this army muſt have amounted to above ſixty thouſand men.

and an army of idolatrous Romans. They did likewise annoy the beſiegers by frequent private ſallies, in which they ſpoiled great quantities of their proviſions and forage. But on the fortieth day of the ſiege, the Romans, in ſpight of the ſtout reſiſtance from within, found means to ſcale the outward wall, and to make themſelves maſters of it; and on the fiftieth they got within the ſecond, when ſome of the galleries about the temple being ſet on fire, Herod threw all the odium of it on Antigonus. The lower city being taken, the beſieged betook themſelves to the higher and to the temple, where they ſuffered very much through famine, it being the ſabbatic year*. However, they built a new wall inſtead of that which was beaten down, countermined the enemy, and fought ſometimes above and ſometimes under ground, and with more deſpair than true courage. At length, after a five months cloſe ſiege by ſo numerous an army (B), Herod, finding them as obſtinate as ever, ordered a general aſſault to be made, which both his and the Roman troops performed with ſuch vigour, that they forced them at length to ſurrender. Antigonus himſelf came down from a tower, where he had defended himſelf as long as he could, threw himſelf at Soſius's feet, and in the moſt abject and ſubmiſſive guiſe implored his mercy. But the elated Roman, inſtead of expreſſing the leaſt concern for that unfortunate prince, upbraided him with cowardice and effeminacy, calling him in the feminine gender Antigona, and ordered him to be put under a ſtrong guard. The Romans at the ſame time, having diſperſed themſelves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible ſlaughter of the Jews, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they expreſſed it, for the length and fatigue of the ſiege. The very ſanctuary was in danger of undergoing the ſame fate, had not Herod prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening words, and even by mere force. He ſent at the ſame time a ſevere meſſage to Soſius, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery were not ſtopped, the Romans would leave him

Taken by ſtorm.

Saved from deſtruction by Herod.

* De hoc vid. vol. iii. p. 206. & ſeq.

(B) All this while Herod ſtill behaved with great moderation towards the Antigonians, not only promiſing them his pardon and kind reception, but, at their deſire, ſupplying them with all neceſſary victims for their daily and other ſacrifices, not doubting but that he might in time mollify them into a ſurrender, but all proved in vain (34).

(34) Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 28. ſub fin. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

him king only of a bare wilderneſs; and that as for himſelf, he ſhould look upon his ſucceſs as the moſt unhappy thing that could befall him, if it muſt be attended with the profanation of that ſacred place, the acceſs of which was permitted to none but to the Jewiſh prieſts. To all this Soſius anſwered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by aſſault; ſo that Herod ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of ſaving both temple and city, from all further devaſtation, by a large donative out of his own coffers.

THUS was this city taken after a ſiege of near ſix months (C), and with its ſurrender ended the reign of the Aſmoneans, after it had continued a hundred and twenty-nine years from Judas Maccabeus taking the Jewiſh government upon him (D). Antigonus, the laſt male of that race that bore the regal title, was clapped in irons by Soſius, who, having preſented a crown of gold to the temple, left Jeruſalem, and took the unhappy prince with him, and delivered him to Antony; by whom he was, at the earneſt ſolicitations of Herod, put to a ſhameful death (E), in the third year of his reign [u]. Antigonus put to death. Year of the flood 2962. Before Chriſt 37.

T 4 SECT.

[u] Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13. Vid. & Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3967.

(C) Reckoning from Herod's firſt ſetting down before it; for it was not till ſome time after that Soſius joined him with his troops, and carried on the ſiege jointly with him.

(D) Joſephus reckons but a hundred and twenty-ſix years (35); but he muſt be underſtood only from the time that Judas was eſtabliſhed in his government by his peace with Antiochus, three years after he had taken it into his hands.

It is true, however, his ſucceſſors did not take the title of kings, as we have ſeen in the courſe of this ſection, till Ariſtobulus, or rather till Alexander Jannæus; but that family ſtill enjoyed the peculiar privilege of joining the pontifical with the regal or ſupreme dignity.

(E) The Jewiſh hiſtorian obſerves, that Antony would willingly have reſerved Antigonus for his future triumph, but that Herod, who feared every thing from his rival, if he ſhould ever have an opportunity to plead his own cauſe before the ſenate, ceaſed not to importune that general to put him to death, and obtained it at laſt by a large ſum of money. But he cauſed that unhappy prince to be executed in ſo ſhameful a manner, as has given juſt occaſion to ſeveral antient authors to condemn it, as

a

(35) Ibid.

SECT. IV.

The history of the Jews from Herod to the birth of CHRIST.

Herod's cruel beginning.

THE taking of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus having now fixed Herod upon the Jewish throne, he was soon obliged to bend his thoughts on two important concerns; the one to replenish his coffers exhausted, partly by the large sums with which he had been forced to buy the friendship of the Roman generals, and even Antony himself; and partly by the profuseness with which he rewarded his own and the Roman troops for their past services, and especially for saving the city and temple from plunder and ruin: the other was to suppress the opposite Jewish faction, which, in spite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the Asmonean family, and an irreconcileable hatred to his own. These two points, which could not be gained, the one without a great deal of oppression, and the other without much cruelty and blood-shed, we must look upon as the two main springs of all his actions and the causes of his uneasy reign. Accordingly, upon his having got possession of that metropolis, he caused all the gold, silver, and other valuable things he found in it, to be carried into his own palace, by which he amassed immediately an immense treasure; but as a great part of it had been already promised to the Romans, and was actually given to them, he reimbursed himself by the forfeiture of the estates of the Antigonion faction, causing the wealthiest of them to be seized, and forty-

a piece of injustice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the Romans (36).

For having caused him to be condemned as a private criminal, and without regard to his illustrious descent, the sentence was executed accordingly at Antioch; where having been first tied and whipped at a stake, his head was cut off, after having been all along flattered with promises of life. This punishment, Strabo in the place above-quoted observes, had never been inflicted on any crowned head; but Antony thought it necessary by such an ignominious death to render him contemptible to the Jews, to prevent their raising any new tumults against his generous friend Herod (37).

(36) Vid. int. al. Plutarch. in Anton. Dion. lib. xlix Strab. ap. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. (37) Ibid.

forty-five of the principal of them to be put to death (A). And such was his jealousy in this respect, that he caused guards to

(A) We took notice in the last section, that Herod spared that very Sameas, who had appeared the most intrepid against him, at his tryal before the sanhedrin; as well as Pollio, another learned and valuable Jew, who had been a great stickler for Hyrcan against him; and these were not the only two instances of Herod's clemency. We have elsewhere seen other marks of his generous forgiveness; and it is likely, that if he could have supported his new regal dignity without those violent means, which the obstinacy of the Jews and the emptiness of his coffers forced him to, it would have been much more agreeable to his temper, which was really generous enough to profuseness.

However, we must own, that these two great men, whom he not only spared above all the rest, but took into his special favour and confidence, had, notwithstanding all the incense which the rabbies give them for their courage and intrepidity, taken care to make their peace with him during the siege, by exhorting the besieged to open their gates to him.

For whilst the Antigonian faction were encouraging the superstitious Jews with crying "the temple of the Lord," and making them expect some miraculous deliverance, these two politicians, foreseeing that the city could not hold out much longer against such a vigorous siege, and under the excessive want of all provisions, did with a kind of prophetic confidence assure them, that all resistance was vain, since the thing was from the Lord, who for their sins was now bringing them in subjection to this foreigner (38). So that had Herod been of a more vindictive temper than he really was, yet this piece of service could not have failed of reconciling them to his favour.

There was indeed some ground for what they affirmed in favour of Herod, if what Josephus (39) says be true, that one Menahem, a cotemporary of theirs and an Essenian, endowed with the spirit of prophecy, had long before foretold his rise to the crown; the story runs thus:

Herod being met one day by this Menahem, then a boy, whilst himself was amongst his school-fellows, was accosted by him in a serious manner, with a "Hail, king of the Jews"; and was assured by him, that providence had determined to raise him from his plebeian extraction to that supreme dignity. The young prophet at the same time bid him remember, when he was come to it, that it was his duty to govern with justice and equity, though, added he in the conclusion, I foresee, that you will take quite different methods, and thereby bring a miserable end upon your head. Herod,

(38) Id. ibid. Vid. & l. xiv. c. 17. (39) Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.

to be planted at their gates, to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies; in which case they were seized upon and sent into his treasury. Upon the whole, his necessities and profuseness were so great, that he spared no extortion to supply them; insomuch, that this being the sabbatic year, in which there was neither planting nor sowing, and all the country round about having been so terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the siege, nothing less than a grievous famine was expected to have filled the whole land [a].

Herod had still another rival left, who, though at a great distance from him, and kept, as it were, a prisoner in Parthia, did not suffer his mind to be at ease, till he had quite rid himself of him. This was Hyrcan, the deposed king and high-priest, whom Pacorus had carried thither with him in chains. But when Phraartes came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generously took off his chains, and permitted him to live in Babylon, where he was highly respected, not only by the great numbers of Jews who dwelt in that city, but likewise by all those that lived beyond the Euphrates, who all looked upon him as their rightful prince and high-priest. Their veneration for him was raised still higher, when they understood that Herod had filled the pontifical

[a] Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

Herod, however, did not think any more of it till he had got the crown; but then calling to mind his prediction, he sent for him, to enquire how long he should reign, not doubting but that he, who had foretold him the one, might as easily tell him the other. Menahem, not answering directly to the question, was asked again, whether he thought that he should reign ten years; Yes, yes, answered the Essene, twenty or thirty, and there stopped; and Herod, being satisfied with that number, urged him no further.

Menahem was then, it seems (40), vice-president of the sanhedrin, under Hillel, the same, as is supposed, whom Josephus calls Pollio; but Herod, having drawn him into his service, appointed Sameas to succeed him in that office. From that time, not only Menahem, but his whole sect, grew in great favour with that monarch. We shall find a proper place to speak more fully of the Essenes, when we come to describe the different sects which reigned in our Saviour's time among the Jews.

(40) Vid. Prid. Connect. part 2. lib. viii. sub A. ant. Christ 37.

tifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named Ananel, a descendant of one of those priestly families that settled at Babylon after the captivity, and whom that politic prince caused to be fetched from thence, merely on the score of his meanness and obscurity; that being without friends or interest in Judæa, he might be contented with his sacerdotal function, without interfering with the regal prerogative.

Hyrcanus's happiness in Parthia.

HYRCAN might then have thought himself happy in his exile, being thus respected by the Parthian king, and by all the Jews of the dispersion: yet such was his love for his country, or rather his fatal confidence in the new Jewish monarch, that, as soon as he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived a great desire of spending the remainder of his life with him. His friends, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried in vain to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the folly and hazard of putting himself in that monarch's power, especially since he could hardly expect either greater honour or happiness at Jerusalem, than he enjoyed at Babylon. But could arguments have prevailed with him, Herod would have left no means untried to have frustrated them, and made sure of him. He began, however, with sending him a kind invitation to come and bear a partnership with him of his power and grandeur, and reap the fruits of his gratitude for his former kindness. But lest this invitation should fail, he backed it with an embassy to Phraartes, in which he begged of him to give the pontiff leave to return to Judæa. Santacalla, who was charged with this embassy, was ordered to make some considerable presents to the Parthian king and court, and succeeded so well in his negotiation, that Hyrcan, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends to the contrary, left his safe asylum for Jerusalem, where Herod at first received him with great friendship and magnificence, and forgot nothing that could possibly conceal the treacherous design he was hatching against his life [b].

Persuaded to return into Judæa.

WHILST this was doing, Herod was not a little disturbed with domestic jars. Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcan and mother of Aristobulus and Mariamne, a woman of a haughty spirit, could not bear, with any patience, to see an obscure Babyloniſh priest preferred before her son to the pontifical dignity, from which Hyrcan was now disabled by the loss of his ears. She was ever expostulating with him the injury done to her son, and insisting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of succession to him alone, as being descended

[b] Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 2.

deſcended by father and mother from Alexander Jannæus (B), none but he ought in juſtice to be inveſted with it. But Herod, who was conſcious that the young prince had an equal right likewiſe to the regal dignity, which he now uſurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, leſt ſhe ſhould find ſome means in time of ſeizing upon the other. This obliged her to write to Cleopatra, not doubting but her intereſt with Antony might greatly influence that general in favour of her ſon. It was impoſſible for her to carry on that correſpondence ſo cloſely, but Herod had ſome intimation of it; and fearing the worſt from thoſe two intrigueing princeſſes, he was forced for the preſent to conſent to have Ananel depoſed, and Ariſtobulus inveſted with that dignity, pretending, that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age fit for it (C).

THIS

(B) Ariſtobulus, as the ſon of Alexander, and grandſon of Hyrcan and of Ariſtobulus, the ſons of Alexander Jannæus, had the right both to the regal and pontifical dignity united in him. For he was grandſon to the former by his mother Alexandra, who was his only child; and by his father Alexander, he was grandſon to Ariſtobulus. By his deſcent from the latter, he had a right to the high-prieſthood, which was fixed to the male line; and by his deſcent from both, he would have had the only title to the crown alſo, had not the Romans transferred it to Herod (41).

(C) This is the third perſon that had hitherto been depoſed from the pontifical dignity ſince the Jews return from the Babyloniſh captivity, and Herod was ſo ſenſible of the illegality of it, that when Antony ſent to deſire him to put Ariſtobulus into Ananel's room, he excuſed himſelf from it at firſt, by remonſtrating to him, that ſuch depoſitions were contrary to the Moſaic law; according to which, it is certain, that dignity could not end but with the death of its poſſeſſor, unleſs ſome illegal defect happened to diſqualify him †.

The firſt inſtance we read of this irregular proceeding is, that of Jaſon's or Jeſus's ſupplanting his brother Onias, and by a larger ſum of money buying that dignity of Antiochus, in prejudice of the incumbent (42). The other was that of Hyrcan by his nephew Ariſtobulus, who wreſted that dignity from him by main force. But theſe depoſitions became afterwards ſo frequent, that there was hardly any other way of coming into that office, but by the expulſion of the incumbent.

The fourth book of Maccabees ſays, that Antony having ſent a preſſing command to Herod to ſend Ariſtobulus to him, Herod, not

(41) Antiq. l. xv. cap. 2, & 3. † De hoc vid. ſup. vol iii. p. 252, & ſeq. (42) See before, p. 104.

THIS condeſcenſion of Herod, backed with ſo plauſible an excuſe, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them, but which was nothing leſs than ſincere on either ſide, eſpecially on Herod's, who ſtill ſuſpected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit of the ſon, whoſe high birth and blooming virtues, joined to a graceful perſon, attracted the eyes and hearts of the Jewiſh nation. Upon ſome pretence therefore or other, he quarrelled with Alexandra, forbad her to meddle with any public affairs, and at laſt cauſed her to be confined to her palace and to be cloſely watched. In the mean time, Cleopatra having ſent her and her ſon an invitation to come to her, ſhe was eaſily perſuaded to accept it, ſince ſhe could now only look upon herſelf as Herod's priſoner, from whoſe jealouſy ſhe had every thing to fear. The difficulty was how to conceal their flight from his watchful ſpies: ſhe intruſted her deſign only to two faithful ſervants, one of whom was to procure her a ſhip to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her ſon, and the other for herſelf, to convey them in that manner to the ſhip. But unfortunately one of the two ſervants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the ſecret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himſelf to Herod, and made a full diſcovery of the deſign. Herod ſtayed only till the mother and ſon were conveyed ſome part of the way in their coffins, and then cauſed them to be arreſted, and brought back. His fear, however, of Cleopatra's reſentment, prevented his expreſſing his own againſt

Herod plagued with domeſtic jars.

not daring to venture that young prince out of his ſight, haſted to make him high-prieſt before he read that general's orders; and then ſent him word, that, he being now inveſted with the pontifical dignity, it was unlawful for him to ſtir out of the Jewiſh dominions (43).

Joſephus agrees in part with that author (44), but adds, that Antony having received the pictures of Mariamne and Ariſtobulus, which their mother, by the advice of Cleopatra, had ſent to him, that their extreme beauty might make a favourable impreſſion on that effeminate general; Antony, not daring to ſend for Mariamne, deſired only Ariſtobulus to be ſent to him. But Herod, not daring to truſt ſo beautiful a young perſon, who was then but ſixteen years old, with one ſo infamous for his incontinency, was forced to excuſe his refuſal, with pretending, that the young prince was ſo great a darling of the Jewiſh nation, that it would infallibly involve it in a civil war, ſhould he comply with his requeſt.

(43) Cap Iv. (44) ubi ſupra, cap. 2.

againſt them; and ſince he found it unſafe to puniſh them, he put on the maſk of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them, but from that moment reſolved to get rid of the young prince.

An accident happened ſoon after, which determined him to haſten his death. The feaſt of tabernacles, one of the three grand feſtivals, was come, which was uſually ſolemnized with the greateſt magnificence †; when the new high-prieſt, who was then about ſeventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with ſuch majeſty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his anceſtors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with their praiſes, which raiſed the tyrant's jealouſy to ſuch a height, as made him reſolve to put his murdering deſign in execution with the utmoſt ſpeed. Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſolemnity was over, he went with him to Jericho, where Alexandra had invited them to a ſumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot Ariſtobulus was invited to bathe in a fine fiſh-pond in that neighbourhood, where ſome of Herod's hired creatures were ſwimming; and where, as ſoon as they had him in their hands, they kept him ſtill under water, till he was dead. This bloody deed was gloſſed over with the ſpecious pretence of its being done in ſport, by accident, and without any deſign on the pontiff's life; and Herod not only ſeemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought ſo by the reſt, by putting himſelf into the deepeſt mourning for him, ordering a ſtately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obſequies to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence. This was the end of young Ariſtobulus, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpreſſible grief; he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having ſcarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which upon his death returned to Ananel [c].

All theſe grimaces of Herod to diſculpate himſelf of the murder were eaſily ſeen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more ſo to his own family. Alexandra, at the firſt news of her ſon's death, could ſcarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herſelf; but, upon cooler thoughts, ſhe prevailed on herſelf to conceal her reſentment againſt the tyrant, that ſhe might the more eaſily compaſs his ruin. She wrote to acquaint Cleopatra with his treachery, and that princeſs, moved rather by her

Alexandra plots againſt him.

† De hac vid. ſup. vol. iii. p. 193, & ſeq. [c] Antiq. ubi ſupra. c. 3.

her ambition and avarice, than by a ſenſe of pity or of horror for the crime, ceaſed not to ſolicit Antony to puniſh the murderer, in hopes that after his death ſhe might eaſily obtain his kingdom for herſelf. Antony, being at length prevailed upon, ſent orders to Herod to come and clear himſelf before him at Laodicea, whither he was then coming, and Cleopatra along with him. Herod was obliged to obey, though much againſt his will; but took care to bribe his judge ſo high, that, upon his appearing before him, he was moſt baſely abſolved, and Cleopatra's avarice compenſated with the province of Cœle-Syria, inſtead of that of Judæa.

Summoned to appear before Antony.

Acquitted.

HEROD, however, not knowing how it would go with him in Syria, had before his departure given expreſs orders to his uncle Joſeph, whom he left governor during his abſence, that in caſe he was caſt for his life, he ſhould put his beloved Mariamne to death. The violence of his paſſion for that princeſs extorted this inhuman command from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long ſince captivated the Roman triumvir, and the thoughts of leaving her in the poſſeſſion of ſuch a rival, even after his death, were more dreadful to him, than any death he could inflict on him; and his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguiſh by the promiſe of a punctual obedience. When he was gone, Joſeph, who waited daily on her, either on affairs of ſtate, or to pay his reſpects to her, took all opportunities of extolling Herod's extreme paſſion for her, and at length was indiſcreet enough to diſcloſe the fatal orders he had left with him, as an irrefragable proof of the greatneſs and ſincerity of it. But the queen, looking upon it rather as an argument of his jealouſy and inhumanity, conceived from it a more invincible hatred againſt him. In the mean time, there was a rumour ſpread through the city, whether by Herod's enemies, or by ſome of his ſubtile agents, that Antony had put him to a cruel death; which caſt the whole court, but eſpecially Alexandra and Mariamne, into a great conſternation. Alexandra had by this time been informed with the bloody orders left with Joſeph; to prevent the execution of which, ſhe went to him, and ſtrove with all her eloquence to perſuade him to leave Jeruſalem, and to go and put themſelves under the protection of the Roman eagles, that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city (D). Their deliberations were quickly

(D) The eagles were the principal ſtandards of the Roman legions; they uſed to be ſet up in ſome eminent place of their camp

quickly broken off by letters from Herod, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cauſe, but that Antony was daily heaping freſh marks of his affection upon him, and that he ſhould ſoon return to Jeruſalem, more ſtrengthened than ever in his kingdom. This news made them lay aſide their deſign; but as they had not carried it on ſo cloſely, but Salome had received ſome intimation of it, ſhe failed not to inform her brother of it upon his arrival. Some injurious reflections, which Mariamne had caſt on the meanneſs of her birth, had exaſperated her ſo far, that ſhe had vowed a moſt dreadful revenge; and ſhe took this opportunity of completing it, by accuſing her of having held too great a familiarity with Joſeph during his abſence, though he was both her own uncle and husband (E).

Mariamne falſely accuſed.

MARIAMNE did eaſily clear her innocence upon her firſt interview with the king; but whilſt he was entertaining her with the proteſtations of his love to her, ſhe could not forbear at length mentioning the orders he had left with his uncle, as rather a token of his barbarity to her. Theſe words, which ſtabbed that jealous monarch to the heart, made him conclude, that nothing leſs than the criminal converſation, with which Salome had accuſed her, could have induced his uncle to diſcloſe the fatal ſecret. In the firſt ſally of his fury, he was on the point of ſacrificing her with his own hand, had not his love prevailed over his reſentment. But Joſeph and Alexandra fell the unhappy victims of his rage; the firſt of whom he cauſed to be put to immediate death, refuſing even to ſee him, or hear what could be urged in his defence; the latter he cauſed to be put in

Joſeph put to death.

camp to receive the adoration of the army, and to protect thoſe who took ſanctuary under them, they being allowed an inviolable aſylum to ſuch.

The Romans had left a legion in the neighbourhood of that metropolis, under the command of one Julius, and it was under his ſtandards that Alexandra propoſed to take refuge, when the news of her ſon-in-law's death came to her ears.

(E) We have had occaſion to ſhew in a former volume, how far it was lawful, according to the law of Moſes, for an uncle to marry his niece, tho' not for an aunt to marry her nephew. We refer the reader to what has been further ſaid upon that head by a late learned writer (45).

† Vol. iii. p 351. Vid. & Levit. xviii. 12, & ſeq. xx. 19.
(45) Prid. Connect. ſub. A. ant. Chriſt. 187.

in chains, and confined to a close prison under a strong guard, as the main cause of all this mischief.

His fury was soon after diverted by the coming of Cleopatra into Judæa, in her return from the Euphrates, whither she had accompanied Antony. That princess, whose avarice was as insatiable as her lust, had disobliged him sensibly by both these passions. On the one hand, she had obtained from her paramour all the fertile territories of Jericho, which were by far the richest and pleasantest of all Judæa, especially upon the score of the balm (F) and the great quantity of palm-trees which grew in it, and brought Herod a consider- Cleopatra comes to Jerusalem.

able

(F) This precious plant, so famous for its balsam, the most valuable of all ointments, is affirmed by Pliny (46) to have grown only in two gardens belonging to the Jewish monarchs, one of them containing only twenty acres, and the other still somewhat less. But Cleopatra caused a number of them to be carried into Egypt, where it is said to grow in great quantity at this very day (47).

But it is plain beyond all controversy, that this plant is the natural growth of Arabia, especially in the neighbourhoods of Mecca and Medina, where it grows wild even in sandy grounds, though that which is cultivated in gardens is reckoned the finest (48). We have taken notice in a former volume of some that grew near the lake Asphaltites, and which brought a considerable revenue to the owners †.

The balm was gathered from the shrub in the months of July and August, and in some warmer grounds even in June. It either drops of it self, or is made to do so by incision, with a sharp knife, made not of iron or steel, which they say is death to the plant, but either of glass, flint or ivory. The Liquor that distils from the plant is whitish at the first, then by degrees turns greenish, yellowish, and when very old, almost of the colour of honey. It is at first thin, and by degrees contracts a density like our terebinth, and is of so light a body, that it swims on the surface of water, and when beaten with it, will turn white. There is so little that is brought genuine into England, that it is rarely used, though its virtues have been cried up by many antient and modern authors; but even that which is least adulterated has a very ill quality amongst its excellent ones, namely, that the frequent use of it will in time dissolve the solid parts of the blood.

Besides what comes from the countries abovementioned, there are some sorts of it brought from America, the most esteemed of which are those of Peru and Tholu.

(46) Nat. Hist. l. xii. c. 15. (47) Vid Dapper. descr. of Egypt. (48) Id. ibid. † Vol. viii. Book II. Sect. vi. near the end.

able revenue [d]. On the other, she was soliciting that monarch to an amour all the time she stayed with him. Herod, who had conceived a great aversion to her, was consulting, all the time he entertained her with the utmost magnificence, of some means of putting her to death, whilst he had her in his power; but his friends, dreading the consequences of such a fact, did not onely dissuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at least her avarice with costly presents, which he did with surprising profuseness. However, as he had refused to gratify her other predominant passion, he feared lest her resentment on that score, joining with the invincible hatred which the Jews had conceived against him, should one day prove fatal to him. To prevent which, after he had accompanied her as far as Pelusium, he went and fortified the castle of Massada, and furnished it with arms and provisions for ten thousand men, that at all events he might have a sure place of refuge to flee to. At the same time he took constant care to send that princess the revenues of those territories which Antony had given from him to her, that she might have no pretence to fall out with him upon that score [e].

But this was not sufficient to prevent the effects of that base princess's resentment; and she soon after laid such a plot against him, that all his strength and courage were hardly sufficient to save him from ruin. We have elsewhere taken notice, that she had obtained a great many provinces from Antony, in Syria, Phœnice, and Arabia. The latter of these had paid tribute to her constantly enough, whilst Antony was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of Actium, of which we shall speak in a more proper place, Malchus, then king of that country, refused all further payment to her. Herod, who had got a complete army, with which he designed to assist his friend Antony against Octavianus, received orders from him to turn his forces against the Arabians. This was Cleopatra's plot; who, by bringing these two kings to a battle, proposed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which side it would. But as her spight against Herod was most prevailing, she sent one of her generals, named Athenion, who equally hated him, at the head of an army, under pretence of assisting him but in reality to betray and ruin him, because she foresaw that he was like to have the better of his enemy. For Herod upon the first encounter had given them a great overthrow, and

Cleopatra's plot against Herod.

[d] Ibid. c. 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 15 & vii. c. 28. [e] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 28.

and obliged them to get a fresh army together, which Malchus brought into Cæle-Syria. Here a second battle was fought near Cana (G), in which Herod was on the point of getting a new victory; when Athenion, who had stood neuter all the time of the engagement, fell upon his troops, and, in spight of Herod's speedy assistance and bravery, cut the greatest part of the Jews in pieces, and plundered their camp; Herod himself escaping with great difficulty, with a small number of his men [f]. The Maccabitish book adds, that Athenion was ordered to surround that monarch with his troops, as soon as he had engaged those of the Arabians [g]. However that be, Herod from that time forbore coming to an engagement with them, and contented himself with making frequent incursions against them, encamping always on the mountains; by which he got this double advantage, that he harrassed the enemy, and inured his own troops to the trade of war.

He is betrayed by Athenion.

HEROD was by this time got into the seventh year of his reign [h], when Judæa was shaken with such an earthquake, as had never been felt before, and which destroyed great numbers of cattle and many thousand persons, who perished under the ruins of their houses (H). His troops indeed escaped the common ruin, because he kept them encamped in the open field; nevertheless, the great loss, which the kingdom sustained by this calamity, obliged him to send an embassy to sue to the Arabians for peace. But by this time the account of his loss, having been greatly magnified to them, they not onely rejected his offers, but slew the embassadors that brought them, and invaded Judæa with utmost speed, expecting to have found it destitute of defence. It was with the greatest difficulty that Herod kept his men from

Judæa greatly damaged by an earthquake. Year of the flood 2968. before Christ 31.

[f] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. [g] Cap. lvi. [h] Vid. Usser. Annal. sub. A. M. 3973.

(G) Probably Canna in Syria, on the other side of the Libanus, or Cannath on the other side of Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Bostra in Arabia (49).

(H) Our historian in one place mentions but ten thousand slain (50), but in another he makes them to amount to three myriads, or thirty thousand men (1); which last is the more likely of the two, and agrees much better with the description he gives of that calamity.

(49) Euseb. Loc. Hebr. Vid. & Steph. Byz. sub. voc, Cannath.
(50) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. (1) Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 14.

from abandoning him; but having at length diſpelled their fears, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other ſide of the Jordan, and there gave them two ſuch ſignal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to ſue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to Jeruſalem [i] (I).

Antony's defeat at Actium. Year of the flood 2969 Before Chriſt 30.

But his happineſs was ſoon after troubled by the defeat of Antony by Auguſtus at the battle of Actium, by which he ſaw himſelf deprived of a moſt powerful, as well as ſteady, friend, and on the brink of falling a ſacrifice to the conqueror's reſentment. The beſt expedient he could think on, under this conſternation was to ſend advice to Antony to put Cleopatra to death, and to ſeize on her kingdom and treaſures; by which he might be enabled to raiſe new forces, and either make a freſh puſh for the empire, or, at the worſt, obtain eaſier conditions of peace. He promiſed him on thoſe terms to ſtick faſt to his intereſt, and to furniſh him with money, troops, and ſtrong-holds, and all other aſſiſtance to carry on the war againſt his rival [k]. But Antony was ſtill too great a ſlave to that princeſs, to conſent to ſuch an expedient; which when Herod perceived, he thought no more but how to make his peace with the conqueror, on the beſt terms he could. He had ſtill another dread upon him, as great as the diſpleaſure of Cæſar. Hyrcan, the only ſurviving male of the Aſmonean race, had been formerly acknowledged king of Judæa, and, as ſuch, had entered into alliances with the Roman ſenate. Herod, on the other hand, had been chiefly upheld in his throne by the intereſt of Antony; and Alexandra, ever watchful for all opportunities of being

[i] Antiq ubi ſupra, c. 8, & 9. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 14. [k] See his ſpeech to Auguſtus, Bell Jud. ubi ſupra. c. 15.

(I) The firſt of theſe battles was fought near Philadelphia, in which five thouſand Arabians were either killed on the ſpot, or trod to death in their flight. Herod having afterwards cloſely beſieged them in their camp, where they were ready to periſh for want of water, they offered him at firſt fifty talents for their freedom, which being rejected, they in great numbers came to ſurrender themſelves till the fifth day, on which the reſt in deſpair, and without hopes or proſpect of ſucceſs, attacked him, and had ſeven thouſand killed. Upon which they ſubmitted to his conditions, one of which was, that he was declared by them governor or protector of their nation (z).

(z) Ibid. ad fin. Antiq. ubi ſupra, ad fin.

being revenged on the uſurper, had begun to try to gain ſome advantage from the late change of affairs againſt him. Herod therefore, who had his ſpies about him, thought it unſafe to go to Auguſtus, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a ſnare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death, which he did, by cauſing him to be beheaded in the eighteenth year of his age (K).

THIS was the diſmal end of that unfortunate prince, after a long ſeries of unhappy viciſſitudes. He was at firſt raiſed to the pontifical dignity by his mother Alexandra, and ſucceeded her ſoon after in the kingdom alſo; three months after which, he was deprived of both by his brother Ariſtobulus. He was reſtored to both by Pompey, and enjoyed them near forty years, till depoſed again and diſqualified by Antigonus, who cut off his ears, and ſent him priſoner into Parthia, from whence he unfortunately returned at the preſſing invitation of Herod, who owed his life, crown, and all his greatneſs to him, and who repaid all his kindneſſes with a violent death [1].

HEROD'S next care, before he departed, was, to ſecure his family the beſt he could, in caſe he ſhould miſcarry in his addreſs to Auguſtus. To that end, he committed his mother Cyprus and his ſiſter Salome to the care of his brother Herod goes to Auguſtus.

[1] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(K) So ſays the fourth book of the Maccabees (3). The trap into which he was drawn was a maſter-piece of his politic rival, who corrupted ſome of his and his daughter's confidents, to ſet on foot a kind of treaſonable correſpondence, whether real or counterfeited, with Malchus king of Arabia, wherein Hyrcan deſired to put himſelf again under his protection, and begged of him to ſend him ſome horſemen to conduct him from a private place near Jeruſalem, to the lake Aſphaltites, which was about ninety miles diſtant from that metropolis.

Doſitheus, the agent of this correſpondence, betrayed to Herod both this letter and the anſwer, in which the Arabian king promiſed him a ſafe eſcort to convey him away; Herod ſummoned the pontiff before his council, and having taxed him with it, and, upon his denial, ſhewed him the very letter, cauſed him to be condemned to die.

This laſt article Joſephus tells us (4), he took as he found it in the commentary which Herod left behind him; but at the ſame time he relates the matter ſomewhat differently from other hands. We refer the reader for it to the place laſt quoted.

(3) cap. 54. (4) Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 9.

Pheroras, whom he sent into the castle of Alexandrion, with orders to this last to seize on the Jewish crown, and defend it to the last, in case he heard that it went ill with him. As for his wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra, he sent them into the strong fortress of Massada, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named Joseph, and of Sohemus, one of his chief confidents, with express orders to put those two princesses to death, as soon as he received the news of his ill success at the emperor's court; and then to go and assist his brother with all his power. He embarqued soon after for Rhodes, where Augustus then was; and, having obtained an audience from him, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem, and spoke to him with such a seeming confidence, as if he was sure beforehand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to Antony's interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessaries for the war; and even the counsel he had given him, after his defeat, of killing Cleopatra and seizing on her kingdom and immense treasure, in order to obtain a more advantageous peace. All this, said he, concluding his speech, I thought myself bound in honour, gratitude, and friendship, to do for Antony; but since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and stedfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. An earnest of which he had already given to the emperor in the timely succour he had sent to Q. Didius, his governor in Syria, against Antony's gladiators (L). Augustus was very much taken both with his speech and gallant behaviour: he had likewise been acquainted with the succour he had sent to Didius, and thanked him for it, assuring him, that he readily accepted

His speech to him.

Is well received by him.

(L) These were an abject race, whom Antony had brought up at Cyzicum to exhibit triumphant sports; and these, when they heard of his defeat, determined to go into Egypt to his assistance. They had fought their way through several provinces in their march thither, Didius was the first who put a stop to their progress, being privately assisted by Herod with some troops; and at length prevailed upon them to quit their gladiatorical employment, after they had waited a long time in vain for Antony's joining them (5).

(5) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 10.

accepted of his friendship, and confirmed the kingdom to him, in token of which, he ordered him to take up his diadem, and wear it before him. Herod, pleased with his good success, made some presents to Augustus and his favourites, according to his usual profuseness, and was from that time in greater esteem with him than any other tributary prince; so that he returned to Jerusalem highly satisfied with these additions of honour and power; but all this was soon soured by the ill reception he met with from his favourite Mariamne and her exasperated mother [m].

Troubled with domestic jars.

For these two princesses, looking upon their confinement at Massada only as a more honourable imprisonment, and remembering with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle Joseph concerning them, did not doubt, but he had given the same to their two new guardians. To be satisfied of it, they spared neither presents nor caresses, till they had got the fatal secret from Sohemus, so that when Herod came to Massada, and was going to embrace the queen with his usual tenderness, and to acquaint her with his success, he was surprized to find all his caresses answered with sighs, and tears, and all other marks of grief and disdain. His resentment rose to such a height, that it extorted from him the bittersest reproaches, accompanied with such threatenings, as would have alarmed any woman but her. But his love, which was no less violent, seldom suffered those sallies of anger to be long-lived; till his mother and sister, tired and affrighted to see him still floating between those opposite passions, found out a way to work her effectual ruin, by raising the vilest surmises and calumnies against her unspotted character.

His magnificent reception of Augustus.

In the mean time, Augustus passing through Syria in his way to Egypt, Herod, who went to meet him as far as Ptolemais, entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence; and, besides a present that he made to him of eight hundred talents, took care to furnish his army with bread, wine, and other provisions, as they marched through some barren deserts, where they might have been otherwise in danger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him as far as Pelusium, and that emperor was so charmed with his politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side, whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diversion. He gave him the same magnificent reception, upon his return from Egypt, as he passed through Syria; in

[m] Ibid. c. 10.

return of which, Auguſtus made him a preſent of the four thouſand Gauls, which had ſerved as life-guards to Cleopatra, and reſtored to him the territories and revenues of Jericho, Gadara, Hippon, and Samaria, in the inlands, and thoſe of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton on the ſea-ſide, which made a conſiderable inlargment both to his kingdom and revenues. But, upon his return to Jeruſalem, he relapſed into his former diſcontent and jealouſies, on account of his beloved queen, whoſe averſion to him did daily encreaſe, inſomuch, that ſhe came at laſt to treat him with ſuch contempt, and accompanied it with ſuch bitter reflections, as eaſily convinced him, that ſhe had conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt him. She gave him a mortifying inſtance of it ſoon after, and ſuch a one as haſtened her death, by giving her enemies an opportunity of taking the blackeſt means for puſhing his fury againſt her to the higheſt pitch.

Mariamne's averſion to him.

HEROD, who had by this time floated near a year between the moſt violent affection and reſentment, had withdrawn himſelf into his chamber to reſt himſelf during the heat of the day; he ſent for her, and in the kindeſt manner invited her to lie down by him; but ſhe, inſtead of complying with this laſt requeſt, returned his careſſes with invincible ſcorn, upbraided him with all the other wrongs he had done to her and her family, and particularly the death of her father and brother, which ſo exaſperated that fierce monarch, that he was on the point of killing her with his own hands. Salome did not let this opportunity ſlip of putting her helliſh engines at work againſt that unfortunate princeſs: ſhe had corrupted the king's cup-bearer before-hand to be ready on the firſt call with one of the blackeſt accuſations againſt her; and now ſhe ſent him to Herod, with a poiſoned cup in one hand, and a ſum of money in the other, to acquaint him, that Mariamne had bribed him with the one to adminiſter the other to him. The rage this new accuſation threw him in, made him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidents to be put to the rack; but all the confeſſion he could extort from him was, that he believed the cruel orders, he had lately left with Sohemus, had exaſperated that princeſs againſt him (M). Herod, enraged that a perſon, in whom he repoſed ſo great confidence, ſhould dare, in ſpight of his expreſs commands to the contrary, to diſcloſe ſo important a ſecret

She is falſely accuſed.

(M) The fourth book of the Maccabees (6) ſays, it was Joſeph, and not Sohemus, that betrayed the ſecret, and that it was not

(6) ubi ſupra.

ſecret, was eaſily perſuaded that there muſt have been ſome criminal converſation between them, and therefore ordered that favourite to be put to immediate death. As for Mariamne, he reſolved to have her publicly tried, and having packed up a ſet of judges of his own creatures, he himſelf carried on the proſecution with ſuch violence, that they eaſily underſtood they muſt condemn her to death, though they all hoped and begged that he would not precipitate their ſentence, but confine her to ſome caſtle, till he had more maturely conſulted with his own heart. But Salome, who knew how apt her brother was to relapſe, and fearing ſome diſcovery might come out of her treachery to her, if her death ſhould be delayed, did at length obtain an order from him for her execution, under pretence, that the nation would riſe up in arms for her, if he ſuffered her to live any longer.

Tried and condemned to die.

MARIAMNE received the fatal ſummons with an heroic courage, becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and marched to the place of execution with incredible ſerenity, till an accident befel her, which put her conſtancy to the ſevereſt trial. Her mother, the turbulent intriguing Alexandra, who expected nothing but to follow her in a ſhort time, could think on no better expedient to avert the impending ſtorm, than by trying to ingratiate herſelf to Herod, by inſulting her unfortunate daughter all the way ſhe was led to the fatal place; and not contented to load her with the bittereſt of reproaches, for her ingratitude and faithleſſneſs to the beſt of huſbands, ſhe made ſeveral offers to ſtrike her and pull her by her hair. Mariamne bore all her pretended reſentment without betraying any other change in her countenance, than an inward ſhame at ſo baſe an artifice, which proved, however, far enough from ſucceeding, as the ſequel will preſently ſhew. Mariamne ſubmitted to her death with the ſame conſtancy and intrepidity as ſhe had lived [n], and with her ended all the happineſs of her tyrannic huſband.

Her death.

HEROD's rage being ſoon quenched with the blood of that amiable princeſs, his love broke out the more fiercely, and filled not the eunuch, but Mariamne herſelf, who in a fit of reſentment upbraided the brutal king with it. But it is hardly probable, conſidering the puniſhment that ſhe had ſeen inflicted on Herod's uncle for the like diſcovery, that Mariamne would have expoſed either of theſe to the effects of his fury.

Herod's remorſe.

Beſides, we cannot ſuppoſe, that either Joſeph or Sohemus would have ventured to diſcloſe the matter to her, without ſome previous promiſe of ſecrecy, and Mariamne was a princeſs of too ſtrict virtue and honour to have broke it upon any account.

[n] Ibid. c. 11.

filled him with such pungent remorse, that his life became a burthen to him. He tried in vain to divert his grief with feastings and other diversions; Mariamne was still uppermost in his thoughts, he called aloud after her, and sometimes would order those of his attendance to fetch her to him. A grievous pestilence, which happened soon after and swept away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a fresh load to his misery, because it was universally looked upon as a just judgment on him for all the blood he had shed, and especially that of his injured queen. At first he withdrew himself into some of the neighbouring deserts, under pretence of hunting, but really to avoid the sight of men. At length being seized with a violent distemper in his bowels, he returned to Samaria, where his physicians tried in vain to give him some ease; their medicines did but encrease his pain, through his wilfulness and irregular living. His constitution did, however, get the better of his disease, but never could of his sour and brutish humour, to which he abandoned himself more and more, as he recovered his health and strength. He grew up at length to such a height of cruelty, that he spared neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage, and went on sacrificing numbers of his relations and best friends to his passion, even to the day of his death.

A grievous plague. Year of the flood 2971. Before Christ 28.

ALEXANDRA, the base and unnatural mother of the late virtuous Mariamne, was one of the very first that fell a victim to his rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of Herod's death, while he lay sick at Samaria, had made her set her wits to work to corrupt the governors of the two principal fortresses of Judæa, the one called Antonia near the temple, and the other in the city of Jerusalem, to deliver them up into her hands (N), together with Herod's children, pretending thereby to secure the kingdom for his sons by Mariamne in case of their father's death. But her restless and intriguing genius was so well known to those governors, that, instead of complying with her request, they informed the king

(N) These two fortresses were justly looked upon as as the two main keys of the kingdom, the one commanding the temple, and the other the city; so that it was of the utmost consequence to the candidates for the crown to be masters of them, or at least of the first of them; for the Jews had such an invincible attachment to the worship of the temple, that there was scarce any thing, even life itself, which they would not sacrifice to the liberty of coming to that sacred place, at all proper times and solemnities.

king with it, who ſent orders back to have her immediately put to death, which was accordingly done without further trial. The next was his brother-in-law Coſtobares, who was an Idumæan and had married Salome, after Herod had put her firſt huſband to death, as we have related above. This man, whom Herod had raiſed from an inferior rank (O) to the government of Idumæa, had juſtly incurred his diſpleaſure, by endeavouring to make himſelf and that province independent from him, and applying to Cleopatra for aſſiſtance. Herod would have put him to immediate death, had not Salome interpoſed; but ſhe, afterwards falling out with, and willing to get rid of, him, firſt ſent him a bill of divorce; and to juſtify that unlawful action to her brother (P), told him, that ſhe had diſcovered a treaſonable deſign, which was carried on by her huſband in conjunction with Lyſimachus, Doſitheus, and Antipater; and, as a proof of it, told him, that he privately kept the ſons of Babas (Q) under his protection, contrary to his expreſs commands; all which Herod having found true, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Alexandra put to death.

Salome divorces her huſband. Year of the flood 2973. Before Chriſt 26.

Herod, having by this time rid himſelf of the Aſmonean race and of their moſt conſiderable partiſans, began now to ſhew

(O) He was deſcended from the antient prieſts of Choſe, a deity of the Idumæans, before they were forced by Hyrcan I. to embrace the Jewiſh religion.

This deiety is not unrightly ſuppoſed to be חוזה or ſeer, prophet or law-giver of the Hebrews (7); for if we may believe Epiphanius (8), both the Idumæans and Arabs of Arabia Petrea did worſhip Moſes, and paid divine honours to his ſtatue.

(P) According to the Moſaic law, the husbands alone were permitted to divorce their wives, but not the wife the Husband (9). However, Salome, relying on her brother's friendſhip and her own politic head, aſſumed that prerogative, which no Jewiſh woman, that we know of, had ever done before.

(Q) Theſe had been great ſticklers for the Aſmonean race, and at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the opening of the gates to Herod, for which that prince, upon his taking of the city, had given charge to Coſtobares to ſecure them; but he had let them eſcape, and had excuſed the matter to him; but Herod finding now that he had ſent them into an aſylum and maintained them there, he put their protector, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

(7) Calmet. Hiſt. vet. teſt. ſub A. M. 3976. (8) Hæreſ. 55. (9) Vid. Deuter. xxiv. 1, & ſeq. Matt. xix. 3, & ſeq. Mark x. 2, & ſeq. Maimon. de repud.

ſhew a greater diſregard to the Jewiſh religion than he had hitherto ventured to do, by aboliſhing ſeveral of its ceremonies, and introducing ſome foreign cuſtoms, which were forbidden by it. He began with building a ſtately theatre in the city, and a ſpacious amphitheatre in its ſuburbs, and ordered public games to be celebrated in them, every fifth year, in honour of Auguſtus; and, to draw the greater concourſe to them, he cauſed them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the moſt diſtant kingdoms, and promiſed magnificent prizes to thoſe that ſhould gain the victory. Beſides great numbers of the moſt expert muſicians, players, courſers, gladiators, &c. which he had ſent for thither, he cauſed alſo ſome of the fierceſt wild beaſts to be brought and fought upon the ſtage; all which did not a little diſpleaſe the zealous Jews, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expoſe men to the fury of wild beaſts. But what exaſperated them moſt were, the trophies, with which he had cauſed thoſe ſumptuous places to be adorned, and which they, miſtaking for ſtatues, thought contrary to their law, which forbids all kinds of imagery, whether carved, or even painted. They therefore cried out againſt him, that he had profaned their city, and that they would never tamely bare ſuch idolatrous monuments to be ſet up in it. Herod tried in vain to undeceive them by fair ſpeeches; he was forced at length to lead ſome of the principal of them to the place, and to order the armour of the trophies to be taken down, and thereby to convince them, that there was nothing under them but bare poſts. This demonſtration did indeed ſatisfy them as to this one point, and turned their outcries into laughter; but the generality of the nation retained ſuch an averſion againſt him, upon the account of his other heatheniſh novelties, that they looked no longer upon him as a Jewiſh king, but as a heathen and a tyrant.

TEN of the boldeſt of them took it at laſt into their heads to enter the theatre with daggers hid under their cloaths, and either to ſtab the king or ſome of his retinue, not doubting but even their periſhing in the attempt would render the tyrant ſtill more odious. They were not miſtaken; for Herod being informed of their deſign by one of his ſpies, and cauſing the aſſaſſins to be put to a moſt excruciating death, the people were ſo exaſperated againſt the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and caſt his fleſh to the dogs. Herod tried in vain to diſcover the authors of this affront; he was at laſt forced to order ſome women to be put to the rack, and to extort from them the names of the principal of them,

whom

whom he caused likewise to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This last act of cruelty drove the Jews into such desperate hatred against him, that he expected nothing less than a general revolt; to prevent which he set about fortifying Jerusalem, rebuilding Samaria (R), and garrisoning several other fortresses in Judæa, whose situation was most likely to keep the country in awe [n], and whose names the reader may find at the end of the last note.

Samaria rebuilt. Year of the flood 2976, Before Christ 23.

About the same time, which was the thirteenth year of his reign, Judæa was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence, of which great multitudes died daily for want of proper help and sustenance. Herod, whose treasury was exhausted, by building so many cities and fortresses, and whose finances were reduced to the lowest ebb, through the famine and death of his subjects, was forced to melt down all his plate, and to send it down into Egypt, to procure a fresh supply of provisions, in order to stop the mouths of the people, who, as is usual in

Judæa visited with famine and pestilence.

[n] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 11.

(R) We took notice in a former section, that this city, which had been destroyed by Hyrcan, had been in part rebuilt by Gabinius governor of Syria, and called from him Gabiniana; but, he being soon after turned out, it advanced no higher than a good large village. Herod therefore chose to finish that work, and to restore that place to its pristine splendor; because, being but one day's journey, or thirty-five miles, distant from Jerusalem, he could easily make it a place of retreat, in case of necessity.

He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited six thousand foreigners to come and settle there, who, finding the soil very fertile, became very rich in a short time. He gave it the name of Sebaste, which signifies the same in Greek as doth Augusta in Latin.

The other places which he fortified and garrisoned were, the tower of Straton, which he called Cæsarea, in honour of the emperor, and made it so strong, that it seemed to command the whole country. He built likewise another strong fortress in the midst of a plain, and put in it a garrison of horse. A third he built in Galilee, named Gabala, and a fourth in Esthmonitis in Perea; all which, being also well stored with arms and provisions, were a great check to the whole kingdom (11).

But he bestowed the most cost on his new Sebaste, to which he allowed a circuit of twenty stades, or two miles and a half. In the centre of it was a spacious square of about a stade and a half, and in the middle a stately temple. In a word, he spared no cost to render it one of the richest and most beautiful cities of his realm, and looked upon it as his favourite master-piece (12).

(11) Idem. ibid. (12) Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.

in such calamities, threw all the odium of them upon him. The drought having likewise killed such numbers of their cattle, that they had not wooll sufficient left to cloath themselves against the approaching winter, he took care also to procure a sufficient supply of it betimes; and Petronius, the Roman prefect then in Egypt, notwithstanding the multitudes of people who applied to him from other provinces for the same things, did so far befriend him, as to send him a sufficient quantity of them; which Herod caused to be immediately distributed among his subjects, but to the Jews preferably to any of the rest. This generosity did, for the present, change their hatred into admiration, and his praises were for a while the main subject of their discourse; but as he soon relapsed into his cruel and savage humour, so their love was soon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death. However, his prudent liberality having stored the country with plenty of corn, and the long drought being succeeded by more refreshing seasons, they began to cultivate their lands again, and found them, to their great comfort, restored to their former fecundity [o].

Relieved by Herod's generosity.

As soon as the land had recovered itself from the late calamity, Herod went on with his building (S), particularly his stately palace near the temple of Jerusalem, in which the gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, seemed to outvie one another. There were in it, among other apartments, two magnificent ones, to the one of which he gave the name of Augustus, and to the other that of Agrippa. At the same time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himself to the emperor, by more substantial services than building of places to his honour; for Gellius having been sent with

[o] Ibid. c. 12.

(S) Amongst them, that of Cæsarea, mentioned in the last note, was the most magnificent next to Sebaste. He bestowed twelve years in the finishing and adorning of it. It stood on the coast of Phœnice, and was very convenient for trade, but had till then a very dangerous harbour, so that no ships could be safe in it when the wind was at south-west. Herod remedied this inconveniency at an immense labour and charge, and made it one of the most convenient havens on that coast. He beautified also the place with stately buildings. The reader may see in Josephus (13) a full account of this immense work, and of many others, in other places, erected by that prince; which, joined to his profuse munificence, justly gained him the surname of Great.

(13) Idem ibid.

with an army to attempt the conqueſt of Arabia, Herod failed not to ſend him very conſiderable ſuccours, and among the reſt five hundred of the ſtouteſt of his guards; and though that enterpriſe proved unſucceſsful to the Romans in a country where the air, water, and aliments, were as contrary to them as the temper of the people *, yet Herod's aſſiſtance proved ſo uſeful and ſeaſonable to them, that Cæſar could not chuſe being highly pleaſed with it [p].

THIS very year alſo he married another Mariamne, who was the daughter of a Jewiſh prieſt of Alexandria, named Simon the ſon of Boethus, and a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raiſe her father up to a condition fit for ſuch an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having diſpoſſeſſed Jeſus, the ſon of Phabœus, of that dignity. Soon after theſe nuptials, he went and built the magnificent palace of Herodion, on the place where he had formerly defeated the Antigonians. The ſituation of it was ſo inviting (T), that the Jews and other people gladly came and built round it; ſo that from a palace it ſoon became a conſiderable city [q]. In a word, he ſpared no coſt to leave every-where ſome monuments of his unmeaſured magnificence, as well in Judæa as out of it; but with this difference, that thoſe in Judæa were not adorned, as the reſt were, with temples and other buildings, with ſtatues and other carvings, which he knew the Jews would never have borne with any patience; but as for thoſe which he built out of it, he gave himſelf all the ſcope which either his pride, or deſire of pleaſing the Romans, could inſpire him with; for all which he had a ſalvo ready, namely, that he did in all this only obey, and even much againſt his will, the orders of the emperor, who had a right to command him.

BY this time Herod ſeemed to be at the height of all his wiſhes; his being in ſuch high eſteem with Auguſtus made him either loved or feared by his ſubjects and neighbours; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour ſtill

Herod ſends his two ſons to Rome.

* De hoc. bell. vide Strabo l. xvi. [p] Ant. ubi ſupra, & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. [q] Antiq. ubi ſupra, & l. xviii. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11, & 16. Vide & Plin. hiſt. l. v. c. 14.

(T) This ſtately building ſtood on a pleaſant hill, about ſeven miles from Jeruſalem, and had the proſpect as well as command of all the country round about. The gradual declivity of it was no leſs beautiful. The reader may ſee it deſcribed, as well as the city, by the authors quoted above.

ſtill more, he ſent his two favourite ſons, whom he had by Mariamne, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. Pollio, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a ſtately houſe at Rome; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and aſſigned them apartments in his own palace; and ſo well pleaſed was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name which of them he pleaſed to be his ſucceſſor. He likewiſe added ſeveral provinces to his kingdom, whoſe names, as well as the occaſion of the gift, the reader will find in the margin (V). Zenodorus, from whom they had been

Accuſed by Zenodorus.

(V) Theſe were the three diſtricts of Trachonitis, Auranitis or Iturea, and Batanea, which were ſituate between Libanus and Perea, on the other ſide of Jordan (14).

They were given to him on this occaſion; Zenodorus, tetrarch of a ſmall toparchy, had farmed theſe from Varro the then preſident of Syria, and ſuffered the inhabitants of it, who lived chiefly in rocks and caves, to make excurſions into all the neighbouring countries impunely. A complaint of this had been ſent by Varro to Auguſtus; upon which orders were brought back to him at any rate to extirpate thoſe robbers; and, for the more effectual doing of it, the emperor commanded him to take thoſe three toparchies from Zenodorus, and to put them under Herod, who, with his uſual ſucceſs, ſoon ferretted them out, and cleared the country of them.

Zenodorus, however, went to Rome to complain of the injuſtice done him in taking thoſe diſtricts from him; but the emperor, who had reaſon to ſuſpect that he had made a gain by protecting a vermin which he ought to have ſuppreſſed, would not ſo much as hear him.

Agrippa being ſoon after ſent into Syria, Herod went to meet him at Mitylene; and, ſoon after his return, Zenodorus, in hopes of meeting with better ſucceſs with him, ſtirred up the Gadarens to come and proffer ſundry grievous complaints againſt him. But he found the new governor too well rooted in Herod's intereſt to hear any accuſation againſt him; on the contrary, he ſent them bound to Jeruſalem, where Herod, hoping to gain them by fair uſage, ordered them to be ſet at liberty.

Zenodorus, thus diſappointed again, went and ſold the territories of Auranitis to the Arabs for fifty talents; ſo that a war was like to have enſued between Herod and them, they being deaf

(14) De his conf. Luc. iii. 1. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. St. Jerom. & Euſeb. loc. Hebr. & al.

been taken, having tried in vain ſeveral ways to regain them from him, took the opportunity of the emperor's coming into Syria, to bring a deputation from the Gadarenes with him to Antioch, there to renew their complaints againſt Herod, and to accuſe him of oppreſſion, tyranny, and other ſuch crimes; and Auguſtus did ſeem to comply ſo far with their requeſt, that he ſet a day for Herod, who was there alſo, to make his defence before them; but, when he came to do it, the emperor betrayed ſuch viſible favour and partiality towards him, that his accuſers, fearing to be delivered up to his reſentment, choſe to diſpatch themſelves out of the world that very night; which they did, ſome by drowning, ſome by hanging themſelves, and other ſuch deſperate ways. Zenodorus in particular was ſo terrified by it, that he took a ſtrong doſe of poiſon, which quite corroded his bowels, and ended his life by the next morning [r].

And acquitted. Year of the Flood 2978. Before Chriſt 21.

AUGUSTUS, however ſtopped not his kindneſs here, but, looking upon the deſperate exit of Herod's accuſers as a proof of his innocence and merit, appointed him his procurator in Syria, and forbid his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. At the ſame time Herod took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending on his ſucceſſor's favour after his death (W). In acknowledgment for all theſe gifts, Herod, having accompanied the emperor to the ſea-port, built a ſumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble, near the Panium, or place whence the Jordan has its origin †. The vaſt number of edifices he built, and adorned with carvings and other imagery, which the Jews looked upon as deſtructive of religion and good manners, did ſo exaſperate them againſt him, that he was forced to remit them a third

[r] Antiq. l. xv. c. 13. † De hoc vide ſupra, vol. iii. p. 125, (S), & p. 126.

deaf to all his offers for ending the diſpute in an amicable way (15), when Auguſtus's coming in a lucky time decided the controverſy in his favour, as has been ſeen above.

(W) Joſephus does not tell us where this tetrarchy was ſituate; but, by what we find in another place (16), it ſeems to have been beyond Jordan, and at ſome diſtance from Jeruſalem.

(15) Vide Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 13. (16) Ibid. l. xvii. c. 5.

a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed was, that the laſt grievous dearth, which had greatly impoveriſhed the land, required this largeſs from him; but, at the bottom, it was the murmurs and private meetings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever, that extorted it from him, in hopes that it would in ſome meaſure allay the fourneſs of their ſpirits. However, to let them ſee, that he was neither inſenſible of their mutinous cabals, nor afraid to put a ſtop to them, he iſſued out an edict, expreſly forbidding all public and private aſſemblies, whether on account of feaſts, or any other pretence, under the ſevereſt penalties. But as he not only had his ſpies every-where, but did ſometimes mix himſelf among them in diſguiſe, he quickly found all theſe precautions were like to prove to little purpoſe to keep the people in obedience. This made him bethink himſelf of exacting an oath of fidelity from them; but this new impoſition was ſo ſtrenuouſly refuſed by Pollio, or Hillel, and Shamai, at the head of the whole ſect of Eſſenians, and by all the chiefs of the Phariſees, that he was forced to ſet it aſide, without venturing to ſhew any reſentment againſt thoſe that had oppoſed him in it, for fear of exaſperating the whole nation againſt him [s].

Propoſes the rebuilding of the temple.

He fell ſoon after upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and at the ſame time to ſatiefy his invincible itch of eterniſing his memory, by the number and magnificence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their temple made him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding of it, in a more ſtately manner, would not fail to recommend him, not only to the preſent Jews, but alſo to poſterity. The difficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and able to rear ſuch a coſtly edifice, after he had pulled down the old one; and this he did in a ſet ſpeech, which he made to their aſſembly, wherein, with his uſual eloquence, he failed not to diſplay his zeal for the glory of God and for the promoting of his religion. Among other things he reminded them how vaſtly inferior that ſacred place now was to that which had been formerly built by Solomon (X); but this, he told them, was rather to be imputed

[s] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

(X) Joſephus makes him ſay here (17), that the preſent temple was lower by fifty cubits than that of Solomon; which cannot be underſtood of the holy place, which we are

(17) Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 14.

puted to the want of ability in thoſe that returned from Babylon, than to their want of zeal; but now that God was pleaſed not only to raiſe him to the Jewiſh throne, but to bleſs him with peace, plenty, affluence, and with the friendſhip of the Romans, he thought himſelf bound to make ſome ſignal acknowledgment to him for all theſe bleſſings, and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple in the manner he propoſed, could not but be acceptable both to him and them; but as he found them very much heſitating at the difficulty, length, and expenſiveneſs of ſuch a work, he was forced to engage not to move a ſtone from the old edifice, till he had prepared all the materials for the new. As ſoon as he had gained their conſent (Y), he ſet immediately ten thouſand workmen to work, under the direction of a thouſand prieſts the beſt ſkilled in carving, maſonry, &c. all whom he kept

 under

are told (18), was but thirty cubits high; whereas that built after the captivity, was, by Cyrus's own grant, ſixty cubits high (19). If therefore there be no miſtake crept into the text, both Herod and the Jewiſh hiſtorians muſt probably ſpeak of ſome of the galleries, which might be ſo much higher in the firſt than in the ſecond temple. The reader may recur to what we have ſaid on the ſubject at the beginning of this †, and in the appendix in the fourth volume.

(Y) This aſſembly ſeems to have been held about the time of the Eaſter ſolemnity, when there was the greateſt concourſe of Jews at Jeruſalem; for Joſephus ſays it was in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign; that is, as the learned Uſher obſerves, reckoning from the death of Antigonus (20), which hapened not till about the midſummer after his impriſonment; according to which reckoning the nineteenth year of Herod not beginning till the nineteenth year before Chriſt, the ſix firſt months muſt have belonged to the eighteenth year of his reign, which brings it to the paſſover feaſt above-mentioned (21). We muſt not, however, look upon this building as a new temple, as diſtinct from that of Zerubbabel, as that was from that of Solomon, but rather as the ſame rebuilt, enlarged, and adorned, upon the old foundation and with the ſame materials, as far as they could go. The very Jews themſelves ſtill looked upon it as the ſecond temple, and that which was to exceed that of Solomon in glory, by the preſence of the Meſſiah, according to the prophecy of Haggai; but, as we cannot enlarge on this ſubject, we ſhall refer the curious reader to the elaborate preface of Conſtantine l' Empereur, prefixed to his comment on the book of Middoth, where he will find that point diſcuſſed to his ſatisfaction.

(18) 1 Kings vi. 2. (19) Ezra vi. 3. † See p. 13. (K). (20) Annal. ſub. A. M. 3987. (21) Vid. Prid. connect. ſub. A. C. 19.

under his pay. One thouſand carts were likewiſe employed in fetching all the materials; and, in a word, ſuch a number of hands was employed and ſuch expedition uſed, that he got every thing ready within the ſpace of two years, after which they ſet about pulling down the old building, and with the ſame diſpatch rearing the new one; ſo that the holy place, or temple properly ſo called, was finiſhed in a year and a half's time; during which, we are told [t], it never rained in the day-time, but only in the night. The remainder took up a little above eight years, by which time it was, if not wholly finiſhed (Z), yet made fit for divine ſervice, according to the king's firſt deſign. The temple, properly ſo called, or holy place, was but ſixty cubits high, and as many in breadth; but in the front he added two wings or ſhoulders, which projected twenty cubits more on each ſide; which made a front of one hundred and twenty cubits in length, and as many in heighth, with a gate ſeventy cubits high and twenty in breadth, but open and without any doors [u]. The ſtones were white marble, twenty-five cubits in length, twelve in heighth, and nine in breadth, all wrought and poliſhed with exquiſite beauty, the whole reſembling a ſtately palace, whoſe middle being conſiderably raiſed above the extremities of each face, made

The building finiſhed with wonderous ſpeed and magnificence.

[t] Ibid. c. ult. [u] Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 6.

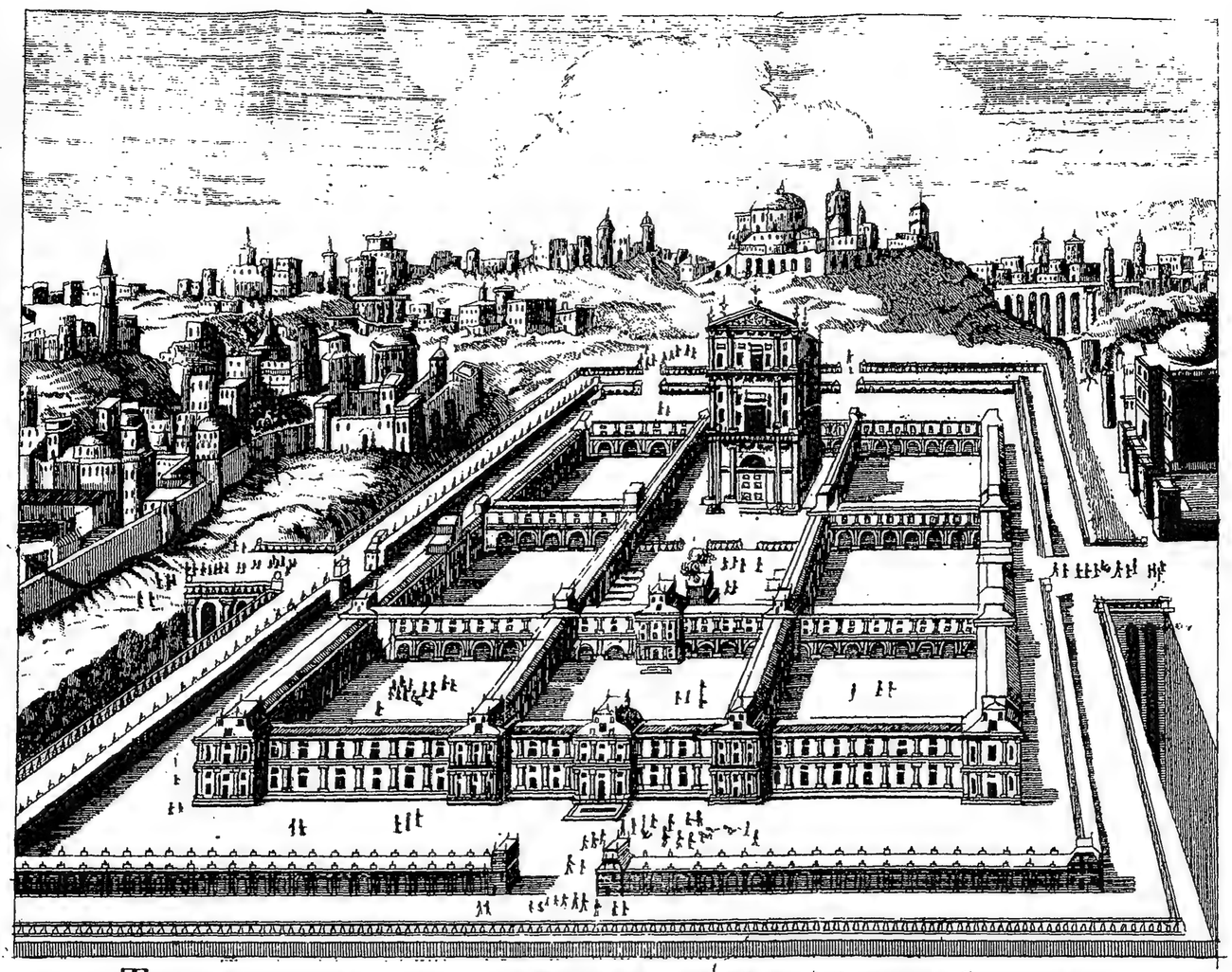
(Z) Joſephus ſhews us in another place (22), that the whole was ſtill continued till the beginning of the Jewiſh war under Gellius Florus, when eighteen thouſand workmen being diſmiſſed and like to be idle, the Jews, unwilling their treaſure ſhould be laid up to become a prey to the Romans, petitioned the king (Agrippa) to build the eaſtern porch, which incloſed the moſt outward parts of the temple; but the king having refuſed their ſuit, thoſe men, for want of work, began to raiſe thoſe ſeditions which haſtened the deſtruction both of the city and temple; ſo that it is plain, ſome part of that building had been ſtill carried on till this time.

And hence that ſaying of the Jews to Chriſt, Forty and ſix years hath this temple been hitherto building; for ſo the text ought to be read, according to the import of the aoriſt there uſed by the evangeliſt (23); and indeed ſo long a time had elapſed, from the beginning of the building to the firſt paſſover after Chriſt had entered into his miniſtry, at which time the Jews were objecting this to him (24).

(22) Vide Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. (23) John ii. 20. (24) Vide Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3987.



THE JEWISH PRIEST ON THE DAY OF EXPIATION.



THE ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

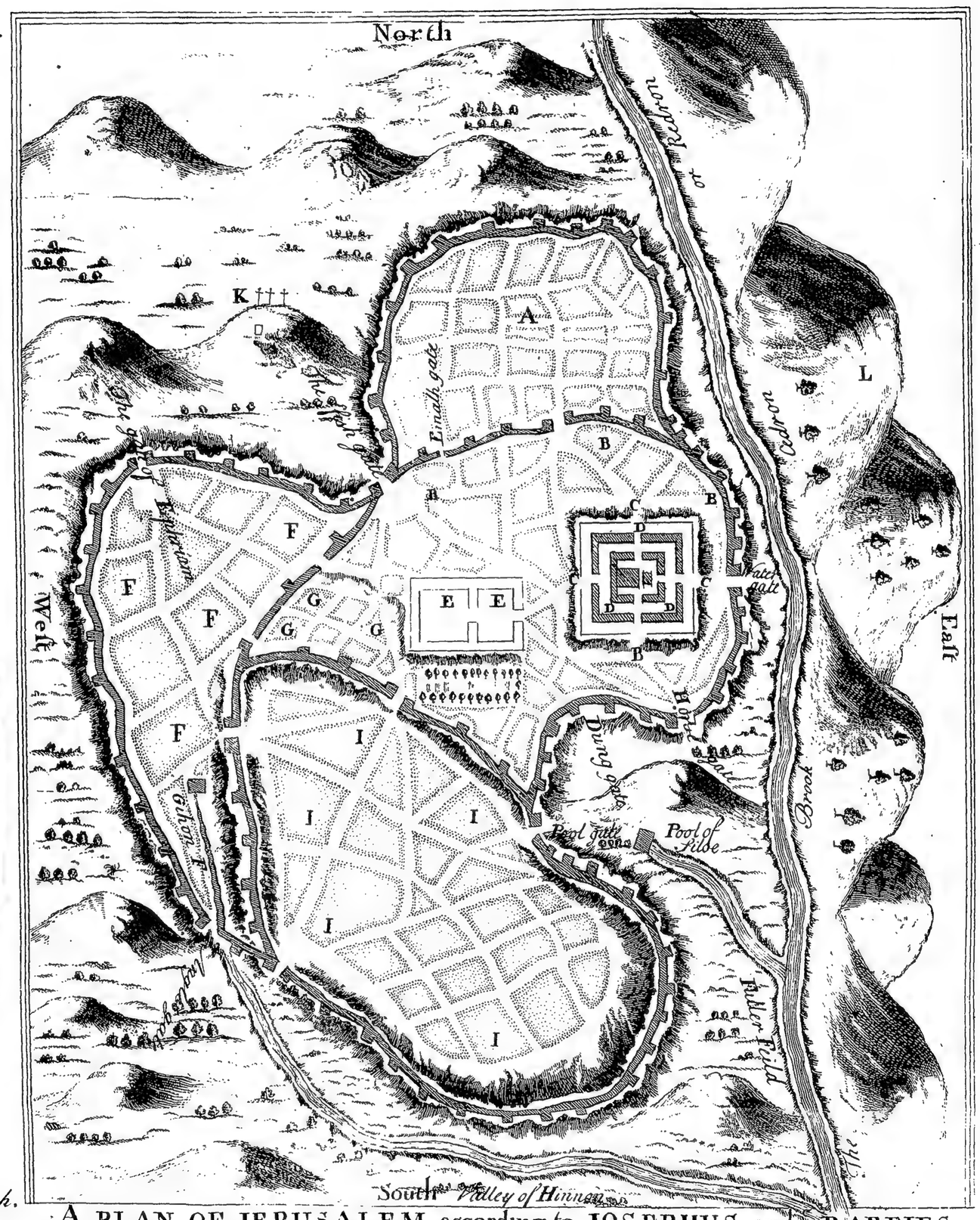


THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.



THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC.

A. *The new City built by the Maccabees.*
B. *The City of David.*
CC. *Mount Moriah.*
DD. *The Temple.*
EE. *The royal Palace.*
FF. *A new part of ye City built since Manasseh.*

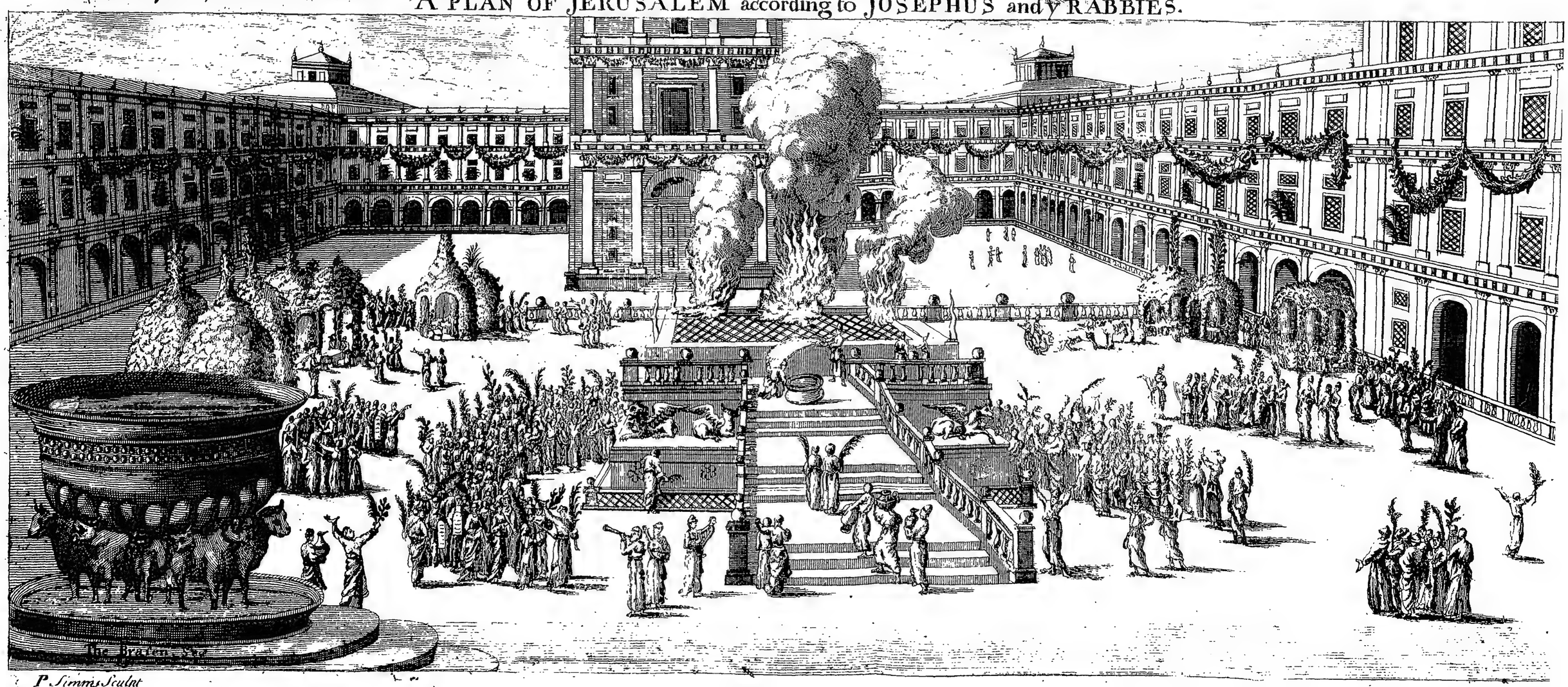


A PLAN OF JERUSALEM according to JOSEPHUS and y RABBIES.



THE BRASEN LAVER.

GG. *The Fortress Millo.*
II. *The old City anciently called Jebus.*
K. *Mount Calvary.*
L. *The Mount of Olives.*



P. Simms Sculpt

A VIEW OF THE INNER PORCH, ALTER &c. ON THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. de quo vid *pag 09*



Old and City Antiquity called Jebus.
Mount Calvary.
The Mount of Olives.



quo vid *pag 99*

made it afford a beautiful viſto at a great diſtance to thoſe that came to that metropolis (A). Inſtead of doors, the gates cloſed with very coſtly veils, enriched with variety of flowering of gold, ſilver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious; and on each ſide of the gates were planted two ſtately columns, from whoſe corniſhes did hang gold feſtoons, and vines, with their cluſters of grapes, leaves, &c. curiouſly wrought. As for the galleries that ſurrounded this ſacred place, the porticoes, towers, courts, and other embelliſhments of it, we do not deſign to ſwell this ſection with them, but give a ſhort ſketch of them in the margin (B), and refer

(A) This ſuperſtructure, which was probably reared on the old foundation, without ſufficient additions to it, proved as Joſephus tells us (25), too heavy for it, and ſunk down about twenty cubits; ſo that it was reduced to the heighth of one hundred. A project was ſet on foot for raiſing it a gain to its former heighth in Nero's time; but, upon ſome account or other, it was ſet aſide.

(B) We have already ſpoken in a former volume † of the fonndations of this ſtupendous work, ſome of whoſe walls were raiſed from the deep valley beneath, to the heighth of three hundred cubits and upwards, and ſome of the ſtones of it forty cubits long, all faſtened to each other with lead and iron, to be proof againſt time, wind, and weather. The platform was a regular ſquare of a ſtade or furlong on each ſide; and in that deſcription we gave of the ſuperſtructure*; we confined ourſelves to what the ſacred writers had ſaid of it, without introducing the vaſt additions that had been made ſince by Herod and his ſucceſſors.

Since then we have two accounts of Herod's temple, the one written by Joſephus (26), who had been a curious viewer of it; the other by Jehudah Hakkodeſh (27), the compiler of the Talmud, above one hundred and twenty years after its deſtuction by the Romans. From theſe the authors quoted in the margin (28) have reared each their ſeparate edifices, diſpoſed, beautified, and adorned them more by the ſtrength of their imagination, than by any ſuperior knowledge they had of the authors they copied from; though with reſpect to even theſe, whoever conſiders their ſwollen ſtyle, will be apt to look upon their accounts of that building, rather as panegyrics, than hiſtorical deſcrip-

ons

(25) Antiq. ubi ſupra. † Vol. iv. p. 60, (I). * Appen. in Vol iv. p. 184, & ſeq. (26) Ibid. & bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 6. & alib. paſſ. (27) Miſhna Jeph Middoth. (28) Villalpand. Capell. L'empereur, Grot. Le Clerc, Lamy, Prideaux, Whiſton, Calmet, & al. mult.

our readers for a fuller account to Josephus, the Talmud, and to such other writers, as have been at the pains of compiling their several descriptions from them.

WHILST

tions of it. However, if either is to be preferred to the other, Josephus, who had both seen it and described it soon after, if not before, its destruction, when he might have been contradicted, by numbers, who had viewed it as well as he, is certainly more to be credited than the Talmudists, who wrote so long after, and when they were sure there was none left to gain-say them. From him therefore we shall endeavour to give the best and shortest sketch and plan of that stately work, which is as follows:

Each front of this square, which, as we hinted above, was a furlong long, had a spacious gate or entrance, enriched with suitable ornaments; but that on the west had four gates, the one of which led to the palace, the next to the city, and the two others to the suburbs and fields. This inclosure was surrounded on the outside with a strong and high wall of large stones, well cemented; and on the inside had, on each front, a stately piazza or gallery, supported by columns of such bigness, that three men could but just embrace them, their circumference being about twenty-seven feet. There were in all, one hundred and sixty-two of them, which supported a cedar ceiling of exquisite workmanship, and formed three galleries, the middlemost of which was the largest and highest, it being forty-five feet in breadth and one hundred in heighth; whereas those on each side were but thirty feet wide and fifty in heighth.

The piazzas and court were paved with marble of various colours; and at a small distance from the galleries was a second inclosure, surrounded with a flight of beautiful marble rails, with stately columns at proper distances, on which were engraven certain admonitions in Greek and Latin, to forbid strangers, and those Jews that were not purified, to proceed further under pain of death. This inclosure had but one gate on the east-side, none on the west, but on the north and south it had three, placed at equal distances from each other.

A third inclosure surrounded the temple, properly so called, and the altar of burnt-offerings, and made what they called the court of the Hebrews or Israelites. It was square like the rest; but the wall on the outside was surrounded by a flight of fourteen steps, which hid a considerable part of it; and on the top was a terrace of about twelve cubits in breadth, which went quite round the whole cincture. The east side had but one gate, the west none, and the north and south four, at equal distances. Each gate was ascended to by five steps more, before one could reach the level of the inward court; so that the wall which inclosed it appeared within to be but twenty-five cubits high, tho' considerably

Herod goes to Rome.

WHILST the work of the temple was carrying on with ſuch ſurpriſing expedition, as raiſed the admiration of the Jews, Herod made a voyage to Rome, to pay his compliments to the emperor, and a paternal viſit to his two ſons. Perhaps alſo he did chuſe this time to be out of the hearing of ſome of the murmurings, which the zealous Jews raiſed againſt a law which he had lately made, to ſuppreſs the frequent incurſions and robberies which were committed in Judæa. By this law, it ſeems, he condemned every man that was found breaking through the walls of any houſe, to be ſold for a ſlave into foreign countries; and this had greatly diſpleaſed the nation, becauſe, contrary to that of Moſes, it made their ſlavery perpetual; whereas, had they been only ſold among their brethren, the ſabbatic or the jubilee year would have put an end to it. Another objection raiſed againſt that law was, that thoſe ſlaves would, in all likelihood, be tempted to forſake the Jewiſh religion and turn idolaters; upon which account it was ſtill more univerſally exclaimed

Makes a ſevere law againſt robbers.

rably higher on the outſide. On the inſide of each of thoſe gates were raiſed a couple of ſpacious ſquare chambers, in form of a pavilion, thirty cubits wide and forty in heighth, each ſupported by columns of twelve cubits circumference.

This incloſure had likewiſe a double flight of galleries on the inſide, ſupported by a double row of columns; but the weſtern ſide was only one continued wall, without gates or galleries. The women had likewiſe their particular courts ſeparate from that of the men, and one of the gates on the north and ſouth leading to it.

The altar of burnt-offerings was likewiſe high and ſpacious, being forty cubits in breadth and fifteen in heighth. The aſcent to it was, according to the Moſaic law †, ſmooth and without ſteps, and the altar of unhewn ſtones. It was ſurrounded at a convenient diſtance round about with a low wall or rail, not above a cubit in heighth, which divided the court of the prieſts from that of the lay Iſraelites; ſo that theſe laſt were allowed to come thus far to bring their offerings and ſacrifices; but none but the prieſts were allowed to come within that incloſure. The reader will more eaſily underſtand this deſcription by the plan here ſubjoined, to which we have referred all the particulars under each paragraph by proper references.

All that needs be added here is, that Herod cauſed a new dedication of the whole to be performed with the utmoſt magnificence, and preſented to it many rich trophies of his former victories, after the cuſtom of the Jewiſh monarchs (29).

† Exod. xx. 25, 26. (29) Antiq. l. xv. c. ult. Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. l. vi. c. 6. & alib. paſſ.

againſt [x]. It is therefore likely, that Herod, who reſolved at any rate to ſuppreſs thoſe robbers, got out of the way, that he might not be importuned to repeal it. On his arrival at Rome (C), Auguſtus received him with all the marks of friendſhip, entertained him in the moſt ſumptuous manner, and delivered his ſons to him. Herod, could not but be highly pleaſed to behold them ſo greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by preſents, anſwerable to the high ſenſe he had of the obligation, and, after a ſhort ſtay, took the two young princes with him back into Judæa. Here they were received with the loudeſt acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majeſtic port and behaviour, which, joined to the excellent education they had received in Italy, had rendered them in all reſpects truly accompliſhed princes.

Marries his two ſons.

He married them ſoon after to ſuitable matches; Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and Ariſtobulus to Berenice, the daughter of his ſiſter Salome [y].

But the admiration and love which the people expreſſed for thoſe two excellent princes, failed not to raiſe the envy and jealouſy of the reſtleſs Salome, and of thoſe of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of Mariamne, as they had reaſon more than enough to fear their avenging that princeſs's death. To prevent ſo juſt and ſad a cataſtrophe, they had recourſe to their vile artifices, which had ſucceeded ſo well againſt that innocent princeſs. They began with ſpreading reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as ſtill reeking with the blood of their mother; not doubting, but when the rumour reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and haſten their

[x] Antiq. l xvi. c. 1. [y] Ibid. c. 2.

(C) Joſephus adds, that, in his way to Rome, he had the curioſity to ſtop at Elias to ſee the ſolemnity of the CXCIſt olympiad; and that the poverty of the Elians having ſunk the pomp and ſplendor of thoſe games, he ſettled a conſtant revenue on them, in order to reſtore them to their antient luſtre (30).

The like piece of generoſity he ſhewed to the Chians, for whom he paid a large ſum, which they were indebted to Cæſar's receivers; after which he gave them another ſum to rebuild their porticoes, which had been demoliſhed in the wars (31).

(30) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 9. Bell. Judaic. l. 1. c. 16. (31) Antiq l. xvi. c. 3.

their ruin. In the mean time Agrippa being come to Aſia Proper, Herod went to invite him into Judæa, where having ſhewed him his new-built cities of Sebaſte, Alexandrion, Cæſarea, &c. he thence led him to Jeruſalem. There the people met them at ſome diſtance from that metropolis, in their feſtival dreſs, and conducted them with loud acclamations into the city, where his reception was ſuitable to the magnificence of his hoſt. Agrippa, having ſacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple, was forced to depart ſooner than he would otherwiſe have done, by reaſon of the approaching winter, and Herod failed not to load him and his retinue with ſuitable preſents, whilſt the people accompanied him with loud huzzas, and ſtrewed the way with flowers and odoriferous herbs where-ever he paſſed; inſomuch, that that prince did ever after take a particular delight in expreſſing the pleaſure of that journey, and extolling the magnificence of the temple and royal palace, and of the preſtly ornaments, the ſtately buildings, and generoſity of Herod. Philo adds, that he made the Jews ſome conſiderable preſents, and did every thing he could to oblige them, without hurting the intereſt of their king. On the ſpring following, Agrippa ſailing with his fleet to the Boſphorus, was agreeably ſurprized with Herod's coming to meet him with another at Leſbos, wherein he had brought him ſome conſiderable reinforcements of men, arms, and proviſions; all which did ſo endear him to that prince, that he never undertook any thing without his knowledge and advice, nor ſcarce any party of pleaſure without his company [z].

Agrippa's ſplendid reception in Judæa. Year of the flood 2984. Before Chriſt 15.

On his return to Jeruſalem, he aſſembled the Jews, and acquainted them with the ſucceſs of his arms and thoſe of Agrippa againſt the Boſphorans. He added, in order to leſſen their diſcontent, that he remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made them ſome ſatisfaction for the late murmurings, which his law againſt robbers had occaſioned [a]. But whilſt things went thus ſmoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with inteſtine jars, occaſioned by the hatred which Salome bore to his two worthy ſons. The truth is, they ſpake both of her and of her brother Pheroras in ſuch reſenting terms, as made them dread ſomething worſe from them. They even ventured to complain ſometimes of the injuſtice done to their mother, and in their behaviour ſhewed ſo little tenderneſs towards their father, that Salome found

[z] Ibid & c. 3. Vide & Philo. legat. ad Cai. p. 1033. [a] Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

found it an easy matter to alienate his affection from them. To suppress in some measure the presumption of the two brothers, Herod caused Antipater, another of his sons (D), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped such caresses on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiscreet in their speeches against their father, all which were still carried back to him, and very often aggravated; whilst Antipater, wholly employed to cultivate a good understanding with him, was careful never to let a word slip even against his two brothers, tho' he had taken care to place such about him as should do it more effectually.

AMONG many other marks of Herod's affection to this new favourite son (E), he obtained of Agrippa the favour of his accompanying him to Rome, and of his being presented by him to the emperor; so that by this time every one began to look upon him as his father's successor. Antipater set out accordingly; but, to prevent his two rivals regaining their fathers favour during his absence, he ceased not, both by his letters and by his agents, to turn his heart against them, till at length he began to look upon them as his enemies, and resolved to take them with him to Rome, and there to try them at Cæsar's tribunal [b]. Cæsar being gone by that time to Aquileia, Herod came to him, and there accused his two sons of high treason, and required justice against them in such strong terms, as extorted a flood of tears from them; after which Alexander pleaded his own and his brother's cause with such becoming modesty, as easily convinced both the emperor and the audience of their innocence. Augustus did, in a genteel manner, reprove Herod for his too rash belief, and reconciled them together; but it was not likely this peace should be long-lived. Herod was too jealous, his sons too indiscreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable, not to give cause for fresh dissensions. Herod himself laid the foundation for a new and dangerous one, by a speech which he

Herod accuses his two sons of high treason before Augustus.

Returns to Jerusalem.

[b] Ibid. c. 6, & 7.

(D) This last son he had by another wife, whom Josephus calls Doris (32), and the fourth book of the Maccabees (33) Dositheа.

(E) One of which was, that he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry Mariamne, the high-priest's daughter.

(32) Ibid. c. 4. (33) Cap. ult.

he made to the Jewiſh aſſembly upon his being returned with his ſons to Jeruſalem; for there having acquainted them with his ſucceſs at Rome, he declared to them, that it was indeed his intention that his ſons ſhould reign after his death, and not till then, Antipater firſt, and then Alexander, and laſtly Ariſtobulus (F); but that, whilſt he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This was indeed caſting a bone of diſcord among his ſons, and ſo it proved in the ſequel [c].

Cæſarea finiſhed. Year of the flood 2989. Before Chriſt 10.

By this time the city of Cæſarea, which had been twelve years in building, being finiſhed, Herod cauſed the dedication of it to be performed with the greateſt pomp and ſplendor, and appointed games to be performed in it with the utmoſt ſolemnity every fifth year. Julia, the emperor's wife, or, as the Jewiſh hiſtorian always calls her, Livia, contributed towards the ſplendidneſs of thoſe ſports five hundred talents out of her own coffers; and Herod entertained his gueſts there, who were very conſiderable both in quality and number, with ſurpriſing magnificence; inſomuch, that Auguſtus ſaid of him, That his ſoul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deſerved to have been king of all Syria and Egypt. Beſides the city of Cæſarea, which, by reaſon of its beauty, pleaſant ſituation, and commodious harbour, became in time the reſidence of the Roman procurators, he built alſo thoſe of Antipatris, in honour of his father; of Cypron, in honour of his mother, and Phaſaelis, in honour of his brother: beſides ſeveral other towers and caſtles of prodigious ſize and ſtrength [d]. On the next year the Jews of Aſia and Cyrene, having been greatly oppreſſed by the Greeks, eſpecially on account of their religion and cuſtoms, ſent a deputation to Auguſtus, and obtained an effectual redreſs from that emperor. The purport of

[c] Ibid. c. 8. [d] Antiq. ibid. c. 9, & ſeq.

(F) During his ſtay at Rome, Auguſtus had, it ſeems, not only renewed his former grant to him of appointing any of his ſons to be his ſucceſſor, but had likewiſe given him the further liberty of dividing the kingdom amongſt them in what proportion he ſhould think fit.

He had likewiſe granted him one half of the revenue of the mines of Cyprus, and had appointed him his overſeer of the other half. Several other rich preſents were alſo interchanged between thoſe two monarchs, which ſhewed their great intimacy to each other (34).

(34) Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 8.

of his decree in their favour the reader may see in the margin (G).

HEROD might have viewed, with no small pleasure, both himself and the whole Jewish nation respected and protected by the emperor and senate on the one hand, and by his friend Agrippa on the other; but his domestick jars, which daily encreased by the hellish machinations of his brother and sister, and the emptiness of his coffers, which he had exhausted by his profuseness in buildings and feasts, made him too wretched to taste any pleasure in other things. To remove these two corroding sores, he betook himself to remedies more desperate than the disease. To supply his present necessities, he cast his eyes on the tombs of David and Solomon, out of which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that Hyrcan had formerly drawn some large sums; and those places, he thought, would prove a lasting fund for his extravagant expences. We shall not repeat what we have observed heretofore concerning this pretended theft of the Maccabitish pontiff †. All we shall add with respect to Herod is, that he executed his design with the utmost privacy, and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with some few confidents, where, instead of the coined gold and silver he expected, he found only some quantity of rich vessels, curiously

Herod plunders David's sepulchre.

† Vide supra, p. 196, (M).

(G) That they should be allowed to live according to their laws, and with the same privileges as they had enjoyed under the late Cæsar and Hyrcan; that their temple at Jerusalem should still receive their yearly tribute towards the repairs and worship of it; that the Jews should not be obliged to appear at the courts of judicature on the eve of the sabbath after the ninth hour, (answering to three after noon) nor on the sabbath; lastly, that whosoever should lay hands either on the temple tribute, or on any of the sacred books of the Jews, should be punished as for a sacrilege, and all his goods should be confiscated to the Roman commonwealth.

This decree was ordered to be set up in a public place at Ancyra, which had been dedicated by the whole people of Asia to the honour of that monarch (35).

King Agrippa made much such another decree in their favour, and ordered, that whoever stole any of the sacred treasure, or Jewish books, and took sanctuary in any temple or asylum, should be torn thence, and delivered up to the Jews, to be punished by them (36).

(35) Ibid. c. 10. (36) Idem ibid.

riouſly wrought, which he cauſed to be carried off. Not content with theſe, he ventured farther, to ſearch into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but ſome ſudden damp, or, as Joſephus calls it, a miraculous flame, which conſumed two of his guards, having ſcared him and his retinue, put a ſtop to his further ſearch. Herod, to make ſome ſatisfaction for his ſacrilege, cauſed a ſtately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the ſepulchre [c]; but this was looked upon by the Jews rather as a monument of his crime, than an expiation of it.

His cruelty to his ſons.

But his cruelty to his ſons and their friends rendered him ſtill more abhorred. His vile ſiſter (H) had raiſed his jealouſy againſt them to ſuch a height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant, than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a ſlaughter-houſe. Alexander had been accuſed to him of having corrupted, by dint of preſents and promiſes, two of his favourite confidents, namely, his high-ſteward and cup-bearer. Herod ordered them immediately to be put to the rack; whereon they confeſſed their having indeed received ſome preſents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill deſign againſt the king. This confeſſion not ſatisfying his jealouſy, they were tortured afreſh, and again, till he had extorted enough from them to juſtify his ſending his ſon to priſon and loading him with irons. Here the young prince being grown deſperate,

[c] Antiq. ibid. c. 11.

(H) One of her helliſh projects, and which coſt her dear, was, to get Pheroras to tell young Alexander, that the king was become ſo deſperately in love with his wife Glaphyra, that nothing but his forcing her from him could ſatisfy his unruly paſſion. Alexander taking it for granted, went to his father, and, in the humbleſt manner, mixed with a flood of tears, expoſtulated the matter with him. Herod, ſurpriſed at ſuch a black accuſation, of which he was wholly innocent, ſent for his brother, and aſked him, How he could lay ſuch a black perfidy to his charge?

Pheroras threw all the blame on his ſiſter, and pretended ſhe was the perſon who had whiſpered the thing to him. Salome, being ſent for, denied the whole with her uſual aſſurance; but the king reading her guilt in her looks, in ſpite of her proteſtations to the contrary, cauſed her and her brother to be baniſhed the court, and highly commended his ſon's moderation; but all this good underſtanding was ſoon after daſhed by a more helliſh accuſation, which they brought againſt that young prince, and which we are going to relate.

Alexander's desperate confession.

rate, sent his father four different confessions, in which he owned all, and more, than the torture had extorted from the other two; and at the same time accused Salome and Pheroras, with two of the king's prime ministers and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot; and particularly that Salome had even ventured to come to him in the dead of night, and, lying down by him, had used many cogent arguments to convince him, that they must expect neither peace nor happiness, till they had rid themselves of the tyrant [f].

This accusation, which was only calculated to set all on fire, had the desired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom to trust to, flew into the greatest excesses of cruelty. There was to be nothing now heard of but racks, imprisonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilst the tyrant was so tormented with fears at home, that he often started out of his bed, as if pursued sword in hand by his sons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected, when these fits of rage and dread would have run him mad, or hastened his son's execution, when Archelaus king of Cappadocia came in a lucky minute, (I), and, by his interposition, settled a calm again, at least for a time. This discreet prince, who knew the violence of Herod's temper, began at first with pitying his sad condition, and condemning the unnatural perfidy of his son, threatening to take his daughter from him, and to leave him to his father's just resentment; but, in the end, he had the address, by degrees, to explode all these malicious accusations and extorted confessions, and not only to persuade him that his son was innocent of any design upon his life or kingdom, but even to make him turn intercessor in his behalf. Pheroras, hearing of this reconciliation, found no better expedient to obtain Herod's pardon, than by coming in a mourning dress, and, at his feet, confessing himself the

[f] Ibid c. 12.

(I) We have already taken notice, that he was the father of Glaphyra. whom Alexander had married. This prince, who was of a prudent and cool temper, had received Herod and his sons in their return from Rome, where they had been acquitted by the emperor, and, by his wise counsels, had finished that reconciliation which Augustus had begun.

But being now informed to what height of cruelty things were carried at Jerusalem, he thought himself obliged to come thither, and to use his best endeavours to settle peace in that monarch's family.

the author of all the ſlanders raiſed againſt the two princes. Herod, thus reconciled to his ſons, ſet out with them for Rome, to acquaint the emperor with the whole affair, after having accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch in his way homewards [g]. He was indeed under an obligation to go and clear his ſon at the Roman court, becauſe he had, after their ſecond falling out, exhibited ſeveral grievous complaints againſt him to the emperor.

Reconciled to Herod. Year of the flood 2991. before Chriſt 8.

DURING this and his laſt journey to Rome, the bands of robbers, whom he had driven out of Trachonitis, having taken ſhelter in Arabia Petrea, under the protection of Obodas the king of it(K),had made ſuch terrible inroads into Judæa, that Herod, on his return, not being able to come at them there, put all their relations and friends to death which he could lay his hands on; which made them more cruel and deſperate than ever. By this time the temple being finiſhed, as was hinted above, Herod cauſed the dedication of it to be performed with his uſual magnificence, and, on the following ſpring, ſet about the ſuppreſſing of the Trachonitiſh robbers. He began with a law-ſuit againſt Syllæus for ſixty talents which he had lent him; and having gained his cauſe before the prefects of Syria, Saturnius and Volumnius, Syllæus, inſtead of paying the money, ſlipped away to Rome; whereupon Herod, having got leave of thoſe two governors to right himſelf by arms, marched into Arabia, and there defeated the robbers, demoliſhed their caſtle, and returned to Jeruſalem, without taking any further revenge. But this expedition was like to have coſt him dear, through the treachery of Syllæus, who, upon the firſt hearing of it, went and complained to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the Arabians to ſuch a degree, that Auguſtus ſent him

Herod out of favour with Auguſtus.

[g] Ibid. c. 13.

(K) This prince had a favourite miniſter named Syllæus, who had formerly made his addreſſes to Salome; but Herod refuſing to give her to him, unleſs he turned Jew, and Syllæus not daring to conſent to it, ſhe had been given to Alexas, one of Herod's confidents. Hence aroſe a mutual hatred between them, which Syllæus improved, by perſuading Obodas to protect thoſe banditti, who did accordingly aſſign them the fortreſs of Repta for a place of retreat, from which they ſallied out, and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in Paleſtine and in Cœle-Syria (37).

(37) Antiq. ibid. c. 11, & 13.

him a very sharp reproof, and would have wholly cast him off, had not he been better informed soon after. Herod had sent two embassies to that prince, and neither of them had been able to get an audience. At length he sent Nicholas Damascen thither, who, finding how prejudiced the emperor was against his master, bethought himself of an happy expedient to explode all the accusations of Syllæus, by means of the embassadors of the Nabathean Arabs, without discovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for him (L). Augustus, being now satisfied of Herod's innocence and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the Nabathean kingdom from Aretas, and to have made him a present of it; but whilst he was deliberating about it, fresh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch against his sons, which diverted the emperor from pursuing his design.

Reconciled to him.

For whilst these things had been agitating, Salome and Pheroras had again filled Herod's head with new plots and assassinations intended against him by his sons; and tho', upon enquiry, nothing could be proved against them, but a design of retiring into some other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the rest for granted upon this single evidence, and sent two of his minister's to Rome, with orders, that, if they found the emperor reconciled to him, they should deliver his letters to him, and obtain justice against the two young princes. Augustus having read the letter, and finding Herod desperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate sons, sent immediately orders to have them tried at Berytus, before the governors of Syria, and other neighbouring provinces,

Prefers new complaints against his sons.

(L) These were come to demand justice against Syllæus, who had by that time caused Obodas to be poisoned, and was there soliciting the emperor for that kingdom; but the Nabatheans, having set up a king of their own, sent this embassy to Rome, to have him confirmed there, and to have the assassin punished.

Damascen therefore having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in such a manner, as to clear Herod of all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other design than that of accusing Syllæus. The thing succeeded to his wish, and Damascen putting himself at the head of their embassy, managed his accusation with such address, backing it with the suffrages of his Nabathean collegues, that Syllæus, who was then present, could not disprove one single point; but was condemned to pay Herod's debt, and then to lose his head (38)

(38) Conf Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. & l. xvii. c. 4. Strab. c. 16

vinces, and in particular before Archelaus; and, if they were found guilty, he gave their father leave to puniſh them as he ſhould think fit. Herod convened them all accordingly, except the Cappadocian king, whom he ſuſpected of too great partiality to his ſons; and having left thoſe two unfortunate princes under a ſtrong guard at Platone, a ſmall town of the Sidonians, under pretence that they might be eaſily brought thence, if the judges did think it neceſſary, he pleaded his own cauſe before an aſſembly of above five hundred perſons; but with ſuch violence and brutiſh reſentment, as rather raiſed their indignation againſt, than pity for, him. He ſpared for neither evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die, and concluded with telling them, that being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of Judæa; but that he rather choſe to have them tried before ſuch an aſſembly, to avoid the imputation of injuſtice or cruelty. After a full hearing, Saturnius, who had been formerly conſul, voted, that they ſhould be puniſhed indeed, but not with death, and was ſeconded by his three ſons, who were then his lieutenants; but they were over ruled by Volumnius, who condemned them to death and drew the reſt of the judges after him. Only they left it to Herod to execute the ſentence, when and how he thought fit. Gets them condemned.

Damascen, on his return from Rome, did try in vain to diſſuade him from too raſhly depriving himſelf of two ſuch ſons, and leaving himſelf in his old age to the mercy of the ambitious Antipater. Tyro, another old experienced ſoldier, came likewiſe to beg of him, that he might be admitted to ſpeak to him on the ſame ſubject; and, upon his permiſſion, freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he aſſured him, entertained ſome treaſonable deſigns againſt him, whilſt the chiefs of the Jewiſh nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, did highly pity his two condemned ſons, as leſs guilty than that brother. Herod ſtopped him ſhort there, to make him name thoſe chiefs; and, upon his ſo doing, cauſed them to be impriſoned. Tyro himſelf was, by the ſubtlety of Salome, accuſed by Herod's barber, of having hired him to cut his throat. Herod had recourſe to the rack, which he cauſed to be given to the accuſer, and to Tyro and his ſon, a youth of about the age of Alexander; and the latter, to ſave his father from the torture, confeſſed, that himſelf alone, without his father's privity, had reſolved to kill him, and to ſave Alexander. Scarce any body believed his confeſſion but Herod, who

Puts them to death.

thereupon caused his two sons to be conveyed to Sebaste, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the Maccabees has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at Alexandrion, among their Asmonean ancestors [h].

Antipater having now no rival left, but his father, and Pheroras, tho' highly obliged to his brother, having lately fallen out with him (M), these two entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. Herod had about this time sent Glaphyra, Alexander's widow, back into Cappadocia, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers. There were still two sons left of hers, and two which Aristobulus had had by Berenice, all whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their fathers; and as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantageously matched, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But Antipater, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design [i]. It will not be amiss here to give an account of that monarch's wives and of their issue, in order to understand the sequel of this history. The reader will find both in the margin (N).

Year of the flood 2994, Before Christ 5,

In

[h] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 17. & 4 Maccab. c. ult. [i] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2 & 3.

(M) The occasion of this rupture, Josephus tells us (39), was, that Herod had formerly offered his brother his daughter in marriage, whom he had refused for the sake of a favourite servant, with whom he was deeply in love, and did soon after marry. Herod hereupon insisted upon his divorcing her, and marrying another of his daughters. Pheroras bound himself in the most solemn manner to perform it within a month; but when the time came, he absolutely refused; and Antipater, taking the advantage of this breach, easily drew him into his treasonable design.

(N) Herod had nine wives, the first of whom, named Doris, was the mother of Antipater. The second was Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, by whom he had a son named Herod, called also Philip, who had married Herodias, on whose account the baptist was afterwards beheaded. The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his first cousin. He had no children by these two last.

The

(39) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 11. & l. xvii. c. 3.

In the mean time another thing happened, which rendered Herod more odious to the Jews, and more irreconcileable to his brother. An edict lately iſſued out, commanding the Jewiſh nation to ſwear allegiance to Auguſtus and to the king, had been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Phariſees to the number of ſeven thouſand, as contrary to the Moſaic law [k]; or which contumacy Herod had condemned them to a ſevere fine, which had been paid by Pheroras's new wife. This generous deed of hers had therefore ſo ingratiated her to that ſect,

[k] Vid. Deut. xvii. 15.

The fifth was called Martac, a Samaritan, by whom he had Archelaus and Antipas, the former of whom ſucceeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of Tetrarch, and the latter, called alſo Philip, married Salome, the dancing daughter of Herodias above-mentioned.

The ſixth, named Cleopatra, was a native of Jeruſalem, by whom he had two ſons, Herod, called alſo Antipas, and Philip. Herod having married Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, during his life, was reproved for it by John the baptiſt, and cauſed him to be put to death.

Pallas was his ſeventh wife, by whom he had a ſon named Phaſaelus. The eighth was Phædra, by whom he had only one daughter, named Roxana; and by the laſt, called Elpis, he had another daughter called Salome (40).

As to his grandſons, by his beloved Mariamne, mother of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, lately put to death, they make likewiſe a conſiderable figure in hiſtory, and eſpecially thoſe of the latter in the goſpel, and deſerve here a particular mention.

Ariſtobulus left two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by Berenice his wife, as we have ſeen a little higher, namely Agrippa, Herod, and Herodias; Agrippa, at firſt clapt into priſon by Tiberius, and afterwards made king of Judæa by Caligula (41), was he who put James the brother of John to death, impriſoned Peter, and was ſmitten with death at Cæſarea (42). Herod was made king of Chalcis, and is only known in St. Luke for his marriage with the dancing daughter of Herodias, as we hinted above.

As for Agrippa, he left a ſon of the ſame name, before whom and his ſiſter Berenice St. Paul was admitted to plead his cauſe at Cæſarea (43), and another daughter, named Druſilla, married to Felix, governor of Judæa (44).

(40) De his vide bell. Jud. l. i. c. 18. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. Vid. & Matth. xiv. 1. & ſeq. Mark vi. 14, & ſeq. Luke ix. 7, & ſeq. (41) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8. (42) Acts xii. 1, & ſeq. ad fin. (43) Acts xxv. in fin xxvi. Ptol. (44) Ibid. xxiv. 24.

that they scrupled not to persuade the people, from a pretended prophetic spirit, that God was going to transfer the crown from the line of Herod to the posterity of his brother's wife. Salome failed not to acquaint Herod with it, who, having put several of the ring-leaders to death, commanded his brother to put his wife away, as the cause of this new sedition. Pheroras, upon his obstinate refusal to comply with his command, was forbid the court, and the rest of Herod's family to have any further conversation with him. Pheroras was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court again whilst Herod lived. His being at that distance from the metropolis was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having a hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason Antipater procured himself to be sent for to Rome to attend upon Augustus.

New troubles in Judæa.

Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were on work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after happened, which brought their whole treason to light.

Herod falls sick.

HEROD, who was fallen sick and still retained a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders to him, and Pheroras had refused it, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He fell sick soon after, and Herod recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation from him. Pheroras dying two days after his arrival, he caused him to be magnificently buried at Jerusalem. But his death proved the beginning of Antipater's disgrace: for two of the deceased's freedmen came and demanded justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched him with some poison, which she had given him on that very evening, on which he was taken ill. Herod had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in particular, the women of Pheroras's family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced by the excess of the torture to cry out, that she prayed to God, that Doris, Antipater's mother, might bear her share of the torments, which she had been the cause of. At these words Herod having caused them to be more cruelly tortured, as well as one Antipater, an officer under his treacherous son, the whole plot was unravelled; and upon comparing their several depositions, and the intelligence which Salome had already given to the king, it was found, that the poison, of which Pheroras died

Antipater's plot against him discovered.

had

had been procured from Alexandria by a friend of Antipater, from whom it was conveyed by Antipater's mother to Pheroras, in order to be given to the king upon the firſt opportunity. All which was, upon further examination, acknowledged by Pheroras's wife, who added that ſhe would go and fetch it to him; and, inſtead of doing ſo, flung herſelf down from a high gallery; but her fall not proving mortal, ſhe, upon Herod's promiſe of a general pardon, depoſed further, that her huſband, being ſtung with remorſe at his receiving this laſt viſit from him, had ordered her to fetch the poiſon, and to burn it before his face, which ſhe had accordingly done, except a ſmall doſe that ſhe had reſerved for herſelf in caſe of neceſſity. The box, and reſt of the poiſon, being produced and acknowledged by other witneſſes, convinced Herod of his ſon's perfidy, not only to himſelf, but to the two ſons of his favourite Mariamne. His other wife of that name was likewiſe accuſed of being in the ſame plot, and though nothing was proved againſt her, yet was ſhe baniſhed, her ſon Herod diſinherited, and her father depoſed from the high-prieſthood (O). Doris was likewiſe ſtript of all her coſtly ornaments, which amounted to a large ſum, and baniſhed the court [l].

John the baptiſt born.

But it is now time to leave for a while Herod in his ſad diſtracted condition, and the nation in their feuds and reſentments againſt him, and turn our eyes on more important matters; thoſe great and ineſtimable bleſſings which heaven was then ready to ſhower down, not only on the Jews, had they not rendered themſelves unworthy of them, but on the whole world, who, we are told, were then in an univerſal expectation of them under the promiſed Meſſiah. For about this time the angel Gabriel, who had been formerly ſent to mani-

[l] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4, 5, & 6.

(O) Simon was ſucceeded in that dignity by one Matthias the ſon of Theophilus, a native of Jeruſalem. But this pontiff having on the following expiation eve contracted ſome pollution †, which incapacitated him from officiating on that grand ſolemnity, a near relation of his, named Joſeph, the ſon of Ellemus, was ſubſtituted in his room. Matthias enjoyed his dignity but one year, after which he was depoſed for being privy to an inſurrection raiſed at Jeruſalem, and ſucceeded by Joazar his brother-in-law (45).

† Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6. Vid & Vol. iii. p. 220, 253, & ſeq.
(45) Antiq. ubi ſupra. c. 8.

feſt to Daniel the preciſe time of his coming, by a determinate number of weeks [m] (P), was again ſent to Zachary, a pious

[m] Dan. ix. 24, & ſeq.

(P) This is juſtly allowed one of the nobleſt prophecies in the whole Old Teſtament, and one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of chriſtianity againſt the Jews, ſince it determines the very time on which Chriſt was to come into the world, enter into his miniſtry, and be cut off for the ſins of the people; ſoon after which was to follow the deſtruction of the Jews, or, as the prophet words it, their ceaſing to be a nation or people, and the promulgation of the goſpel, or of the new covenant, in and by that Meſſiah.

The whole prophecy runs as follows (46): *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finiſh* (or reſtrain) *the tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the viſion and prophecy, and to anoint the moſt holy one. Know therefore, and underſtand, that from the going forth of the commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem *unto the Meſſiah, the prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks; and threeſcore and two weeks the ſtreets ſhall be built again, and the wall, and even in anxious or* (perilous) *time; and after threeſcore and two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf; and the people of the prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, and the end of it ſhall be with* (or like) *an inundation, and unto the end of the war deſolation is determined; and he ſhall confirm the covenant with many during one week, and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe; and he ſhall make it deſolate on account of the over-ſpreading of abominations, until the determined extermination be poured on the land, or people, that is become liable to that deſolation.*

It will not be expected, that we ſhould here enter into a comment on this prophecy, much leſs into a diſſertation on the various ways of computing the ſeventy weeks here mentioned, and the various times which interpreters, both Jewiſh and chriſtians, have aſſigned for the beginning and ending of that prophetic epocha. And yet, as the ſubject is of no ſmall moment, the reader will doubtleſs be glad to hear at leaſt, how it is beſt calculated and made out by the latter, and by what ſubterfuges the former endeavour to evade the force of it.

The generality of the Jews do agree with us, that thoſe prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic ſtyle. Though ſome of them, in order to puzzle the cauſe, have pretended to underſtand them of weeks of jubilees, or of ſeven ſabbatic *, that is, forty-nine weeks each, amounting

(46) Dan. ix. 24, & ſeq. * Concerning thoſe jubilees and ſabbatic years, ſee before, Vol. iii. p. 211. & ſeq. & (L), p. 207.

pious and upright prieſt of the courſe of Abiah, whilſt he ſtood offering the ſacred incenſe in the temple, according to

amounting in all to 3430 years (47). A good long epocha, and very proper to keep up the drooping hopes of the Jews about the Meſſiah's coming. Others ſtretch it ſtill farther, to ſeven thouſand years, that is, by allowing a hundred years to every week; but the generality underſtand thoſe weeks of ſeven lunar or Jewiſh years, as we do, according to which ſeventy weeks will make four hundred and ninety years. But here they, finding themſelves cloſely pinched by that computation, have had recourſe to various pitiful ſhifts to explode it. We ſhall give our readers a ſketch of ſome of the beſt of them, by which he may gueſs at the reſt.

Some of them pretend, that the words of the prophet, from the going forth of the command to reſtore and to build, are not to be underſtood from the iſſuing out of Cyrus or Darius's decree; but from the time of thoſe words being prophetically pronounced by Jeremiah to Zedekiah king of Judah (48) ſome years before the captivity (49); and to ſhew their wretched ſkill in chronology, conclude the epocha with us at the deſtruction of the temple. Others, St. Jerom tells us (50), began it at Darius the Mede, and ended it with thoſe above-mentioned at the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; only they allowed the eight remaining weeks for the total diſperſion of the Jewiſh nation completed under the emperor Adrian.

A third ſort begin the ſeventy weeks at the deſtruction of the firſt temple by Nebuchadnezzar, and end it at the deſtruction of the ſecond by Titus Veſpaſian (1). Shrinking thereby an epoch of ſix hundred and ſixty years into this of four hundred and ninety, to make it agree with the ſeventy weeks, and thereby betraying ſtill more their ignorance of chronology. This devaſtation of the city and temple, and the diſperſion of the Jews, is according to this latter ſyſtem to the laſt till the overthrow of Gog and Magog by the Meſſiah; but when that will happen, they do not pretend to gueſs. For theſe reaſons they are altogether at a loſs how to explain this prophecy, ſo as to evade the conſequences drawn from it by the chriſtians againſt them, and have fallen into various hypotheſes, equally abſurd and ridiculous about the Meſſiah. Some think, that the ſins of the nation have retarded his coming; others, that he came at the appointed time, but did not appear publicly; others, that he is ſtill hid in ſome obſcure part of the world, waiting till they are fit to receive him;

others

(47) Vid. N. De Lyra in Daniel. ix. (48) Jerem. xxiv. 8, & ſeq. xxxiv. 1, & ſeq. & alib paſſ. (49) Vid. Munſter. in Dan. ix. Note g. (50) In Daniel ix. (1) Rabbin. plurim. Vid. int. al. Abarbanel, Solom. Jarchi, & De Lyra in loc. ſup. citat.

the prieſtly office[n], to foretel him the birth of a ſon, the miraculous child of old age and barrenneſs; a ſon whom he ſhould ſhortly

[n] Vid. Exod. xxx. 7, 8, & ſup. Vol, iii. p. 243, & ſeq.

others have imagined two Meſſiahs, one humble, obſcure, and rejected; and another as yet to come, glorious, warlike, victorious, and univerſally acknowledged. Laſtly, and to name no more, from a ſenſe of the manifeſt deficiency of all theſe evaſory ſhifts, they have agreed to leave the diſpute about the Meſſiah in ſuſpendio till better times, and have prohibited all further enquiries and calculations about it under a ſevere anathema (2).

The chriſtians are not exactly agreed either in the placing the beginning and end of theſe weeks, or in the calculations of thoſe lunar or Jewiſh years. Both differences, however, are inconſiderable, if duly attended to; the former is entirely owing to our imperfect knowledge of the chronology of thoſe times. Had we a ſure guide in it, the point would not be long unſettled. But whilſt in this uncertainty one author will place the beginning at the decree of Cyrus, another at that of Darius, a third at that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and each of them endeavours to ſtretch or ſhorten the chronology of each interval, as beſt ſuits with his hypotheſis; it is no wonder there is ſo little agreement among them, and ſo little certainty to be gathered from the whole diſpute.

The difference ariſing from the various computations of the Jewiſh years is ſtill more inconſiderable, ſince it can amount at moſt but to nine or ten years between thoſe who make it longeſt, and thoſe who make it ſhorteſt; and who can wonder at it, or urge it as an objection againſt this prophecy, that conſiders the variety of computations, of either the Jews, of which we have formerly ſpoken more fully *, or of other nations, from which this epoch, is to be calculated and rectified? Upon the whole then, theſe difficulties duly conſidered, an impartial reader will doubtleſs reſt ſatisfied with that ſyſtem, which beſt adjuſts the ſeventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of the prophecy to the chronology of that epoch, according to the beſt light that can be had of it from the ſacred and profane hiſtorians.

Waving therefore ſome minute differences between the authors that have written on that ſubject, the ſyſtem moſt univerſally received by proteſtants, as well as Roman catholicks, is that of Julius Africanus (3), as it has been amended by ſome late eminent

(2) Vid. int al. Baſnag. Differt. de 70 hebdomad. * See Vol. I. p. 332, (N), & ſeq. (3) Apud Hieron. in Daniel, ubi ſupra.

ſhortly have by his virtuous wife Elizabeth, and who ſhould be a Nazarite, and the fore-runner and great harbinger of the

nent chronologers (4), who place the beginning of it, expreſſed in the words of the prophecy, *From the going forth of the commandment to rebuild*, &c. at the beginning of its execution, which was not done till Nehemiah's coming to Jeruſalem to ſee it punctually performed, and the end of it at the death of the Meſſiah; which interval makes up the four hundred and ninetieth year here foretold. For as to the firſt, it is plain, that Nehemiah found the work quite obſtructed and ſet aſide, at his firſt arrival there, and that he ſat immediately about and finiſhed it (5). This command, which was given in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (6), is not, however, to be underſtood, according to them, of the twentieth year of his reigning alone, which would make the whole period too long by ten years; but of the twentieth of his reigning in partnerſhip with his father (on a ſuppoſition that he was admitted into it by him ten years before his death) which will be the tenth of his reigning alone.

This ſyſtem, which ſeems clearly to remove all difficulties, is attended with only one, viz. the ſilence of hiſtorians, and the unlikelihood of Artaxerxes being admitted ſo early into partnerſhip with his father; and this objection, ſmall as it is, has been, however, thought weighty enough to oblige the learned Prideaux (7) to ſteer a new courſe, which our readers will perhaps better approve than the former. But as he has treated the ſubject in ſuch a full and prolix manner, as would ſwell this note beyond due bounds, and the book itſelf is in every body's hands, and in our own language, we ſhall refer the readers to it for the further clearing of this noble prophecy.

In the concluſion the prophet is told, that after the cutting off of the Meſſiah the temple and city ſhould be deſtroyed by a ſtrange nation, that ſhall come like an inundation againſt it, and that the deſolation of the land ſhall be preceded by an overflowing of abominations; all which ſufficiently prefigures the Roman eagles ſet up in the temple, prophetically alſo alluded to by Chriſt himſelf (8), followed by the profanation, plundering, and firing of that holy place. In the middle of the week, the ſacrifices, oblations, &c. were to ceaſe, not actually, for they did not do ſo till the deſtruction of the city, about forty years after; but they loſt their efficacy, and became uſeleſs and inſignificant after the grand ſacrifice of the Saviour of the world, which they

(4) Petav. de Doctr. Temp. lib. xii. cap. 32, & ſeq. Ration. Tempor. part. 2. l. iii c. 10. Uſſer ſub. A. M. 3550. (5) Conf. Nehem. i, ii, & iii. paſſ. See alſo before, p. 48, & ſeq. (6) Nehem. i. 1. (7) Connect. part 1 Book 5. ſub. an. 458. (8) Matth. xxiv. 15. & alib.

the world's redeemer °. Here the good old prieſt, ſurprized at the viſion and conſcious of his and his ſpouſe's extreme old age, could not forbear deſiring to have his faith confirmed by ſome further miraculous token; and the angel granted his requeſt, and in ſuch a manner, as might at once be a reproof to his diffidence

° Luke i. 5, & ſeq.

they were to prefigure, and from which alone they received their efficacy. Laſtly, thoſe who had thus rejected and put to death the Meſſiah, were to ceaſe to be a people, be diſperſed, deſolate, &c. all which the Jews have ſufficiently felt to their coſt.

The deſtruction and laſting deſolation of the city, but more particularly of the temple, was indeed to be the finiſhing ſtroke of the chriſtian evidence againſt the Jews. We have ſhewn in a former volume †. how theſe evade the pregnant prophecies of Jacob, that *the ſcepter ſhould not depart from Judah*, &c. (9) and the reader has now ſeen what wretched ſhifts they made to elude this of Daniel's week, at the expence of ſenſe and chronology. There ſeemed therefore ſtill wanting a more irrefragable proof, if not to convince, at leaſt to ſilence, that infatuated nation, with reſpect to this important article of the Meſſiah's being come at the appointed time, and of the vanity of thoſe that ſtill expect him; and this was the prophecy of his coming during the ſtanding of the ſecond temple, and rendering it more glorious by his preſence than that of Solomon, notwithſtanding its great diſparity in other reſpects, concerning which the reader may look back to what has been ſaid at the beginning of this chapter *. When therefore this temple was deſtroyed, it ought to have convinced them that he was really come, as his apoſtles and diſciples affirmed, though there had been a new one immediately built; how much more when all attempts for the rebuilding it have been hitherto fruſtrated? But of this we ſhall have a proper occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſequel.

We beg leave here only to obſerve further, that if the total deſtruction of the city and temple, and the diſperſion of the Jews, did not immediately follow the crucifixion of the Meſſiah, they became obnoxious to it from that time; and God ſeems only to have protracted the ſentence during thoſe forty years, to give them time to repent of that atrocious fact, which, as St. Peter obſerves (10), they had committed through ignorance. Accordingly we find, that vaſt numbers of them prevented it by a timely converſion (11), whilſt the more obdurate ſort, refuſing to acknowledge that crime (12) and embrace the proffered mercy, were thereupon diſperſed throughout the world, to be, againſt their will, a ſtanding evidence of the truth of the ſcriptures and prophecies, and of their own judicial blindneſs and puniſhment.

† Vol. ii. p. 486, (G), (9) Geneſis xlix. 10. * See before, p. 13, (K). (10) Acts iii. 17. (11) Ibid. ii. 36, & ſeq. iii. paſſ. (12) Ibid. v. 28.

diffidence and a confirmation of the meſſage he had delivered to him. Zacharias was accordingly ſtruck dumb on that inſtant, and continued ſo, till the promiſed child was actually born.

Six months after this viſion, the ſame heavenly meſſenger was ſent to an obſcure young virgin, named Mary, who dwelt then at Nazareth, with, and under the guardianſhip of, her eſpouſed huſband Joſeph, both of them of the houſe and lineage of David [p] (Q), with the glad tidings, that ſhe was

[p] Matth. i. 18. Luke i. 26. & ſeq. iii. 23, & ſeq.

(Q) We have taken notice in a former volume that the Jews had a law which expreſsly forbad heireſſes to marry out of their own tribes (13). It is true, the virgin Mary ſeems to have been far enough from being one of that ſort, at leaſt in poſſeſſion, whatever ſhe might be in reverſion, or by virtue of the jubilee laws, according to which all lands and inheritances were to revolve to the original owner, or to his next heir or heireſs †. But there was ſtill a much greater tie, which kept the virgins of the tribe of Judah, but eſpecially thoſe of the houſe of David, from marrying into another tribe or family, namely the ſure expectation they had, that the Meſſiah was to be of that lineage, and to be born in Bethlehem, the city and patrimony of that monarch; and how careful every family was to preſerve their genealogy, needs not to be repeated.

It is therefore in vain, that the Jews exclaim againſt the uncertainty of Chriſt's being of the ſeed of David, becauſe Joſeph's and not Mary's genealogy is deduced from him by the two evangeliſts, who is yet affirmed by them to have had no ſhare in his conception. The certainty of the virgin's deſcent from that houſe is rendered evident enough by what we obſerved above, eſpecially if we add the teſtimony of the evangeliſts themſelves, who call her miraculous child the ſon or deſcendant of David. If it be asked, why they choſe rather to give us that of her huſband? it may be anſwered, that they conformed in it to the cuſtom of the Hebrews, and even of the ſacred writers, who deduce their genealogies from the male rather than the female line; for if Chriſt the ſon of Mary was the ſon or deſcendant of David, it muſt follow that his mother muſt be ſo too.

But the greater difficulty is, to reconcile the variations of the two genealogies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and we much queſtion whether the greater part of our readers would care to have all repeated that has been ſaid on that ſubject, though in ever ſo ſuccinct an epitome, eſpecially conſidering that the point has not been ſo ſufficiently cleared hitherto, as to leave no room for

(13) De hac. vid. Num. xxxvi. paſſ. & Vol. iii. p. 32. † Of this ſee Vol. iii. p. 212—217.

was chosen, by the special favour of heaven to be the happy mother of the promised saviour of the world, to whom she should

for fresh cavils and objections. Yet that our silence might not be interpreted for a giving up of the cause, we shall subjoin a few observations we have been able to make, some of which, though entirely new, may yet furnish the curious enquirers into these abstruse matters, with a better key to reconcile those two genealogies, if not to clear and confirm the one by the help of the other, than they have as yet met with; and as we design the following remarks chiefly for such of our studious readers, we shall content ourselves with giving them as hints for them to exert their talents upon, without confining ourselves so much to method, as we do in other notes.

First, then, we beg leave to observe, that the titles of father and son, as well as the terms to beget and be begotten, in the language of scripture, do not always imply an immediate, but frequently a remote succession. Hence the phrase often used by Moses, *when thou shalt hereafter beget children and childrens children* (14), and the name of father or son given to a predecessor or successor at the distance of two, three, or more generations, as will more fully appear by the sequel. This being premised will serve as the basis to the following remarks on the subject of those two gospel genealogies.

1st, St. Matthew gives one genealogy, and St. Luke another, and both in some names vary from the Old Testament.

2dly, St. Matthew, who begins his from Abraham, divides it into forty-two successions, called by him generations; that is,

fourteen before
fourteen under } the regal government.
fourteen after

3dly, The first fourteen are the same with those in the Old Testament, and in St. Luke.

4thly, The next fourteen in St. Matthew contain the legal succession of the line of Solomon, until its extinction in Jechoniah, al. Coniah and Jehoiachim (15), when the line of Nathan, the son of David and brother of Solomon, took place.

5thly, The inheritance in the Jewish polity being unalienable farther than the jubilee, as was before hinted, and then revolving to the next surviving heir, the latter, though at some distance from the former, was called the son, that is, properly the successor of the former. Thus Salathiel, who by St. Luke's genealogy appears to have been the descendant of Nathan the son of David, is by St. Matthew said to be begotten by Jechoniah (16), the

(14) Deut. pass. (15) Conf. Jerem, xxii. 24. ad fin. 2 Kings xxiv. 8, & seq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, & seq. (16) Conf. Luc. iii. 27, ad 31. & Matth. i. 19.

ſhould therefore give the ſignificant name of Jeſus, or Saviour, according to the prophecies long ſince written of him. Thoſe

the laſt of the Solomonic line, becauſe he was the next ſurviving heir of the houſe of David after Jechoniah's death. Had not therefore Solomon's line been ſet down and the end thereof noted, it could not have appeared from St. Luke, how Salathiel came by his title of ſucceſſion; for the line of Nathan could not have any claim to it, whilſt that of Solomon ſubſiſted, unleſs in an uncertain reverſion; and this will account for the difference between St. Luke and St. Matthew, in theſe middle fourteen generations.

6thly, But there is likewiſe in this latter ſucceſſion a manifeſt variation as to the number from the books of the Old Teſtament. It has indeed been ſolved by ſaying that the evangeliſt aiming only at the three round numbers of fourteen generations abovementioned, had overlooked or purpoſely paſt by ſome of the redundant ones; and this anſwer hath hitherto paſt for current.

But the difference ſeems to ariſe from ſomething more material, than the bare aim at an equality of numbers. The hiſtorical books ſet down all the kings in general that had reigned from David to Jechoniah; but St. Matthew, as a genealogiſt, ſeems to take notice only of thoſe who had a legal title, and to omit the others. Of this latter ſort we take Ahaziah the ſon of Jehoram by Athaliah to have been, who is ſaid to have been made king by the inhabitants of Jeruſalem upon his father's death, becauſe his eldeſt brother had been killed by the Philiſtines (17), which ſeems to intimate that they had choſen him in lieu of ſome infant ſon of his deceaſed brother. For had not this been the caſe, he would have ſucceeded of courſe, without the people's choice. In the ſame claſs we may put Joaſh, who ſucceeded his father Ahaziah, and Amaziah the ſon of Joaſh, all who might ſucceed each other in prejudice to the elder branch, till this being extinct, made way for the younger in Uſiah or Oſias, the ſon of Amaziah, who is therefore called by the evangeliſt the ſon (18), that is, as we have hinted above, the ſucceſſor of Jehoram, though at the diſtance of three generations abovementioned.

Thus again Zedekiah, who was ſet up by the king of Babylon in prejudice of his elder brother Jechoniah, is likewiſe omitted by the evangeliſt. Now when theſe irregular ſucceſſions are taken away, there will remain but the ſame fourteen which are mentioned in his genealogy.

7thly, The next variation between the two evangeliſts is in the laſt fourteen generations, and riſes from the one's conſtant care of

(17) Vid. 1 Chron. xxii. 1. & 2 Kings viii. 24, & ſeq. (18) Matth. ubi ſupra. verſ. 8.

Thoſe that relate to his particular head, are as follow: *Behold a virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a ſon, and ſhall call his name*

of pointing out the paſſing of the inheritance as far as it goes in the elder branch. They both agree as far as Zerubbabel, after which St. Matthew goes on with Abiud and his heirs, down to Eleazar, where the line of Abiud ends; and then he ſets down as his ſon and ſucceſſor Matthan (19), who is by St. Luke mentioned under the name of Matthat, and was of the line of Rheſa (20) the ſon of Zerubbabel. So that he entered into the regular ſucceſſion after the extinction of that of Abiud.

Thus again, Matthat or Matthan dying childleſs, Eli was obliged, according to the Moſaic law, to take his wife and raiſe up ſeed to him, and by him begot Joſeph the husband of Mary, who, according to the ſame law, was ſtill reputed as the ſon of the dead elder brother. For this reaſon St. Matthew rightly calls him the ſon of Jacob; whereas St. Luke, who did not proceed on the ſame method, calls him the ſon of Eli. The firſt gives us the name of his legal, the other of his natural, father.

St. Matthew might in all probability have fetched his genealogy from the records of Bethlehem, the patrimony of David, and wherein therefore none were entered, but ſuch as by a regular lineal deſcent were in actual poſſeſſion of it, and where the younger branch, though in actual poſſeſſion of the crown, could not be regularly inrolled, as long as there was any heir of the elder left alive, or till ſuch a time as this latter failed. St. Luke, on the other hand, who, as he tells us in the preface to his goſpel, propoſed to ſupply ſuch defects as he found in thoſe who had writ the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt before him, fearing leſt theſe omiſſions ſhould cauſe ſome confuſion, for want of pointing out when the younger ſucceeded the elder branch, has recourſe to the book of chronicles, where the ſeries of the ſucceſſions, both regular and irregular, legal and illegal, are exhibited. So that both had their genealogies from the moſt authentic, though different, records, and ſcrupulouſly adhered each to his own, according to the ſcheme they had in view, and conſequently, inſtead of claſhing, do more probably clear and confirm each other.

There is ſtill one difficulty left with reſpect to St. Luke's genealogy, viz. his introducing of Cainan in the line of Shem, adding thereto one generation, contrary to the Hebrew text in Geneſis and the Chronicles and all the verſions of it, except the ſeptuagint, contrary to the concurring teſtimony of Joſephus, Philo, and other Jewiſh doctors, as well as to that of the antient fathers;

(19) ubi ſupra, verſ. 15. (20) ubi ſupra, v, 27.

name Emanuel, &c. [q] (R), ------ *Unto us a child is born; unto us a ſon is given; and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder;*

[q] Iſaiah vii. 14.

thers; all who not only omit Cainan's name, but reckon only ten generations from Noah to Abraham, whereas with this there would be eleven.

This difference has given commentators more pains to reconcile, than we think it deſerved, conſidering the likelihood there is of its having been jumbled into St. Luke's text by the careleſſneſs of the tranſcribers, there being another Cainan mentioned in the verſe immediately following, which might be alſo, according to the old cloſe way of writing, in the very next line. But allowing it to have been originally in St. Luke, it is plain, he muſt have had it out of the ſeptuagint, which verſion both he and the other ſacred writers his cotemporaries uſed, and the copy which he then had might have been corrupted after the ſame careleſs manner; for it doth not appear that all the copies of that verſion had this name, elſe it would be found in all the Latin verſions of it, as well as in Joſephus, Philo, and the fathers; and then they muſt have reckoned eleven inſtead of ten generations.

The ſame may be ſaid even on the ſuppoſition, that it was originally put in by the ſeventy interpreters; for as neither they, nor the tranſcribers of the Hebrew copy, which they took with them into Egypt, were infallible (at leaſt we think we have made it appear they were not, when we ſpoke of their verſion) how eaſily might that word have crept into the text by their inadvertency.

But if all this will not ſatisfy the ſcrupulous, what we have obſerved above of the diſtinction of natural and legal parents, will eaſily remove the difficulty; ſo that Arphaxad might be the natural father of Sala, and the legal one of Cainan, or vice verſâ. There is therefore no need of having recourſe, as ſome have done, to injurious ſuppoſitions againſt the Jews, as if they had purpoſely ſcratched out the name of Cainan in their Hebrew copies, that they might take occaſion to cry down the ſeptuagint verſion; much leſs to other more violent means, to account for ſo ſmall a variation, which, for aught appears to the contrary, was occaſioned by the mere overſight of a tranſcriber, and the more probably, of St. Luke's own copy, than of either original or Greek verſion.

(R) This prophecy has been very much canvaſſed of late by our modern ſceptics, and as learnedly anſwered by ſeveral eminent hands. Thoſe diſputes are ſo recent, that we need not refer our readers to the authors who have wrote on either ſide. As for the difficulty that is raiſed, how the prophecy of a child thus miraculouſly born, could be a ſatisfaction to Ahaz, to whom it was addreſſed,

ſhoulder; and his name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace,[r] (S); with ſome others of the ſame nature, which are not quite

[r] Ibid. ix. 6.

addreſſed, unleſs it was fulfilled in his time, we have anſwered it in a former volume, to which the reader may, if he pleaſes, have recourſe †.

(S) Our readers may perhaps be willing to know what anſwer or evaſion the Jews make uſe of againſt ſuch pregnant prophecies; and it will not be amiſs here to give them a ſpecimen of them out of one of their ſubtileſt and boldeſt champions (21), by which he may gueſs at the reſt.

Firſt then, to the former of theſe prophecies, where the miraculous child is called Jeſus or Saviour, becauſe he was to ſave his people from their ſins, they in general, and this in particular, anſwer to this effect: Who has told you that the ſin of Adam has intailed any guilt on his poſterity? Was not that of his ſon Cain, who murdered his brother, a thouſand times greater than the biting of an apple? and yet no ſuch thing is ſaid of his poſterity being tainted with it. Beſides, where is there any mention made, that the Meſſiah was to ſave his people from their ſins? and if there was, how did Jeſus ſave us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him? In vain do you tell us of a redeemer of ſouls, we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a Meſſiah that ſhall deliver us from ſlavery, and make us again a flouriſhing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the ſecond prophecy, the ſarcaſtic author above quoted gives the following anſwer in a kind of triumphing tone. We will join iſſue with you, tho', according to your interpretation, it ſhould have been written his names (inſtead of his name ſhall be called) but waving that, how can his (Jeſus's) name be called wonderful, counſellor? Did not Judas rather defeat his counſel, when he betrayed him unknown to him? He could not be the gibbor, or mighty one, ſeeing he was put to death: He could not be the Abbi, the everlaſting father, or father of eternity, becauſe he was cut off in the midſt of his days. Laſtly, he could not be called the prince of peace, becauſe he enjoyed none himſelf, neither have wars ever ceaſed ſince his time; yea, himſelf ſays, that he did not come to bring peace, but war upon earth.

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal וַיִּקְרָא vajicra, he ſhall call, refers to God; and conſequently that all thoſe titles there mentioned refer to him, and not to the child there ſpoken of. But this evaſion

† Vol. iv. p. 138, & Note (K). (21) Auctor. libr. Nitzahon. vid. Munſter in loc. & not. in verſ. Hebr. Evang. S. Matth. c. 1.

quite ſo manifeſt, nor ſo univerſally agreed on (T). But the ſurprized virgin was ſo far from calling to mind thoſe prophecies, that ſhe looked on her virginity, which it is moſt likely ſhe had reſolved to preſerve under the guardianſhip of an aged religious husband, as an obſtacle to the accompliſhment of the angel's word, till, aſſured at length by him of the miraculous conception of that divine child, with an humble confidence ſhe wholly ſubmitted herſelf to the will of heaven. The angel having at the ſame time acquainted her with the pregnancy of her couſin Elizabeth in her old age, ſhe went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her husband upon it. At the firſt embracing of theſe three holy perſons, whoſe ecſtatic joy can only be gueſſed from the pathetic account which the evangeliſt has left us of

ſion is ſo ungrammatical and contrary to the plain import, in a vaſt number of parallel places, that others of them have diſowned it.

(T) Of this kind is that of Jeremiah (22): *The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth, a female* (or woman) *ſhall incompaſs a man*; which the context plainly ſhews to allude to the days of the Meſſiah, and moſt probably, from the natural ſenſe of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the Jews not only take them in a very different ſenſe, but exclaim againſt us for urging this text to them.

Eſpecially the Jewiſh author above-quoted, who here, as every-where elſe, rather expoſes his inveterate rancour againſt the Chriſtians, than his ſkill in the prophetic writings. It would doubtleſs offend our reader's ears, to tell him what a filthy word this vile wretch has found for the bleſſed mother of Chriſt, by the alteration of the firſt letter of her name, or the blaſphemies which moſt of their other writers vent againſt him and his religion. It ſhall ſuffice to have given this hint of it once for all. We ſhall ſpare them for the future, ſince their diſtorting the obvious ſenſe of the ſacred writings, whilſt they acknowledge the divine authority of them, doth but the more evince the truth of the one, and the invincible obſtinacy of the other.

Another text hitherto miſunderſtood and worſe tranſlated, and which we think to be prophetical of the birth of Chriſt of a virgin, is that of the Proverbs, chap. xxxi. verſe 19. *The way of the man*, not *with the maid*, as our verſion renders it, but *in the virgin*; but this we have had occaſion to explain in a former volume, to which we refer the reader *.

(22) Cap. xxxi. 22.

* Vol. iii. p. 674, (P).

of it [s]; Elizabeth, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, felt her child give a leap in her womb, from which ſhe began to conceive a higher notion of her viſitor, and which ſhe expreſſed in terms of the deepeſt reſpect and gratitude. Mary, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what ſhe had heard, teſtified her humble ſenſe for all the divine favours ſhe ſaw herſelf bleſt with, in that moſt heavenly canticle, which the ſame evangeliſt has preſerved to us; and, after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation at Nazareth. During her ſtay there, Elizabeth being delivered of the promiſed ſon, gave him the name of John (U), as his father had been commanded by the angel; and Zacharias, having teſtified his conſent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately looſed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghoſt; and broke out into an euchariſtic and prophetic hymn, which inſpired the wondering by-ſtanders with ſingular hopes concerning this new-born child [t].

The Trachonitiſh robbers ſuppreſſed.

DURING this time, that part of Judæa, which is called Trachonitis (W), and which was very rocky and mountainous, had been the receptacle of a great number of banditti and free-booters, who, as we have already hinted, lived chiefly upon the plunder which they got by their conſtant excurſions, ſometimes towards Judæa, ſometimes towards Arabia. What was ſtill worſe, they infeſted the roads that led from the Babyloniſh territories to Jeruſalem, and hindered the concourſe of the Jews of thoſe quarters to the annual feaſts. Herod, who had already been at a vaſt deal of pains to ferret them out of their dens and lurking-holes, bethought

[s] Luke i. 40, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. v. 27. ad fin.

(U) In the Hebrew יוחנן jochannan, a name very expreſſive of that gracious diſpenſation, which heaven was going to diſplay by the goſpel, of which this child was appointed the harbinger.

(W) This region, which had Arabia Deſerta on the eaſt, Batanea on the weſt, the land of Damaſcus on the north, and Iturea on the ſouth, ſeems to have had its name from two famous mountains, which an antient geographer calls Trachones (23). The greateſt part indeed of it, according to Joſephus, who places it between Paleſtine and Cœle-Syria, had ſuch ridges of rocks and mountains, eſpecially on the ſides of Arabia and Iturea, that ſome of them had caverns large enough to lodge a thouſand men (24).

(23) Strab. Geogr. l. xvi. (24) Vid. Joſeph. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 7. Euſeb. in loc. ſub voc. Kanath. Hieron. loc. Hebr.

bethought himſelf at length of a way of ſuppreſſing them effectually. He began with inlarging and fortifying a village, which was conveniently ſituated in the heart of the country, and became in time a conſiderable town. Hither he invited a certain Jewiſh captain, named Zamaris, who was gone at the head of five hundred well-armed men to ſettle in a caſtle in the neighbourhood of Antioch; and gave him and his men ſo many encouragements and immunities, that they came and fixed their abode there, and ſoon cleared all that country of that plundering vermin [u]. Zamaris, who was both valiant and religious, did not only ſignalize himſelf in this province, but left a noble offspring like himſelf, whoſe very names were ſufficient to deter the reſt of that gang from ſettling there any more.

Chriſt the Saviour of the world born.

THE virgin Mary, who was returned, from her viſit to Zacharias, to Nazareth the place of her abode, began now to give ſuch ſigns of her pregnancy, as made her aged ſpouſe, who had wholly abſtained from matrimonial converſe with her, to conceive ſome ſtrong ſuſpicion of her incontinency. He was thereupon contriving ſome means to give her a private divorce, without expoſing her to the rigour of the law; when he was appriſed by an angel, that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that he ought not to heſitate one moment to take her and her child under his patronage, ſince that miraculous ſon was appointed by heaven to be the ſaviour of his people. Joſeph immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery [w], if not of his death (X). In the mean

[u] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2. [w] Matt. i. 18, & ſeq.

(X) This laſt is the moſt received opinion, and it is certain that the particle till, eſpecially according to the genius of the Hebrew tongue, doth not always imply the duration of a thing to ſuch a time, but often carries a continuation unto the end; otherwiſe Chriſt would have his ſeſſion at the right hand of God no longer than till his enemies were made his foot-ſtool (25). Timothy would have been obliged, according to St. Paul's exhortation (26), to have vacated to the ſcriptures and other epiſcopal duties, no longer than till the coming of that apoſtle to him; and Jacob would have been no longer intitled to the divine protection, than till God had performed the promiſe of bringing

(25) Pſalm cx. 1. (26) 1 Timoth. iv. 13.

time, Bethlehem, the city of David, and not the obſcure city of Nazareth, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Meſſiah [x], the divine wiſdom ſo ordered it, that the decree of Auguſtus for taking a freſh ſurvey of the Roman empire, and the number and eſtimate of all perſons, eſtates, riches, &c. (Y) ſhould reach Judæa about this time,

Auguſtus's decree.

[x] Mic. v. 2.

bringing him ſafe to his own home again (27). The reader may ſee many more inſtances of the like nature in the famous concordance of indeclinables printed by Froben (28).

If it be objected, why Joſeph, who is by St. Matthew called a righteous man, ſhould ſcruple to expoſe his wife to the rigour of the Moſaic law, which condemns all ſuch to death; it is anſwered, that the word righteous is here uſed by the evangeliſt in oppoſition to one of a ſevere and rigorous diſpoſition, and rather means a charitable perſon, who though he abhors the crime, yet thinks there is a debt of mercy and compaſſion due to the offender; and who could have a greater claim to it, than a young and unexperienced virgin?

(Y) When this way of ſurveying came in vogue in the Roman empire, how, and by whom, it was performed, ſhall be ſhewn in the Roman hiſtory. We need only take notice, that Auguſtus cauſed three of theſe to be made in his time, of which this was the ſecond; it had been began ſomewhat above ſeven years before the vulgar or chriſtian æra, that is, above three years before the birth of Chriſt; and it might be well all that time going through the provinces of Cœle-Syria, Phœnice, and part of Judæa, before it came to Bethlehem (29), ſince that which had been made by David, of the ſingle province of Judæa, (though it doth not appear that the commiſſioners were to take an eſtimate of the eſtates, but only the number of fighting men) had taken up three whole years, though they were recalled before they had gone through with it (30).

It may not be amiſs to obſerve further concerning this decree of Auguſtus, that there is a kind of diſſonance between St. Luke and Joſephus, the former calling it a decree for taxing the empire, and the other affirming that no tax was paid in Judæa during Herod and his ſon Archelaus's reign, and that it did not begin till the depoſition of the latter, when that province was put under a Roman governor or preſident. This was not till twelve years after, when Cyrenius, as he is called by the Greeks and the evangeliſts,

(27) Geneſ. xxviii. 15. (28) Sub voc. Donec. (29) Conf. Sueton. in Octavio. & Luc. ii. 1, & ſeq. (30) 2 Sam. xxiv, 1, & ſeq. See alſo Vol. iv. p 45, & not.

time, which obliged the pregnant virgin and her husband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all thoſe that were of the houſe and lineage of David. The great concourſe of people coming to that place, put this poor little family under two inconveniencies, viz. a long ſtay, and the want of a lodging and proper entertainment; yet was this alſo conducted by a ſpecial providence, that he, who was to be the pattern of humility, ſhould begin and end his race in the ſame low and dejected path. Accordingly, when the pregnant virgin found herſelf near the time of her delivery, ſhe was forced to take up the mean accommodation of a ſtable, where, having brought forth her god-like ſon, ſhe wrapped him up in ſwaddling-cloaths, and for want of a better, made the poor manger ſerve him for a cradle.

Christ's birth proclaimed by angels.

But this humble riſing of the ſun of righteouſneſs did ſoon break out into its peculiar luſtre, when an angel, at the head of an heavenly hoſt, proclaimed his wonderous birth to the watching ſhepherds, and celebrated it with that noble hymn, *Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men*; and here began the firſt part of the character of that divine child, hinted above out of the prophet, to be diſplayed, *And he ſhall be called Wonderful*; wonderfully conceived, wonderfully born, and as wonderfully manifeſted. Accordingly, the angel, having declared to the ſhepherds, that on that day was born in the city of David a Saviour, which is Chriſt the Lord, gives them theſe wonderful ſigns to diſcover him by: *Ye ſhall find the babe wrapped up in ſwaddling cloaths, and lying in a manger* [y]; and the ſhepherds going to the place, and finding all things as they had been

[y] Luke ii. 8. ad 12.

evangeliſts, or in the Roman ſtyle Pub. Sulp. Quirinius, was ſent preſident of Syria (31).

The difference is eaſily reconciled; the decree iſſued out by Auguſtus was in order to have the empire taxed according to the eſtimate made by this ſurvey. Judæa, though then ſubject to Rome, was excepted by the favour of the emperor, till the depoſition of Archelaus, when it began to take place there under that new preſident. This ſenſe, which ſeems the obvious one of the evangeliſt, doth in no way really claſh with the Jewiſh hiſtorian (32).

(31) Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. (32) De hoc vid. Uſſer. Prid. Calmet, & al.

been told to them, became themſelves the publiſhers of the joyful news, and began to fill the neighbourhood with hopes of their long-expected and now aſſured deliverance. The child's parents, according to the Moſaic law, circumciſed him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of Jeſus, as they had been directed by the angel [z] (Z).

ANOTHER

[z] Ibid. verſ. 21. Matt. i. 21.

(Z) This wonderful advent of the Saviour of the world happened, according to the beſt computation we have, that of our moſt excellent Uſher, in the four thouſandth year of the world; and falls in exactly with an old tradition of the Jews mentioned in a former volume, that the world ſhould laſt two thouſand years before the law, two thouſand under the law, and two thouſand under the Meſſiah, according to the ſix days of the Moſaic creation; after which was to follow the ſeventh, or millennium †.

Accordingly, we find, that there was about this time an univerſal expectation of him among all the Jews, and even among the Heathens, who might have it probably from them; the ſacred books having by this time been a conſiderable while tranſlated into Greek, as we have ſeen in a former ſection. Neither is it improbable, they might ſtill retain a kind of traditionary notion of him from the prophecy of Balaam, concerning the wonderful ſtar that was to ariſe out of Jacob (33); and this may be the reaſon why theſe ſo readily embraced chriſtianity, whilſt the Jews, blinded with prejudice, and ſoothed into the hopes of a conquering deliverer, rejected both him and his doctrine. But of this hereafter.

We have ſeen a little higher, how the Jews evade thoſe prophecies, which fixed the coming of Chriſt to this time by ſeveral manifeſt indices; and need we wonder they ſhould do the ſame thing by this tradition? Their common ſalvo, that the ſins of the nation have retarded his coming, is a plain acknowledgment, that they look upon the time as long ſince expired, though they will hardly own it in ſo many words. But here they go from a received notion of their doctors, that though God may protract or even remit the evils he denounces againſt men, as he did in the caſe of the Ninivites, yet he never doth ſo with his promiſes, but punctually performs them in due time. According to which notion they uſed to try a true from a falſe prophet; that is, they did not condemn him, if his threatening did not come to paſs, but only when his promiſes failed.

This notion of the Meſſiah's coming being retarded on account of the ſins of the nation, is indeed the natural offspring of a much greater error; their expecting him to have appeared in the pomp and grandeur of a conquering and victorious monarch, who

† Vol. iii. p. 209, 210. (33) Numb. xxiv. 17.

The temple of Janus shut.

ANOTHER remarkable occurrence, and very proper to usher in both this character of Wonderful, as well as the other of Prince of Peace, was, that the temple of Janus was then shut, which was never done, but when the empire enjoyed a profound peace [a], as it did at this time, and continued to do twelve whole years (A). But the most signal manifestation of this new-born Saviour, and which put the whole city of Jerusalem into an uproar, was the arrival of the Magi, or Wise-men from the east (B), to that metro-

 polis,

[a] See the authors quoted under the following note.

who was to free them from the Roman yoke, and bring this and all other nations under that of the Jews; for this is the sense they put on all those prophecies which set forth the glories of his kingdom; and these being the chief blessings they expected from him, and on which they set the highest value, what more likely cause could be assigned for his delay, than that of their sins?

But could they have opened their eyes to the opposite part of his character, which is there as plainly and expressly foretold, and in the very same chapter of the same prophet (34), namely, that of his humiliation and sufferings, of his being rejected, reproached, blasphemed, and persecuted, even to death; they must have concluded, that nothing less than their sins could be the cause of his coming being so long suspended. On the contrary, they would have seen, that since a person of his glorious, beneficent, and irreproachable character was to be so cruelly treated, so unjustly and so inhumanly butchered by his own people, no time could be fitter for his coming, than when their nation was come up to the height of ingratitude and injustice, of infatuation and inhumanity, as it really was, when those prophecies were fulfilled in him.

(A) This was the fifth time of its being shut since the foundation of Rome; the first time was under Numa; the second at the end of the Punic war; the third under Cæsar Augustus, after the defeat of Marc Antony and death of Cleopatra, twenty-nine years before the birth of Christ; the fourth four years after, or twenty-five years before Christ, on the reduction of the Cantiberians or Cantabrians in Spain; and the fifth at this time of our Saviour's birth and under the same emperor (35).

(B) It would doubtless prove an enquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning these wise men, who they were? what part of the world they came from? what time of

(34) Isaiah liii. pass. vid. & Ps. xxii. pass. & alib. plur. (35) De his vid. Plutarch. in Numa. Liv. lib. i. Flor. lib. ii. Dio. Cass. l. ii. & al. Oros. l. vi. c. 20, & seq

of the year they arrived at Jeruſalem? how many they were? and many more ſuch queſtions, which have been ſtarted to little purpoſe, and to which no ſatisfactory light can be given. However, to ſpare our curious readers the trouble of conſulting the various accounts that have been given of them, we ſhall here ſubjoin the moſt that can be found concerning them.

1ſt, It is generally agreed, that they were of the ſect of the Mages, of whom we have given an account in a former volume †, perſons wholly addicted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, aſtronomy, and divination; and are ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the diſciples or deſcendants of Balaam, whom we have mentioned a little higher, on account of his notable prophecy of the Meſſiah. This will not appear improbable, if we conſider, that both they and their ſuppoſed maſter are ſaid to have come from the eaſt (36). Now the latter is ſaid to have been ſent for from the city of Pethor (37), which is there affirmed to have been ſituate on the banks of the river of the land of the children of his people, or, as the targum of Onkelos renders the place, on the river Euphrates, and elſewhere is ſaid by Moſes to have been a city of Meſopotamia (38). So that the country of Arabia Deſerta ſeems moſt probably to be the place they came from; for they generally bear the name of eaſtern in the ſacred writings. Another antient author, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention under the next note, tells us, that they were Chaldeans by birth, and by profeſſion great aſtronomers; and that it was by the help of this art that they underſtood what this new-riſen ſtar pre-ſignified, which made them take their journey into Judæa, where the new Jewiſh king was born. Now Chaldea, properly ſo called, being ſituate along the river Euphrates, was ſtill nearer Judæa than the other two above-mentioned.

This will alſo give us ſome light into another queſtion concerning them, viz. How long they were in coming from their country to Jeruſalem? for if they came from the latter, they might eaſily reach it on their camels or dromedaries, the uſual, but expeditious, carriage of thoſe parts, in and about a fourteenth-night; and if from the former, through the latter, one week or ten days more might ſuffice. For upon the ſuppoſition above-mentioned, of their coming from Meſopotamia and the banks of the Euphrates, the greateſt diſtance from that river to Jeruſalem will not much exceed ſix hundred miles. What further ſeems to confirm this conjecture is, the prophecy of the kings of Sheba and Saba, or Arabia, bringing their gifts to the king Meſſiah. For of him is this pſalm (29) allowed by Jews and Chriſtians to have been writ.

Some antient authors indeed, who have fetched them from the remoteſt parts of Perſia, have allowed them a two years travel, and found their ſuppoſition on the enquiry which Herod made of the

† Vol. v. p. 35, & ſeq. 307, & not. (36) Conf. Numb. xxiii. 7. & Matth. ii. 1. (37) Numb. xxii 5. (38) Deut. xxiii. 4. (29) Pſalm lxxii. 10.

the exact time of the ſtar's appearing to them, and his deſtroying all the male infants from two years and under (30); but what quite overturns this conjecture, and proves that they muſt have been at Bethlehem within leſs than forty days after his birth, is, that this was the place where they found him; whereas after his parents had preſented him to the Lord at Jeruſalem, which was to be done at the end of forty days, they are ſaid to have gone and dwelt at Nazareth, their uſual habitation (31).

Beſides, if they had been two years in coming, the ſtar muſt be alſo ſuppoſed to have appeared to them ſo long before, and to have directed them all that time, which is abſurd, as we ſhall further ſhew under the next note. Herod therefore, by ſlaying all the males under two years, might only do it for his greater ſecurity, and from ſome doubt, either that the Magi might not have obſerved the firſt appearance of the ſtar, or that they had purpoſely concealed it from him, out of a forecaſt they had of his bloody deſign againſt the child. We have ſeen already through his hiſtory, that he was never ſparing of the lives of his ſubjects, whenever his jealouſy or reſentment rendered them obnoxious to him.

Neither ſacred nor antient eccleſiaſtical writers tell us, how many in number, or of what quality, they were; but this has not hindered thoſe more recent fixing theſe and many more minute circumſtances, even as far as their names, age, complexion, dreſs, retinue, and ſuch-like. As for their number, the moſt received opinion is, that they were but three, and this notion ſeems founded on the three kinds of preſents they brought with them, as if each of them had preſented a different one. But this is ſaid without foundation. An old apocryphal book has multiplied them to twelve; and adds, that they were choſen from their whole nation, and went every night on the high mountains to watch the appearance of the ſtar (32).

Thoſe that gave them the title of kings, found their opinion partly on the text above-quoted out of the pſalmiſt, and partly on a notion which Tertullian had taken (33), on what ground is hard to gueſs, that all thoſe eaſtern nations were governed by kings choſen out of the ſect of the Mages. To the royal crown the Armenians (34) have added to them that of martyrdom, which they pretend they ſuffered in that country. The great conſtable of Armenia, in his letter to the king of France, (St. Lewis) adds, that they came thither from the province of Tangut (35). All this is ſaid on the authority of a tradition they have among them, and not from any authentic records; ſo that we may oppoſe to it

(30) De his vid Calmet. Comment. in Matth. (31) Luke ii. 39. (32) Auth. ap. imperf. in Matth. homil. 2. (33) Cont. Marcion l iii. & lib. cont. Judæos. (34) Vid. Chardin's travels into Perſia, tom. 3. (35) Spicileg. ap. Calmet. ubi ſupra.

it that of the city of Cologne, which pretends that they died there in their way home, and ſhews not only their tomb, but their three heads, in the cathedral of that city. Their epitaph, which is in Latin verſe, gives them the names of Gaſpar, Melchior, and Balthazar.

We ſhall add one tradition more concerning them, which is, it ſeems, as ſtifly believed in ſome parts of the Indies, as the two laſt are in Armenia and Germany. We have it on the credit of Jerom Oſorius, biſhop of Algarba in Portugal, who aſſures us he had it from perſons of undoubted credit, well verſed in the antient monuments of thoſe countries, and is to this effect:

Chiperimal, king of Cranganor, in the kingdom of Calecut, having undertaken ſome long voyage by way of expiation for an inceſt he had committed, came into Carmania, where he met with two Mages, going into Judæa to pay their homage to a miraculous child newly born of a virgin. The king begged leave to accompany them, and on his return cauſed a ſtately church to be built in honour of the virgin and her ſon, and in which he cauſed her image to be ſet up, holding the child in her arms. We ſhall ſtop here, ſeeing there is no going further in ſearch of them, without danger of being ſtill more bewildered.

However, before we diſmiſs this note, it will be very proper to take notice, once for all, that from the very earlieſt times of chriſtianity, there ſtarted up a number of heretics, who, the better to colour their impious tenets, trumped up divers falſe goſpels and writings, under the names of ſome of the apoſtles or moſt famous diſciples of Chriſt, and ſtuffed them with ſuch variety of miraculous circumſtances and ſtories, as obliged the heads of the church to condemn and explode them, as they juſtly deſerved. But though the books vaniſhed, except their names and ſome few fragments of them, yet the memory of thoſe addititious ſtories and miracles was not ſo eaſily extinguiſhed among the vulgar, who were ignorant of their foul origin; but was propagated by a kind of popular tradition, which was afterwards too indiſcriminatively received by the writers of the fourth, fifth, &c. centuries, eſpecially where they thought it ſerved to clear a text, or ſupplied thoſe circumſtances of men and things, which had been omitted by the ſacred writers.

Thus the various notions about the wiſe-men, mentioned above, of the miraculous ſtar, we ſhall ſpeak of in the next note, and many more of the like kind, too groſs to deſerve a place here, ſeem to have flowed from the pſeudo-goſpels of Joſeph the carpenter, of Joſeph of Arimathea, of the infancy of Jeſus, and ſome others, falſely attributed to one or other of the apoſtles; but in time their origin being forgot, they were received as common traditions, and quoted as ſuch by ſome of the latter fathers. So that it would be unjuſt to charge thoſe great and good men, with either forgery, or even with a fondneſs for what we call pious frauds, ſeeing the perſecuted ſtate of the church during ſo many

centuries

polis, under the guidance of a miraculous ſtar (C), which ceaſed not to go before them, till it had brought them to the place

centuries made their miſtakes almoſt unavoidable, which were in better times happily diſcovered and rectified.

(C) We have likewiſe a great variety of conjectures concerning this wonderful ſtar, according as men are inclined, either to leſſen or multiply miracles. Of this ſecond ſort are thoſe who think it to have been a mere comet, only with ſome peculiar luſtre, or ſome other index, well underſtood by the wiſe-men (36); and others, who make no more of it than a meteor, vaſtly below the orb of the moon †; though either of theſe can hardly be admitted without the interpoſition o fa miracle, ſince the ſuppoſition of an extraordinary luſtre in the former, and the long and regular motion of the latter, contrary to all that we underſtand of meteors, ſeems to have required a ſupernatural hand. Since therefore a miracle muſt be admitted, and it is plain God was never leſs ſparing of them, than upon this glorious juncture, others have with greater probability believed it to have been a luminous body created on purpoſe; others, that it was the very light which had appeared to the ſhepherds, which having been ſeen at a diſtance to the wiſe-men like a ſtar, came laſtly to appear to thoſe in a more refulgent manner (37). Some think it was an angel in that figure (38); others have run ſtill greater lengths, making it to have been the Holy Ghoſt, appearing in that viſible ſhape, and have attributed ſuch an unuſual brightneſs to it, as even eclipſed the ſun; if ſo, 'tis a wonder no cotemporary authors, either ſacred or profane, ſhould have ſaid ſomething of it.

And this will in a great meaſure explode the notion of thoſe we mentioned in the laſt note, who make the wiſe-men to have been two years in coming to Jeruſalem, and the ſtar to have gone all that time before them; ſince its long continuance and irregular motion, with reſpect to other heavenly bodies, could not but awaken the attention and wonder of all thoſe countries, in which it muſt have been ſeen. But this difficulty has been removed, by pretending that it appeared either to none but the Magi, or only two or three times, enough for thoſe who were watchful obſervers of it, but overlooked by all the reſt. But this is ſaid without foundation, or even ſhadow of probability; and the queſtion of the Magi at Jeruſalem ſeems much rather to imply, that it had been ſeen at leaſt in all the countries between Judæa and their own.

We

(36) Orig. Maldon. Grot. Le Clerc in Matt. ii. Whiſton & al. † Calmet. ubi ſupra. (37) Leo Mag. in Matt. Lightfoot, & al. (38) Chryſoſt. Theophylact. & al.

Wiſe men come from the eaſt to Bethlehem.

place and perſon they were in ſearch of. However, as they looked upon him as the king of the Jews, they firſt repaired to the metropolis, where he was moſt likely to be either born, or heard of. Upon their firſt enquiry after him, Herod and the whole city was moved, and the grand ſanhedrin, being conſulted about the place of his birth, directed them to Bethlehem, the place mentioned by the prophet above quoted. Whatever hopes the reſt of the Jews might conceive from this wonderful phenomenon and the tidings of the new-born Meſſiah, Herod, who dreamt of nothing but of an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and reſolved from that inſtant to nip him in the bud. To this end, he cauſed the Magi to be privately brought to him, and, having carefully ſifted them concerning the time of the ſtar's appearance, and other circumſtances which might ſerve his bloody deſign, he diſmiſſed them with theſe words; *Go and ſearch diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewiſe and pay my homage to him.* They ſet out accordingly, and were not a little over-joyed, when upon their leaving Jeruſalem, they beheld the ſame ſtar ſtill going before them, till it ſtood and ſhot its rays perpendicular upon the houſe where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the divine babe with ſuitable reverence, and having laid open their treaſures, they offered him the preſents of gold, frankincence,

We will not take upon us to ſay which of all theſe hypotheſes is the moſt probable, ſince the ſacred hiſtorian has left us in the dark, and the reſt of the antient hiſtorians are quite ſilent about it. We ſhall only ſubjoin here what the Platonic philoſopher Chalcidius ſays of it (39): It is not eaſy indeed to gueſs at the time in which he lived; but that he was a chriſtian, the very paſſage it ſelf plainly ſhews: "Let us now turn our thoughts, ſays he, to "another, and more holy, hiſtory, and ſuch a one as is more wor-"thy of our admiration I mean that which mentions the ap-"pearance of a ſtar, not of the nature of thoſe which portend "either a ſickneſs or mortality, but which manifeſt the deſcent "of God upon earth, to dwell among men, and to bleſs them "with his choiceſt favours. Some of the Magi, or wiſe-men of "Chaldæa, having obſerved this ſtar in the night, and being "thoroughly verſed in aſtronomy, went immediately in ſearch "of this new-born God, and having found him, preſented him "with gifts ſuitable to his divine character." The reader will find in the next note, what may have been probably the meaning of this laſt expreſſion.

(39) Comm. in Timæum Platon. p. 19.

frankincenſe, and myrrh (D); and being warned not to go back to Jeruſalem, they returned home by another way [b]. As ſoon as the child was forty days old, the time preſcribed for the purification of women after the birth of a ſon [c], his parents brought him to Jeruſalem to be preſented to the Lord in the temple, and to be redeemed, according to the law concerning the firſt-born [d], with the price of five ſhekels,

or

[b] Matth. ii. 1, & ſeq. [c] Levit. xii. 2, & 6. [d] Exod. xiii. 2. Numb. xviii. 15. See alſo before, vol. iii. p. 237, & (F).

(D) The piety of ſome antient times, when allegory was in greateſt vogue, and myſteries were diligently looked for in every part of holy writ, hath led men into ſuch lengths, as it would be dangerous to follow in theſe days. Particularly in theſe preſents, which the wiſe-men offered to the holy Jeſus, they have pretended to find out, either his three diſtinct offices of king, prieſt, and prophet, or his divinity, royalty, and manhood (40); or, laſtly, the divine virtues he was endowed with, and was to communicate to his true followers, viz. purity by the myrrh, which is an excellent ingredient to preſerve from corruption; incenſe, the ſmoke or perfume of which is ſaid to be the prayers of the faithful (41); and charity or beneficence, the moſt acceptable perfume that can be offered to the deity, and implied in the gold.

Others, grieving to ſee their fellow-chriſtians feed their piety with ſuch far-fetched notions, have ſought a nearer meaning by running into another extreme, and concluded, that nothing elſe ſeems intended by thoſe gifts, than the ſupplying the preſent and future indigencies of the child and his parents, who were ſhortly to be forced to take a long journey into Egypt. So that the gold was to defray their expences, the myrrh to preſerve the babe's tender limbs in his travels, and the incenſe to diſpel the common damps and ill-ſmell, either of his ſtable, or of thoſe caravanzeras or inns, in which they would be obliged to lodge.

But there is a middle way between thoſe extremes, which is, that the Magi offered theſe preſents to this new-born monarch, as they looked on him merely as the future king of the Jews, and without any regard to his divinity, of which it doth not ſufficiently appear that they were appriſed. Only they ſuppoſed, by the wonderful phænomena that preceded and accompanied his birth, that he was likely to prove ſuch a glorious monarch, as that his reign would eclipſe thoſe of all his anceſtors; but whether on account of his greater power, conqueſts, or for what other reaſon, it is not likely they could know without a particular revelation.

(40) Ambroſ. in Luke ii. 6. Leo Serm de Epiphan. Theoph. in Matth. 2 Bern. & al. mult. (41) De his Vid Baron. ſub. A. C. 1. ſect. 40. & Calmet. ſub Simeon IV.

or of a lamb, or a pair of doves, or young pidgeons; which laſt was the price appointed for the meaner ſort. And into ſuch low condition was the family of David reduced (by this time), and ſo poor were the parents of the world's ineſtimable redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the loweſt price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named Simeon (E), a perſon of conſummate piety, and endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy; to whom it had been revealed, that he ſhould not ſee death before he had beheld the promiſed Meſſiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghoſt to the temple at the ſame time, he took the babe

(E) The ſhortneſs of the evangeliſt's account concerning this venerable perſon, has been abundantly ſupplied by the pious and fruitful fancies of later writers, who have each contributed their mite towards the raiſing of his character. He has been by many (42) affirmed to have been a prieſt, and to have been then performing his function in receiving the child in his arms, according to the cuſtom of redeeming the firſt-born. There is indeed nothing can make this incredible or improbable, if we except the ſilence of St. Luke, who, it is not likely, would have over-looked his being a prieſt, if he had been really ſuch.

Some have affirmed him to have been the ſame with Simon, ſurnamed The Juſt, diſciple of the famous *Hillel*, often mentioned in this hiſtory, who was alſo the maſter of that Gamaliel, at whoſe feet St. Paul had been brought up (43), and that whilſt he was endeavouring after an expoſition of the prophecy, quoted a little higher, *A virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a ſon*, this revelation was made to him, that he ſhould not die before he had ſeen it fulfilled. So that when he came to ſee the miraculous mother and child, he broke out into that divine and prophetic ecſtaſy mentioned by the evangeliſt, and died ſoon after. Epiphanius adds (44), that the noble teſtimony he gave to this new-born Saviour did ſo exaſperate the ſtubborn Jews, that they denied him common burial.

Another ſet, which makes him one of the ſeventy interpreters of the Greek verſion mentioned in a former ſection †, tell us, that when he came to tranſlate the prophecy juſt now mentioned, he found his faith ſtagger; but that his doubts were happily diſpelled by this revelation, that he ſhould ſee the accompliſhment of it before he died (45). So that at that rate he muſt have lived to a good old age, ſince at the loweſt that verſion was made above two hundred years before Chriſt, and thoſe interpreters were ſcarcely choſen out of the youngeſt tribe.

(42) Allat. Differt. de Script. Simeon ſub. init. (43) Acts xxii. 3. (44) De vit. & mort. prophet. † Vid p. 85, & note. (45) De his vid. Allat. ubi ſupra.

babe in his arms, and having foretold to his mother the ſorrows with which her pious ſoul would in time be pierced, on account of the many blaſphemies and perſecutions which this divine ſon was to be expoſed to; and being now aſſured that nothing could add to his happineſs but the joys of a future life, ſung his own requiem in a ſhort ecſtatic hymn, and reſtored the babe to his parents. His teſtimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old propheteſs, named Anna, who had dedicated the remainder of her life from her widowhood to the ſervice of God and of his temple; and coming at that inſtant to the place, began likewiſe from thenceforth to publiſh this new-born Saviour to all the faithful Iſraelites. [e]

WHAT bloody expedient the jealous Herod pitched upon to fruſtrate all theſe predictions by ridding himſelf of this ſo dreaded child, and how he was diſappointed in it by a peculiar providence, will be ſeen in the next ſection; and we ſhall cloſe this, according to our promiſe, with a ſhort view of the ſects at this time reigning in Judæa, that the reader may ſee how it came to paſs, that a Meſſiah, ſo plainly and frequently foretold from the beginning, ſo miraculouſly conceived and born, proclaimed by angels, atteſted by prophets, and confirmed by innumerable miracles, the infallible ſeals of heaven, came yet to be rejected and perſecuted even to death and beyond, by thoſe who were the keepers and expounders of thoſe oracles which foretold and typified him, and eye-witneſſes of all his ſtupendous works. For though we are writing the hiſtory of the Jews, and not of the chriſtians, yet, for as much as the deſtruction of their temple, city, and commonwealth, was owing to their refuſing to acknowledge the Meſſiah, after he had fulfilled in his own perſon all that the prophets had written of him [f]; it will be neceſſary to examine by what prejudices and infatuation they brought this total and laſting deſolation upon their country and nation; and, upon a review of the doctrines peculiar to each ſect, it will be found, that their invincible attachment, each to their own tenets, were the main cauſes and haſteners of it. For, on the one hand, that erroneous and pernicious opinion, which every one of them obſtinately held of a temporal Meſſiah and conquering deliverer, was attended with two very fatal conſequences, namely the rejecting of the Meſſiah, whom they ſaw appear in a quite oppoſite character; and their ſeeking him in thoſe impoſtors, who flattered them in their deluſion and ripened them into an open rebellion. Such was

Cauſes of the Jews incredulity.

[e] Luke ii, 22. ad 38.

[f] Ibid. c. ult. ver 25, & ſeq. Acts iii. 12 ad 22, & alib. plur.

was Judas Galileus, the head of the Gaulonitish sect or faction, which proved the mother of infinite mischiefs to that infatuated nation, and hastened their total ruin; to say nothing of several other pretenders to the character, either of the Messiah, or of his fore-runner, which drew still vast multitudes after them. On the other hand, the irreconcileable hatred which every sect bore, either to each other on account of their different tenets, or against christianity, which was still more opposite to their own, did so weaken and distract the whole body, that, instead of joining their united counsel and strength against their oppressors, they did as much strengthen them by their mutual feuds and persecutions, as they did exasperate them by their seditious and hostile behaviour, and made their own ruin so much the easier to complete. All which will be better seen by the sequel, especially by a short view of each of those sects.

Josephus reckons four principal ones among the Jews; 1. The Pharisees; 2. Sadducees; 3. Essenians; and, 4. the Galileans, or the faction of Judas Galileus [a]. The evangelists add that of the Herodians to the two former, and mention nothing of the two last, probably, because they did not oppose the gospel with that inveteracy which the others did. How powerful and numerous the Pharisaic sect was among the meaner, and what sway that of the Sadducees did bear among the opulent, and what perpetual wars each waged against the other, has been already frequently hinted, and will now be better understood by a short review of their different tenets.

Pharisees. I. The rise of the Pharisees is very much unknown; they claim indeed their famous doctor Hillel, often mentioned in this chapter, for their father, as he is supposed by some to have lived during the pontificate of Jonathan, about a hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, but by others later; and more justly too, since, if he be the Pollio mentioned by Josephus along with the famous Samæus, he must have lived about the time of Herod, long before whom the Pharisaic sect was in high repute. It is therefore likely, they claim him rather as an ornament [illegible] author, of their sect. The reader may see [illegible]dy hinted concerning those two great men [illegible]f. As to the Pharisees, it is probable, they [illegible] di-stinguish themselves, till the opposite [illegible]es [illegible]ed

[a] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. & seq. Bell. Jud. [illegible] pass.

† Page 256.

ſtarted up, and made them by degrees run into the other extreme. This ſeems evident from the etymon of their name, whether we derive it with the generality of critics from the Hebrew פרס, to divide or ſeparate, or with others [b], from another ſenſe of that word, ſignifying recompenſe, or retribution, in oppoſition to their antagoniſts, who denied and derided it, at leaſt as to a future life.

We have formerly had occaſion to mention one of their favourite tenets, namely that of an oral tradition conveyed down from Moſes, and to which they attributed the ſame divine authority as to the ſacred books *. This being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Sadducees, as well as the Samaritans, and the Caraites (a ſect of which we ſhall give ſome account at the cloſe of this ſection) made them equally deteſted by them. But none more incurred their hatred and reſentment than our Saviour, who took all proper occaſions of reproving them for the unjuſtifiable preference which they gave to this pretended tradition to the written word of God, and for condemning thoſe as apoſtates worthy of death, who paid not the ſame, or even a greater, regard to the former, than to the latter.

Another tenet of theirs in oppoſition to the Sadducees was, that of the being of angels, the immortality of the ſoul, reſurrection, and future rewards. But as to this laſt, they firſt excuded all that were notoriouſly wicked from having any ſhare in it, and ſent them immediately after their death into everlaſting puniſhment. Joſephus, who was himſelf a ſtrict as well as learned Phariſee, affirms, that thoſe ſpirits, which they called devils, were no other than the ſouls of ſuch wicked men, who ſtill retaining their miſchievous propenſity, were ever ſeeking to annoy thoſe of the living by obſeſſions, &c. In the next place, this reſurrection, in thoſe that were admitted to it, was no more than a tranſmigration from one body to another, more or leſs happy, according to their behaviour in their former ſtate. Thus the diſciples aſked our Saviour, who had ſinned, the blind man before them, or his parents, that he ſhould be puniſhed with blindneſs [c]; and thus Herod and the multiude ſuppoſed Chriſt to be either John the baptiſt, Elias, or ſome other prophet riſen from the dead [d]. When therefore that divine maſter came to preach to

[b] Vid Baſnage hiſt. des Juifs, tom. 2. l. ii. ch. 18. ſect. 2.
* See before, Vol. x. p. 31, (Z) & alib. [c] John ix. 2. [d] Matt. xiv. 2 xvi. 14. & alib.

to them a more glorious resurrection, this proud sect could not but look upon it as a derogation to what they thought their superior authority and judgment, which was therefore the more offensive to them, as coming from so mean, illiterate, and contemptible a person.

A THIRD tenet was, that all things were subject to fate, or, as some expresst it, to the heavens, except the fear of God. It is not easy to guess what they meant by it: Josephus [e] indeed will have it, that they designed to reconcile, by this unaccountable jumble, the fatality or predestination of the Essenes with the free-will of the Sadducees. If so, this is not the only absurdity, or even contradiction, which they held; but our learned bishop Bull seems to have proved, that they attributed all to fate, or to that chain of causes, to which the creator had subjected all things from the beginning [f]; among which the influence of the heavenly bodies was looked upon to be one of the principal. This seems hinted at by St. James in the beginning of his epistle to his new converts, where he explodes that Pharisaical leaven by the most beautiful opposition of the immutability of God, the giver of all good, to the mutability of the planets, which, according to that notion, must necessarily vary their aspects from a benign to a malevolent one, and, vice versâ, even by the natural change of their courses [g].

HERE was then a new source of dislike to Christ's doctrine, which affirms men to be the authors of their own unbelief, disobedience and obstinacy; and so answerable for that and all the train of evils which it brings after it [h]. It must be owned, however, that some critics have given a different sense to Josephus's words, and whilst one makes the Jews from it to fall into the worship of angels, as having the government of those heavenly bodies [i], others have endeavoured to disculpate them even from their known attachment to astrology, by pretending, that by the heavens is meant no more than the eternal decrees of God, which yet are supposed very consistent with the notion of a freedom of will [k]. Both sides had an end to serve, and seem to argue according to their different notions, which it is not our business to enter futher into, much less to reconcile the notion of the Pharisees, if it was really theirs, of a freedom of will, with the absolute and eternal decree of the

[e] Joseph. ubi supra. Vid. & Antiq. l. xiii. c 9 & xviii. c. 1, 2 [f] Harmon. Apost dissert. poster c. 15. [g] James c. 1. v. 13, 16, 17. Vid & Black. vindication of the sacred classics. [h] Vid. int. al. Matt. xxiii. 37. [i] Baronius ap. Basnag. ubi supra, sect. 7. [k] Basnag ibid. & seq.

the supreme being. Sure, it seems, from the address of the proud Pharisee with, *God I thank thee* [l], that he looked upon him as the original source of all those fansied virtues he there boasts of, whatever channel he might suppose they flowed to him from; and doth not this at least intimate that he looked upon the want of those virtues in the despised Publican to be owing to his being deprived, by the same arbitrary divine will or decree, of that superior grace which produced them in him? All which is contrary likewise to the doctrine of Christ, which teaches us, that God distributes to every man a sufficient share of it to profit withal, and encreases it according to the improvement they make of it.

But their most distinguishing character, and that which rendered them most obnoxious to the just censures of Christ, was, their superogatory attachment to the ceremonial law, their frequent washings, fastings, and prayers, their public alms-deeds, hunting after proselytes, scrupulous tithings, affected gravity of dress, gesture, and mortified looks; their building the tombs of the prophets, to tell the world that they were more righteous than their ancestors who murdered them, though themselves were then plotting the death of the best and greatest of all the prophets; their over-scrupulous observance of the sabbath to the exclusion of works of the greatest charity, and many more of the like nature; whilst they were wholly negligent of the moral and eternal law of mercy and justice, of charity, humility, and the like indispensible virtues. The best of them, contenting themselves with abstaining from the finishing act of any sin, indulged themselves in all the thoughts, desires, and complacencies which came short of it; whilst others, more hardened in their vices, made no scruple, not only to covet, but to devour, poor widows houses, to commit the vilest of oppressions, injustices, and cruelties, and to encourage it in their own disciples, under the specious cloak of religion and sanctity. Well might Christ then compare them to whited sepulchres, beautiful indeed without, but within full of rottenness and corruption [m].

Hence that fatal and judicial infatuation, which made them overlook all the miracles which he wrought before their eyes, because he chose to do some of them on the sabbath; as if healing the sick, giving ears to the deaf, eyes to the blind, life to the dead, &c. was a violation, instead of a hallowing, of that day, and must denominate him a profane per-

[l] Luke xviii. 11. [m] Matt xxiii. 27, & alib.

ſon, a ſabbath-breaker, a falſe prophet and ſeducer, or any other odious name, rather than what thoſe miraculous works, long before foretold by the prophets, demonſtrated him to be, the Meſſiah and redeemer of mankind.

THE laſt erroneous notion we ſhall mention of theirs, which was indeed common to the other ſects, but did more exactly tally with the haughty, rapacious, and cruel temper of the Phariſee, was their expectation of a glorious conquering Meſſiah, who was to bring the whole world under the Jewiſh yoke. Inſomuch, that there was ſcarce a kennel-raker among them, that did not expect to be made preſident of ſome opulent province under him. How unlikely then was it, that a meek and humble Jeſus, whoſe doctrine breathed nothing but humility, peace, diſintereſtedneſs, ſincerity, contempt of the world and worldly things, and univerſal love and beneficence, ſhould ever be reliſhed by that proud, covetous, and hypocritical ſect; or even by the reſt of the populace, as long as theſe their demagogues ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it! But we ſhall inlarge no further upon them; thoſe who are deſirous to know more may conſult the authors quoted in the margin [n].

Sadducees, II. THE Sadducean ſect was no leſs oppoſite to the doctrine of Chriſt. We have already given ſome account in a former ſection [†] of their riſe, and of their favourite tenet, that there was neither reſurrection, reward, or puniſhment, nor even life after this. They added, that God was the only immaterial being, in conſequence of which, they admitted neither angels, nor any ſpiritual ſubſtances, but him. Whether this was the original doctrine of Saddoc their founder, as the Talmudiſts and Joſephus affirm, or whether theſe and ſome of their other epicurean principles were afterwards gradually introduced by his looſe diſciples, in order to rid themſelves of the dread of a ſad hereafter, as ſome moderns think; 'tis plain, this tenet was very rife with them in our Saviour's time, which made them take ſeveral opportunities of oppoſing and ridiculing his doctrine of the reſurrection [o].

ANOTHER of their tenets, equally oppoſite to the Phariſees and to the doctrine of Chriſt, was, that man was made abſolute maſter of all his actions, and ſtood in no need of any aſſiſtance to chuſe or act [p]. For this reaſon they were alway

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[n] Lightfoot, Druſius, Serrarius, Calmet, Pref. in comm. in Mar & Prid Connect. ſub. A. C. 107

[†] Page 205, 206, (W

[o] Matt. xxii. 23, & ſeq. & alib. plur.

[p] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

moſt ſevere in their ſentences, whenever they ſat as judges. Joſephus adds in another place [q], that they looked upon the deity as above intermeddling with human affairs, which is in effect denying a providence and conſequently all religion. But this ſavours too much of the Phariſaic ſcandal, and it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that men of ſuch principles ſhould not only continue uncenſured and uncondemned by the ſanhedrin, but be permitted to have acceſs to the temple, to propoſe their queſtions and objections, and perform their devotions there as freely as any Phariſee; and, which is ſtill more ſurprizing, ſhould be ſuffered to fill the higheſt dignities in church and ſtate. Beſides, ſuch principles ſeem altogether incompatible with their allowed belief of the Moſaic books, though they had rejected all the reſt, as they are by ſome ſuppoſed to have done [r]; but Scaliger, we think, has ſufficiently cleared them of even this laſt imputation [s], which has no other foundation, than that of our Saviour's chuſing to confute them only from the pentateuch.

It is true, they rejected all the pretended oral traditions of the Phariſees, and ſtuck cloſe to the text of the ſacred books; perhaps they might alſo give the preference to thoſe of Moſes above all the reſt. All the other Jews did ſo, and do to this day; but had they abſolutely denied the authority of the latter, it is not likely they could have eſcaped being ſeverely reproved for it, either by our Saviour and his apoſtles, or even by Joſephus, who gives them ſuch a foul character in other points; and yet he owns [t], that they received τα γεγραμμενα, the written books; which expreſſion is too general, and too much in their favour to have flowed from his pen, could he have charged them with rejecting any of them [u]. Thoſe who will have them to receive only the pentateuch, add another argument to that above-mentioned, and equally inconcluſive, viz. that the other ſacred books did too plainly impugn their particular doctrines; but muſt not they for the ſame reaſon have rejected thoſe of Moſes? Are there not numberleſs inſtances of angels and ſpirits? and are there not likewiſe ſeveral pregnant proofs in them, if not of a reſurrection, at leaſt of the rewards and puniſhments of a future life [w]? The very Phariſees themſelves laid down as a

[q] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. [r] Hieron, in Matth. Orig. cont. Celſ, l. i. Serrar. trihæreſ. l. ii. Prid. ubi ſupra [s] Elench. trihæreſ. cont. Serrar. c. 16. [t] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. [u] Vid. Le Clerc hiſtor. eccleſ. proleg. ſect. 1. ſect. 3. [w] Vid. Scaliger, ubi ſupra.

fundamental principle, that it was not enough to believe the resurrection, unless one believed also that it was contained in the law; so they call the pentateuch.

ADD to all this, that the reading of all the other books in the temple and synagogues having been introduced long before, as we have elsewhere observed †, it is not likely they would have assisted at it; and yet we do not find, that they absented themselves from it, either upon that or any other account. What therefore the learned rabbi last-quoted says of them, seems most probably to have been their case, namely, that they did not reject them, but only expounded them in a different sense from the other Jews.

SOME other pretended erroneous tenets they are charged, by Josephus and the Talmudists, to have held, particularly that of condemning polygamy, as forbid by the Mosaic law; but as they were not opposite to the christian doctrine, nor an obstacle to their receiving it, we shall pass them by. Those we have already mentioned were more than sufficient to frighten them from it. The notion of a future life, universal judgment, eternal rewards and punishments to men, whom a contrary doctrine had long soothed into luxury, and an overgrown fondness for all earthly happiness, which they looked upon as the only reward they were to expect for their obedience, must of necessity appear strange and frightful; and, as such, could not chuse but meet with the strongest opposition from them; especially if we add what Josephus observes, that they were, for the generality, men of the greatest quality and opulence, and consequently too apt to prefer the pleasures and grandeur of this life to those of another. The Jewish historian concludes their character, in opposition to those of his own sect, with telling us, that they were a set of men, churlish and morose towards each other, and cruel and savage to all besides [y].

SOME have looked upon this sect to have been quite cut off at the total destruction of Jerusalem [z]. It is true, indeed, that they were very much weakened and thinned by the Romans on account of their riches and credit; but their doctrines, so pleasing to flesh and blood, were not likely to continue long without fresh advocates. Accordingly, we find them so well revived and numerous in Egypt, even from the middle of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, that Ammonius, Origen's master, thought it high time to write against

† p. 32. (Z) [x] Glossar. in Sanhedr. Vid. & Menass. Ben Israel, lib. i. de resurrect. mort. c. 6. [y] Bell. Jud. l. ii c. 7. in fin. [z] Vid. Simon. hist. crit. V. T. Prid. connect. ubi supra.

againſt them, or rather againſt the Jews, for ſuffering them to propagate their irreligious principles. Some, we are told, are ſtill to be met with in Afric, and elſewhere, who ſtill deny a future life, and hold all the other tenets of that ſect [a]. Perhaps were they leſs odious to the ſober part of mankind, we ſhould find them more numerous than they appear. However, bad as they are, we are told by a Jewiſh chronologer [b] of a learned Spaniſh rabbi, named Alphorag, who in the twelfth century wrote a book in defence of that ſect, wherein he affirmed, that the purity of the Jewiſh religion was only to be found among them; whilſt the Phariſees clogged it with an infinity of needleſs and intolerable ceremonies.

III. The Herodians are ſo little known, that we need not wonder at the vaſt variety of opinions, which both the antient fathers and the moderns have entertained concerning them, and of which the bare mention would ſwell us beyond our bounds. Joſephus, as we hinted above, makes no mention of them; and if the moſt general notion be right, that they were a ſet of men who cried up Herod as the Meſſiah, we need not be ſurpriſed, that this flattering hiſtorian ſhould paſs by a ſect which applied thoſe prophecies to that Jewiſh monarch, with which himſelf was complimenting his favourite emperor Titus Veſpaſian, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. How Philo comes likewiſe to be ſilent of them, is paſt our finding out. Herodians.

For it is plain from the evangeliſts, that they made a conſiderable ſect or party in our Saviour's time; that they differed from thoſe of the Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſenians; and that they held ſome particular tenets of a dangerous nature, ſince Chriſt thought fit to forewarn his diſciples againſt their leaven [c]. It is true, ſome have confounded them with the Sadducees [d], becauſe St. Matthew, in a parallel place [e], mentions them inſtead of the Herodians. But as they are often mentioned elſewhere, in contradiſtinction to them [f], it is likely, that one evangeliſt only ſupplies what the other has omitted. Hence it follows likewiſe, that they were not a kind of Jewiſh confraternity inſtituted in honour of Herod, and like unto the Roman ſodales, auguſtales, &c. (which

[a] Vid. Baſnag. ubi ſupra li. ii. c. 15. paſſ. Calmet diſſert. de ſect Jud. in. prol in evang. Marc. & al. ſup citat. [b] Gantz Tzemach David. [c] Marc. viii. 15. [d] Hamm Le Clerc & al. in loc, ſup. citat. Harduin. num. [e] Matt. xvi. 6. [f] Conf. loc ſup. citat. cum Matt. xxii. 16. & alib.

were not instituted in that empire till a long time after Herod's death) as some have imagined [g], but a real sect, distinct from the rest in their principles and interests.

THERE is likewise a different opinion concerning them, among those who affirm them to have believed Herod to be the Messiah, namely, which of the kings of that name they gave that title to [h]. Some [i] thought it was to Herod I. surnamed the great, on account of his superior prowess, riches, magnificence, and of his kingdom's extending even beyond Palestine, which was more than any of his successors could boast of. They add, that he caused all the genealogies and records concerning the family of David to be destroyed, to prevent their being urged in opposition to his own lineage. But all this is easily confuted by the single consideration, that if he had been the person whom they took for the Messiah, his dreadful death, which was looked upon as a judgment from heaven, to say nothing of his wicked and hateful reign, would long before have convinced them of their error. Whereas we find them still very numerous, famed, and zealous for their sect in our Saviour's time, above thirty years after that monarch's death. Those therefore, who think that his son Herod, surnamed Antipas, the same who took the infamous Herodias, from his brother Philip, and caused John the Baptist to be beheaded on her account, to have been the Messiah cried up by this sect, seem to judge with more probability. It is true, his dominion was confined within much narrower bounds than his father's; but then it is plain, notwithstanding all Josephus's panegyrics on him, that his ambition was as unlimited; witness his joining in the conspiracy with Sejanus, and the vast magazines he had filled with arms, and of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is not therefore improbable, that this prince, no less politic than ambitious, who is on that account called a Fox by a more impartial judge, might take the advantage of the universal expectation which the Jews were then in of the Messiah, to form a party or sect of parasites, who should give it out that he was the glorious person they looked for; and that nation did not want for men at this time, base enough to flatter his ambition with that sacred title.

HOWEVER

[g] Scalig. anim. in chron. Euseb. 1882. Casaubon. proleg. in exercit. Baronian. [h] Vid. Prid. connect. in fin. part. ii. l, v. Calmet. dissert. de sect. Judæor. & al. [i] Vid. Basnag. hist. des Juifs, tom. 2 part. 2. ch. xxiv.

HOWEVER, other critics have with greater probability reduced that sect into a kind of Herodian faction, set up in opposition to the Pharisees and zealots; and that the Herodians maintained the lawfulness of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings that were set over them by the Romans, which was absolutely denied by the latter. The former likewise excused several unlawful innovations, which had been made by Herod the Great and his successors, as the effects of necessity rather than choice; whereas the latter cried them down as heathenish, idolatrous, and the effects of a base complaisance for the Roman emperors. Another critic, often quoted in this chapter [k] for his new genealogies of the Herodian family, pretends, that they were a sect of platonic philosophers, whom Antipater had brought from Athens; and adds, that they held pretty much the same doctrines with the Sadducees, or rather that those in Judæa were the same with them. The reader may see that sanguine author sufficiently confuted by Basnage in the place above-quoted. Beza on the contrary infers, that they agreed with the Pharisees in denying the lawfulness of the tribute, from the insnaring question they came to put to our Saviour [l]. But it is rather plain, that their design, and more especially that of the Pharisees, who sent them to him, was of another nature. These had been just before determining at any rate to intangle him in his answers, that they might find some matter to accuse him, because he had been setting forth a parable that touched them to the quick. They therefore sent their own disciples in company with the Herodians to intrap him with the question in dispute between them, Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar [m]? If he answered in the affirmative, they could object against him that he was an impostor, and not what he pretended, the Messiah, who was to free them from all foreign yoke and impost; and upon this they could indent a criminal process against him, which would make them amends for his having given the preference to their antagonists. And if he answered in the negative, they gained a victory over them, and at the same time exposed him to their resentment, or rather to that of the civil power, which, they knew, would not fail to crush both the doctrine and its divine preacher, especially at such a juncture, when there was another new faction started up into a sect, which began to appear somewhat dangerous.

IV. THIS

[k] Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Tertul. de præscript. Epiphan. hæres. Herodian. [l] In Matth. xxii. 16. [m] Vid. Matth. ubi supra, a ver. 2. ad 17.

Gaulonites.

IV. This was that of the Gaulonites, so named from Judas the Gaulonite[n], or Galilean, as he is called by St. Luke [o]. It began to appear soon after the banishment of Archelaus, when his teritories were made a Roman province, and the government given to Caponius. For the Jews looking upon this as an open attempt to reduce them into slavery, Judas took the advantage of their discontent to put himself at their head, and to ripen them for an insurrection. Augustus furnished him with a plausible pretence for it, by issuing out his edict to have the whole province of Syria new surveyed and taxed about this time. Judas therefore, who was a man of uncommon ambition, took occasion from it to display all his eloquence, to convince the Jews, that such a submission was no less than base idolatry, and setting up men upon the level with God, who was the only Lord and Sovereign that could challenge their obedience and subjection. The party which he drew after him became in a little time so considerable, that they put every thing into confusion, and laid the foundation for those great mischiefs which ensued, and which will be seen in the sequel.

This sect, as well as that of the Herodians, lasted no longer than till the destruction of Jerusalem; a learned author lately quoted thinks them to have been the same sect, only called by different names, by Josephus and the evangelists †; but what has been said above concerning that of the Herodians, we think, sufficiently shews the contrary. Had their sect been the same, they ought to have been more properly called Anti-herodians, since that monarch's authority was equally exclaimed against by their chief, as that of the Romans; and if their doctrine, against which our Saviour forewarns his disciples, had been the same with that of the Gaulonites, would it not have been equally absurd to have called it the leaven of Herod? Josephus tells us, that it differed in no point but this from that of the Pharisees; and the evangelists introduce the Pharisees and Herodians as coming by one consent to enquire of Christ concerning the lawfulness of the tribute; from all which it seems at least very probable, that they were only two different parties, who split themselves into two extremes from the Pharisaic sect; whilst these last kept, as it were, in a medium between the base complaisance of the Herodians, and the seditious spirit of the Gaulonites, not perhaps so much out of a conscientious principle,

[n] Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. [o] Acts v. 37. † Vid. Prid. & Eating. ubi supra.

principle, much leſs out of any love, either to Herod, or to the Romans, as from a fear of their power and reſentment.

Eſſenians. V. THE Eſſenians, though not taken notice of by the writers of the New Teſtament, did yet make a conſiderable ſect among the Jews, and are very much celebrated by Joſephus [p], Philo [q], Pliny [r], and ſome of the fathers and other chriſtian writers, both antient and modern [s]; and if they were the ſame with the Haſſidim or Haſdanim, as ſome have thought, we may add alſo, by the books of the Maccabees and other Jewiſh writers. But this laſt is a mere conjecture, founded only on a fancied conformity between ſome of their principles, and auſtere way of living. The far greateſt part of the Eſſenian ſect was chiefly in Egypt; there was but a ſmall number of them in Judæa, probably by reaſon of the grievous perſecutions and inteſtine broils, that raged almoſt perpetually in it. And this may be one reaſon, why the evangeliſts make no mention of it; to which we may add another, namely, that their eremitic life, which ſecluded them from places of great reſort, and their overweening pretence to a ſuperior ſanctity, which inſpired them with a contempt for the reſt of the world, might make them leſs curious about Chriſt's perſon and doctrine. They might think, that if he was really the Meſſiah, he would not fail to come to ſeek them; and if he was not, he had already enemies enough to oppoſe him; and it was beneath them to leave their beloved ſolitude and contemplative life, merely to declare themſelves againſt him. What wonder then, that the ſacred writers ſhould overlook a proud, recluſe, and remote ſect, which neither embraced nor oppoſed the goſpel, and whoſe affectation to a greater and ſupererogatory degree of holineſs ſtood condemned by the frequent cenſures which Chriſt pronounced againſt that of the Phariſees?

IT would be next to impoſſible to trace out their origin, or even the etymology of their name, with any certainty (A). Pliny,

[p] Antiq. l. iii. c. 9, 18, 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. & alib. paſſ. [q] Tract. quod omnis probus liber. [r] Hiſt. lib. v. c. 17. [s] Epiph. hæreſ. 29 de Nazar. c. 4. Suid. ſub. voc. προγονοι Serrar. tri-hæreſ. l. iii. c. 1. & al. inf. citat.

(A) Joſephus has evaded giving us the etymology of that name, moſt probably, becauſe he knew not well where to fetch it from; and Philo, who derives it from the Greek Οσιος, holy, owns it to be ungrammatical; but this has not hindered other critics

Pliny, in the place above-quoted, tells us, from what authority is not eaſy to gueſs, that they were of ſeveral thouſand years ſtanding; and, what encreaſed his wonder, that they had ſubſiſted ſo long without procreation. But he was in part miſtaken, becauſe, though one branch of them condemned all intercourſe with the women, as apt to extinguiſh devotion; there was another ſort who declared as much againſt celibacy, as tending to extinguiſh the race of mankind, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. But to come to more authentic evidence, the firſt Eſſenians we read of are in the fourth book of Maccabees, under the name of Haſdanim [t], and in Joſephus [u], where both agree that they werealready ſettled in Judæa in the time of Jonathan, the brother and ſucceſſor of Judas Maccabæus, about a hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. We have had occaſion to mention, out of theſe two authors, one Judas, a prophet of that ſect, who foretold the death of Antigonus, brother to Ariſtobulus, then king of the Jews, and which came to paſs accordingly, though to the great ſurprize of even the prophet himſelf *. And it is not improbable, that this anchoretic ſect took its riſe a little while before the time of the Maccabees, when the faithful Jews were forced to live in deſarts and caves to avoid perſecution. As for thoſe who ſuppoſe them to have been a branch of the Rechabites, who flouriſhed ſo long before the Babyloniſh captivity [w], and of whom we have ſpoken largely in our fourth volume †; we can only ſay they gueſs very much in the dark.

We have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Thoſe who allowed the former, were

[t] cap. 6. [u] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3, & 7. * See before, ſect. 3. p. 210, (C). [w] Vid. Suid. ubi ſupra. † p. 114, & ſeq. & (T).

critics from aiming at it. Epiphanius (1) has gone the fartheſt for it of any, when he derives it from Jeſſe the father of David, or, as it is to be read, according to the Hebrew, ישי, jiſai or jiſhai. Salmaſius derives it from the city of Eſſa, mentioned by Joſephus, as the place where Zeno had repoſited his treaſure (2).

If the reader be curious about ſuch things, he need but read Serrarius (3), where he will find at leaſt a dozen different opinions concerning the derivation of that word, enough, we think, to give him a diſguſt to etymological conjectures.

(1) Hæreſ. 29. de Nazar. c. 4. (2) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. (3) Trihæreſ. l. iii. c. 1. Vid. & Calmet. diſſert. de ſect. Jud.

were yet very sparing of matrimonial intercourse, and wholly abstained from it on the night before the sabbath and other festivals, on fast-days, and the like; and, at other times, they were no less careful to wash, and use other purifications after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewise disallow all servitude, and thought the distinction of master and servant to be against the law of nature, for which reason they never indulged themselves the use of the latter; and when any of them was, either through old age, sickness, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himself, he received all proper assistance from the younger, who all expressed an uncommon readiness, or even emulation, to perform the duty to him. But the other sort allowed themselves servants for all inferior offices.

They likewise distinguished themselves, in their rules and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwise called Therapeutes, the first sort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, such as the exercise of some handicraft, or the cultivation of some spot of ground, where they sowed and planted such roots, herbs, corn, &c. as served for their food; and the latter between prayer and contemplation, or study, In this last, they confined themselves to that of the sacred books and morality, without troubling themselves with any other branch of philosophy. A late learned author has indeed ranked them among the Pyrrhonian or Sceptic philosophers [x]; and it is true, they were very modest in their affirmations in point of divinity, and condemned the dogmatic assurance of the other sects; but that they ever deigned to dive into the writings of the academy or other philosophers, seems improbable, from the singular contempt they shewed of all the other Jewish sects; how much more, of those of the heathens.

For with respect even to the former, they refused to converse with them, for fear of contracting some pollution; and this notion they carried so far, as even to absent themselves from going to the temple, and contented themselves with sending their offerings to it by other hands.

Both the contemplative and laborious had their synagogues, their stated hours for prayer, for reading, and expounding the sacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder sort, who were seated at the upper end, according to their seniority, whilst the younger, who were admitted to read the proper parashas or lessons, were placed

[x] Huet. foiblesse de l' entendement, & l. i. c. 14. sect. 61.

placed at the lower end. Their expositions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they seemed to have outvied all their Jewish brethren. But they paid the greatest regard to the five books of Moses, and looked upon that law-giver as the head of all the inspired penmen; insomuch, that they condemned to immediate death whosoever spoke disrespectfully either of him or of his writings. Upon this account they studied, read, and expounded him more than all the rest, and seem to have chiefly drawn all their divinity from the pentateuch. The doctrines and expositions of the elders were received with implicit faith, and in their practice they conformed with an entire submission to all the rules of their sect. To give a full account of them, were to copy out Josephus and Philo, who have writ more copiously about them, and to whom we chuse rather to refer our readers, who want a fuller detail. As for us, we shall content ourselves with giving them a short sketch, out of those two authors (B), of their faith and practice, as far as they differed from the other Jewish sects.

With respect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, like the Pharisees, but seem to have had no notion of the resurrection. They looked upon the souls of men as composed of a most subtile æther, which immediately after their separation from the body, or from their cage or prison, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to a place of endless happiness or misery: that those of the good took their flight over the ocean into some warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilst those of the wicked were conveyed into some cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexpressible endless weight of misery. Some other Pythagorean notions are likewise attributed to them [y], neither with certainty, nor of great

[y] Vid. Antiq. ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 13. ad. fin.

(B) It will not be amiss to observe to our readers, that their accounts of this sect differ in some particulars, which may be probably owing to the difference there was between those of Judæa and those of Egypt. Josephus, we may reasonably suppose, was better acquainted with the former, and Philo, who was of Alexandria, with the latter; and both may have described them according to the particular informations they had received concerning each.

However, Philo agrees with Josephus, that those of Judæa amounted to but about four thousand, but he makes those of Egypt to have been vastly more numerous.

great moment. One thing, however, is remarkable, that among their offerings, which they made to the temple, they never ſent any living creatures to be ſacrificed there. But whether they did it with any regard to the Pythagorean doctrine of tranſmigration, or from any other motive, we will not determine; much leſs pretend to reconcile this abſtinence from bloody ſacrifices with their pretended regard to the Moſaic law and writings, where they are abſolutely injoined.

THEY are likewiſe entirely oppoſed to the Sadducean doctrine of free-will, and attributed all to an eternal fatality or chain of cauſes, little ſhort of that of Spinoſa; ſo that they ſeem to have run into the other extreme, whilſt the Phariſees appear to have a kind of medium between them. The Eſſenians were averſe to all kinds of oaths, and affirmed, that a good man's life ought to be ſuch, as that he may be credited in every thing without them (C), The Therapeutic ſort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raiſing their minds ſo far above the earth, as to be able to ſee from thence what was done in heaven (D). When they had attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of

(C) And yet they ſeem to have injoined ſomething like them on their novices, before they were admitted profeſſed numbers of their ſociety; from which ſome conclude, that they did not wholly condemn them, but only ſuch as were tendered or taken without manifeſt and abſolute neceſſity (4).

(D) We need not remind our readers, that every nation and religion, not to ſay every age, has produced men of this ſublime mould, who have trampled all ſublunary things under foot, to raiſe themſelves up to a more intimate acquaintance with the deity. We read among the heathen of Plotinus, a Platonic philoſopher, who pretended to be aſhamed to have a ſoul ſo refined as his, confined into a lump of matter, and of a Porphyry, who boaſted of a viſion and divine intercourſe, even before he was got into his dotage (5).

The Perſes, Mohammedans, and almoſt all the nations of India, have had their Therapeutes and viſion-mongers; and it would be difficult to name one church or ſect of chriſtians, that has not abounded with ſuch myſtical and ſuper rigid enthuſiaſts; but, in ſpight of all their auſterities and pretences to greater degrees of ſanctity and mortification, the uncharitable contempt they have expreſſed for the reſt of the world has eaſily diſcovered what ſpirit they were of.

(4) Vid. int al. Le Clerc, eccleſ. hiſt. prolog. ſect. 5. Calmet. ubi ſupra, & al. (5) De his vid. Bayl. Dict. ſub voc.

of angels, give them proper names, or rightly interpret thoſe already given, and pry ſo far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets. We have had occaſion to mention ſome of them already at the beginning of this article, and in the courſe of this chapter. All we need to add is, that when they had once gained this name, they failed not to be highly reſpected, not only by their own fraternity, but by both kings and people. We have ſeen in a former ſection even a Herod ſhew a more than ordinary regard to the whole ſect, for the ſake of one of them, who had foretold his acceſſion to the Jewiſh crown; and at a time when they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſing his favourite ſcheme, of obliging the whole nation to ſwear allegiance to him.

In their practice they outdid all the other ſects in auſterity. If we may credit Philo, it was a fundamental maxim with them, upon their entrance into the Therapeutic life, to renounce the world and all their worldly properties, which they, it ſeems, generouſly divided among their friends and relations, whom they left behind them in it (E). They never eat till after ſun-ſet, and the beſt of their fare was coarſe bread, with ſome ſalt and hyſſop, or ſome ſuch ſtomachic herbs. Some of them, if we may believe Philo, would eat but every third, and others every ſixth day; and all of them very ſparingly, even of that poor chear they were allowed. Their cloathing was made of coarſe wool, plain, but white. They condemned all ſorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their beds were hard, and their ſleep ſhort. In a word, as they looked upon all theſe auſterities as the moſt effectual means to procure the favour of heaven and the eſteem of the brotherhood, to ſay nothing of that of the world, they never thought they could carry them to exceſs. Their heads or ſuperiors were generally choſen according to ſeniority, unleſs there ſtarted up ſome of the brotherhood more conſpicuous for learning, piety, prophetic ſpirit, or any other diſtinguiſhing merit. But ſome there were ſo very contemplative, that they never ſtirred

(E) Our authors have forgot to tell us, how this ſet of men lived after their admiſſion into that ſect, if they left all their worldly ſubſtance behind; ſince they were not, like the other branch, allowed to follow any trade, or to cultivate any land, but divided their time between prayer and ſtudy, or contemplation; and had neither wives nor ſervants to provide food for them, nor any other viſible means, that we can find, to ſubſiſt (6)

(6) Vid. Le Clerc ubi ſupra.

ſtirred out of their cell, nor even looked out at a window during the whole week. Theſe ſpent their time in reading the ſacred books and writing comments upon them.

On the ſabbath they repaired to their ſynagogues early in the morning, and continued the whole day there in prayers, ſinging of pſalms, reading, or in expounding the ſacred books; at which time they kept themſelves in the profoundeſt ſilence. The feaſt of pentecoſt was obſerved by them with greater ſolemnity than other feſtivals, in memory, it ſeems, of the Iſraelites paſſing the Red-Sea, and of that ſolemn euchariſtical hymn, which was alternately ſung by the choirs of men and women, with Aaron and Miriam at their head. In imitation of which, both ſexes, during this feaſt, went early to the ſynagogue in their white habit, newly waſhed; and after the uſual prayers, reading, &c. the men and the women, each in their ſeparate choir, ſet themſelves a ſinging and dancing, moving regularly backwards and forwards, to the right and left, and from each other, till at length their devotion was raiſed to ſuch a pitch, that they forgot the difference of ſexes, and both choirs intermingled, and continued dancing and ſinging the whole night. On the next morning they faced about towards the ſun riſing, their uſual poſition at prayers, paid their adoration to the Supreme Being, wiſhed each other a good day, and retired each to their reſpective cells. To all this we may add, that they had ſome other more ſecret rites or myſteries relating to their ſect, which, like the Pythagoreans, they were bound never to divulge, and which it were therefore in vain to enquire after.

Those of Judæa did live, according to Joſephus [z], in a deſart in the neighbourhood of Hebron, about twenty miles ſouth of Jeruſalem.

This city, which we have ſpoken in of a former volume †, being generally ſuppoſed the place of John the Baptiſt's birth, it is not improbable, that he was ſent thither to be brought up among them, and lived with them till the time of his manifeſting himſelf to the Jewiſh nation [a]. But as for thoſe who have imagined that Chriſt and his diſciples had alſo been of that ſect, becauſe they pretend to ſee ſome conformity between ſome of his precepts and way of ~~living~~ and thoſe of the Eſſenians, they are not worth confuting, ſince

[z] Vid. Antiq. ubi ſupra, & l. xv. c. 13 ad fin. † Vol. ii. p. 170, and p. 399, (G). [a] ubi ſupra.

ſince there runs rather a manifeſt oppoſition almoſt through the whole. However, thoſe who will not be at the trouble to compare them, may ſee that wild notion fully confuted by the authors quoted in the margin [b], as well as another, no leſs improbable, though leſs abſurd; that the Egyptian Therapeutes were a ſociety of chriſtian hermits inſtituted by St. Mark, when he founded the church of Alexandria [c]. For Philo, who was at leaſt cotemporary with the evangeliſt, if not older, ſpeaks of them [d] as a fraternity of a much longer ſtanding, and as of Jews and zealous diſciples of Moſes, and ſtricter obſervers of the ſabbath, than any other Jewiſh ſect; having amongſt them hymns and writings compoſed in former times, by thoſe who had been the principal leaders and heads of their ſect; diſperſed not only through Egypt, but among the Greeks and Barbarians, &c. Nothing of all which could have been ſaid of ſuch a ſociety of chriſtian hermits, ſuppoſing St. Mark had really inſtituted any thing like it. But we find no traces of any ſuch inſtitution till the beginning of the ſecond century, when thoſe aſcetics, who had formerly fled from perſecution, finding the ſweets of their ſolitude, began to erect themſelves into bodies, the earlieſt of which, that we read of, was, according to the two learned authors above-quoted, in or about the year of Chriſt 113 [e].

Others have believed, that the Eſſenians and Therapeutes did afterwards renounce judaiſm, and convert to chriſtianity; and it is not improbable, that many of them did ſo; but that the bulk of the ſect embraced chriſtianity, and became, as it were, abſorbed into the ſocieties of the chriſtian aſcetics, is hard to affirm. If it be asked, What became of them, and of all their boaſted writings and comments, if this was not the caſe? it may be anſwered, that thoſe who perſevered in their old ſect, underwent the ſame fate with the reſt of the Jews, and in a much greater number, as being become more odious to the Romans on account of their extreme conſtancy, under thoſe grievous perſecutions, which they raiſed againſt them. This might probably be alſo the cauſe why their books were more univerſally deſtroyed than thoſe

[b] Vid. Luke i. ver. ult. [c] Baſnag. hiſt. des Juifs, tom. 4. l. ii. c. 22. & ſeq. Prid. Connect. part 2 ſub fin. l. v. [d] Euſeb. Eccl Hiſt. l. ii. c. 17. Bellarm. Baron. Vid. & Montfauc. diſſert. de Chriſt. Terapeut. ap. Baſnag. ubi ſupra. [e] lib. ſup. citat. [f] Druſ. Trigland. Baſnag. Prid. Calmet. & al, ubi ſupra.

thoſe of the other Jews; though even of theſe we have nothing left but the Chaldee paraphraſe, of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place. We ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſhew, that the Eſſenians flouriſhed ſtill under the emperor Trajan, though much degenerated from their primitive purity of life and doctrine, under their new demagogue Elxai. Under Juſtinian they were ſtill known by the pompous title of angels, or angelics, and inhabitants of heaven; but, as their lives were found to fall infinitely ſhort of thoſe beings, whoſe names they aſſumed, the people ſaw through the cheat, and this was in all likelihood their laſt blaſt upon their going out, for we hear no more of them from that time.

We have now gone through all the Jewiſh ſects that made any figure in our Saviour's time, and might here put an end to this digreſſion, if it may be called ſuch; but foraſmuch as there is ſtill one in being, and very conſiderable, as we have hinted in a former volume †, who derive their origin from the famous Ezra and the great ſynagogue, and are oppoſed to the reſt in ſome of their fundamentals, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething of them, before we conclude this ſection. They are called Caraim, or Karraites (F); that is, Scripturiſts, or perſons wholly addicted to the reading of, and thoroughly verſed in, the ſacred writings.

It is not eaſy to determine when this ſect firſt began. We have hinted above what claim they lay to antiquity and authority. They boaſt even a catalogue or regiſter of all the learned who have written or taught either for or againſt their ſect from the time of Eſdras [f]. Some of thoſe that are diſperſed in Poland, pretend to carry it ſtill higher, and that they were deſcended from the ten tribes carried away by Shalmanezer. The Rabbiniſts ſeem, however, to allow them to have been a ſect at leaſt as old as the time of Alexander the Great, when they tell us, that Jaddua the then high-

† Vol. iii. p 168.

[f] Baſnag. ubi ſupra, Tom. II. prat. 2. c. 16.

(F) קראים from the verb kara, to read (7). As they rejected all the other writings but thoſe of the Jewiſh canon, and the pretended oral tradition ſo much cried up by the Phariſees; it is perhaps upon this account, that the Rabbiniſts, their bittereſt enemies, have imputed moſt of the Sadducean errors to them (8), tho' this be the only point in which they agreed with them.

(7) Vide Buxtorf. lexic. ſub voce קרא. (8) Vide Abraban. append. in Hacoſri. edit. a Buxtorf.

prieſt wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the Caraites could not imitate; but this may be put in the number of their fabulous miracles, of which they are never ſparing, whenever any competition between the other ſects and their own is in queſtion; witneſs thoſe which they urge againſt the Samaritans, of which we have ſpoken in a former ſection *. We ſhall give in the margin ſome of the different opinions concerning their origin (G), whilſt we ſtick

* See before, p. 70 in fin not. (E).

(G) The learned Wolf of Hamburgh has given us the origin of the Caraites, written from the memoirs of one of that ſect, named Mordecai; in which this laſt affirms, that Alexander Jannæus having put to death all the learned Jews of his time, Simeon, the ſon of Seta and brother of the queen, was privately conveyed into Egypt, where he invented the ſyſtem of the pretended Jewiſh oral tradition, and being returned to Jeruſalem, began to teach it publicly, pretending, that he was intruſted with all thoſe diſcoveries which God had made to Moſes, and were from him conveyed through a ſeries of hands and ages down to his time. This ſyſtem was embraced by ſome, and as ſtrenouſly oppoſed by others, who affirmed, that the whole will of God to their law-giver was contained in the ſacred writings. From theſe laſt came the ſect of the Caraites, as that of the Rabbiniſts or Traditioniſts did from the former. The ſame author adds, that Judas the ſon of Sabbai became eminent among the former, and Hillel famous among the latter (9).

Another author (10) thinks, that thoſe two ſects ſplit themſelves ſoon after the death of the prophets, upon a diſpute about works of ſupererogation; one ſort maintaining the neceſſity of them from tradition, and the other denying it on the authority of the ſacred writings. Theſe were the Caraites, who thereupon pretended to be deſcended from the prophets Haggai, Malachi, &c. But whatever was the occaſion of their diviſion, they conceived ſuch an irreconcileable hatred againſt each other, that they think no name or language bad enough. Among other epithets, the Rabbiniſts call their opponents mamzerim, or baſtards, a term of the greateſt reproach among the Jews †; and the Caraites, in return, give them the title of bridled aſſes, on account of their broad phyladeries and other ſuperſtitious trinkets, which theſe place a great deal of religion in, and the others deteſt. The former interpret the words of Moſes (11), *Thou ſhalt bind them* (the

(9) Volf. notit. Caræorum. (10) Trigland. diſſertat. de Carait. Delph. 1703. Vide Calmet ſub voce Caraite. † De his vide Vol. iii. p 321, (N). (11) Deut. vi. 8.

ſtick here to the moſt probable; which is, that they were the ſucceſſors of the Scribes ſo often mentioned by the evangeliſts (H), ſuch as were thoſe whom Herod the Great con-

ſulted (the divine precepts) *for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes*, &c. literally; and the others only as a precept injoining them to have a conſtant regard to, and remembrance of, them. We have obſerved in a former volume, that their mutual hatred is ſuch, that no conſideration can move them to intermarry *. A modern Rabbiniſt adds, that if a Caraite had a mind to turn Traditioniſt, theſe would even refuſe to admit him (12); and it is a common ſaying among the latter, that before a Caraite be admitted among them, he ſhould have firſt turned Jew, and then chriſtian, elſe they could not believe his converſion ſincere.

(H) The ſcribes, in Hebrew סֹפְרִים ſopherim, or writers, are mentioned for the firſt time in the ſong of Deborah (13), tho' ſome have put Moſes at the head of that tribe. They are often ſpoken of in the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra, as perſons in the higheſt dignities of the Jewiſh commonwealth. It is not unlikely, that David did appoint ſome ſuch order, when he regulated the claſſes of the prieſts, levites, &c. (14), ſince there muſt have been proper ſecretaries, which is the right meaning of ſopherim, in church, in ſtate, in the army. revenues, &c. And as writing was not ſo univerſally practiſed in thoſe days, thoſe who excelled in it had a fair claim for ſuch an office; but theſe being manifeſtly different from thoſe mentioned in the goſpel, we ſhall puſh our inquiry about them no further.

After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the ſcripture was reviſed by Ezra and his inſpired aſſociates, mentioned in a former ſection ‡, it is very probable, the multiplying and propogating, as well as the reviſing, the copies of it, which were then very ſcarce, was committed to thoſe ſopherim or ſcribes, who, by a conſtant converſe with thoſe writings, attained to a ſtill greater knowledge of them, and ſo came at length to ſet up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of ſcribe, had that likewiſe added of doctor or teacher of the law. Accordingly we find one of them called by the former name in one evangeliſt (15), and by the latter in another (16); and both they and the Phariſees are ſaid by our Saviour to ſit in Moſes's ſeat (17).

Theſe therefore cannot be ſaid to have made a ſeparate ſect, as ſome antients have imagined (18), but to have been ſome of one,

* Vol iii. p. 168. (12) Vide Leo. de modern. cerem. Jud. part 5. c. 1. (13) Judg. v. 14 (14) Vide int. al. 1 Chron. xxiv. 6. xxvii 32. ‡ Vol. x. p. 29, 30 (Y) (15) Mark xii. 28. (16) Matth. xxii. 35. (17) Ibid. xxiii. 2. (18) Epiph. hæreſ. Auth. of the recognit, &c.

ſulted about the place where the Meſſiah was to be born [g]. Theſe therefore, it is very likely, after the Phariſaic ſect came to have clogged the Jewiſh religion with ſuch a vaſt number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdenſome, if not intolerable, became ſo out of conceit with them, that they reſolved to throw them all off, and to ſtick cloſe to the text; for which they had the name of Caraites or Scripturiſts, either given them out of contempt, or took it by way of diſtinction from the Traditioniſts. The difficulty is to find out the time when, and the perſons by whom, this breach was at firſt made, and doubtleſs the teſtimony of the Caraites themſelves, who go either as far back as Ezra, or, at the lateſt, as the times of Hyrcan or Alexander Jannæus, will appear too ſuſpicious. But that of the Talmudiſts, who allow them, ſome as antient as Saddoc, or at leaſt as Herod the Great, may be leſs liable to ſuſpicion; and where is the difficulty of ſuppoſing, that whilſt the Sadducees diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt, as well by their Epicurean doctrines, as by their rejection of the Phariſaic traditions, another more moderate ſect might cloſe in with them in this laſt, without running into thoſe other extremes of the Sadducean leaven, which, they ſaw, were manifeſtly deſtructive of all religion, and ſo compoſe a new ſect, differing from them in all points but that, and from the Phariſees in that only one (I)? However, they ſeem one, ſome of another; ſince it is obvious, that every one of them muſt have had their doctors and expounders, and all juſtly enough liable to thoſe ſevere cenſures which our Saviour pronounced againſt them, for putting each their ſeveral gloſſes on the text, inferring new and detrimental doctrines from it, and impoſing them on their diſciples, with as much arrogance as if they had been all infallible or inſpired. However, ſince we find theſe ſcribes and lawyers or doctors of the law to be often mentioned with the Phariſees (19), it is likely, they were more numerous in that ſect, than in any other; or rather perhaps, if we conſider how neceſſary ſuch men were in church and ſtate, of how long a ſtanding they muſt conſequently have been, they may be looked upon as the root or trunk from which all the others ſprang and divided themſelves, according as their reſpective views, intereſt, education, pride, and ſuch like motives led them.

(I) The Rabbinic writers do accordingly accuſe the Caraites for having been more favourable to Jeſus Chriſt than any other ſect;

[g] Matth. ii. 4. Vide Baſnag. ubi ſupra.

(19) Vide Matth. ubi ſupra, & alib. paſſ. Acts xxiii 9.

ſeem to have been more moderate, than to have abſolutely rejected all traditions and writings. They, on the contrary, uſed them as helps, whenever they found them judicious and well-founded, and only denied them that blind and implicit obedience which the Phariſees inſiſted on; but whether thoſe ſects divided themſelves ſo early as the reign of Hyrcan or Alexander Jannæus, or whether in that famous rupture between Shammai and Hillel, about one hundred years before Chriſt, or about what time after (K); whether firſt in Ju-

 dæa,

ſect; and the evangeliſt ſeems to confirm it, when he introduces a ſcribe (20) applauding our Saviour's anſwer concerning the firſt and chief command, and agreeing with him, that the love of God, above all things, and of our neighbour as ourſelves, was of more worth than all burnt-offerings, &c.

It is true, he ſeems to be called a Phariſee in a parallel place (21); but Baſnage has judiciouſly obſerved (22), that the pronoun "them" did not refer to the Phariſees mentioned in the foregoing verſe, who, being confuted juſt before, were then gone to take counſel together, but to the multitude in the verſe before that, who gladly heard Chriſt's nervous anſwers to thoſe enſnaring ſectaries. We may add, that the anſwer there given by the ſcribe, was more like that of a ſober Caraite, than of a ſuperſtitious, hypocritical Phariſee.

That there ſeems to have been a manifeſt difference between theſe laſt and the ſcribes and lawyers, the above-quoted author ſhews from another evangeliſt, who introduces the laſt of theſe hearing patiently the woes which Chriſt pronounced againſt the Phariſees; but when he came to join the ſcribes with them, he complained loudly of it (23). Our Saviour's anſwer to him confirms it ſtill more, when he added, Wo alſo unto you lawyers, and laid a new charge againſt them, different from that of the Phariſees.

(K) Morinus places the riſe of the Caraites about the year after Chriſt 740 or 750, about which time, and not before, he ſuppoſes the Talmud to have been completed, and to have given occaſion to their ſeparation (24). He adds, upon the authority of a good number of Rabbies, that one Ananus, vexed to ſee his brother preferred before him to the dignity of chief of the captivity, began to declare himſelf againſt the compilers and defenders of that work, as giving a divine authority to a book, which was moſtly ſtuffed with fables, and drew a party after him.

We

(20) Mark xii. 28. (21) Matth. xxii. 35, & ſeq. (22) Ubi ſupra, c. 17. Sect. 10. (23) Luke xi, 44. & ſeq. (24) Exercit. bibl. l. ii. Exercit. vi. c. 2. vii. c. 1. Vide Baſnag. ubi ſupra, Sect. 19.

dæa or Egypt, (L), is at beſt but conjecture; and we hope we have given it the beſt light we are able to get.

We

We ſhall have a more proper opportunity in the ſequel to fix the time in which it was completed, and ſhall only obſerve here, that the authority of theſe Rabbies is not only very ſuſpicious in a caſe of this nature, but is contradicted by others of older date, whom we have mentioned at the head of this article. Beſides, what we have ſaid hitherto makes it more probable, that they were of much earlier date, and that the rupture which the publication of the Talmud occaſioned, might be only a revival of their old diſpute, and the giving of a new life to the ſect. Sure it is, that ſome of the fathers, who are of much greater authority, have mentioned them long before (25), if not by the name of Caraites, at leaſt by that of Scribes, who rejected all oral traditions, and ſtuck cloſe to the letter of the ſacred books. The reader may ſee another proof of it in the next note.

(L) Euſebius tells us (26), that in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, the Jews in Egypt were divided into two parties, the one of which expounded the Moſaic law allegorically, and the other litterally; which latter was part of the Caraites character. We might further alledge, the book Hachoſri, to which the Rabbies give a very great antiquity, and which introduces the king Coſroes as a great admirer of the Caraitic ſect, becauſe they were more zealous for the law, till his Rabbinic teachers acquainted him with the vaſt variety of opinions that were among them, for want of admitting the oral tradition, which fixed the ſenſe of the ſacred writings. We have elſewhere indeed had occaſion to ſhew, that this book is far enough from being ſo antient as they make it †; but it ſhews, however, how little reaſon Morinus had to make them ſo recent as the eighth century, upon the teſtimony of ſome partial Rabbins, againſt that of a number of others of more antient date, ſome of whom own them to have appeared even in the time of the Aſmoneans, others of the Sadducees, and others of Herod (27), to ſay nothing of that of the fathers above quoted.

If it be objected, that Joſephus has ſaid nothing of them when he ſpoke of the other ſects which reigned in his time, the argument will equally hold againſt the Herodians, which yet ſeem to have been very conſiderable. That hiſtorian might have his reaſons for paſſing them by in ſilence. Had he ſpoke well of them, he would have diſobliged his own ſect, ſeeing he was a Phariſee; had he ſpoke ill of them, the Herodians might have expoſed him to the reſentment of that family, and even of the Romans, in whoſe

(25) Orig. in Matth. xiii. 52. Epiphan. hæreſ. xv. Hieron. in Iſai. viii. 14. (26) Præp. evangel. l. viii. c. 10. † Vide ſupra, Vol. iii. p 455, (27) Vide Trigland. de Carait. c. 3. Druſ. trihær. Baſnag. Calmet, Prid. &c ubi ſupra.

We shall now give a short summary of their particular tenets, as they are opposed to those of the other sects.

1. They look upon the canonical books of the old testament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the Pharisees, as the wicked inventions of an incroaching and designing set of men; for which reason they have the utmost abhorrence for the Talmud.

2. They expound scripture by scripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the assistance of reason, and the writings and comments of other doctors, tho' without paying too implicit a regard to the latter.

3. They commonly read the scriptures in their synagogues in the original, esteeming it next to impossible to come at their true meaning from any translation of them; for this reason they are careful to instruct their children betimes in that sacred tongue; and if they suffer any version of them, it is only for the use of those of the meaner sort, who are not acquainted with the Hebrew.

4. Their prayers are likewise in that tongue, as being the most holy and energic, and the only one in which the incommunicable name of God can be properly pronounced; for they are not so scrupulous in this respect as the other Jews, who always read it Adonai, but pronounce it Jehovah as we do. Only in their writings, prayer-books, &c. they chuse to write it only with a vau between two jods. In their prayers, wherein they express a much greater fervency and devotion than the rest, they always turn their faces towards Jerusalem.

5. They expect, like the rest of the Jews, the reign of the Messiah to be a temporal and glorious one, and attribute his long delay, partly to the slowness of Saturn's motion, which they make the ruling planet of the sabbath † and of the Jewish nation, and partly to their sins, which have provoked God to suspend the sending of him at the promised time,

† De hoc vide Vol. iii. p. 468, (L).

whose behalf we have seen they divided themselves from the Pharisees and Gaulonites; and as to the Caraites, they might not be so guilty in his eyes as they appeared to the opposite sects. Josephus had too much sense to run all the lengths, and swallow all the fabulous stories of the Traditionists, tho', like a thorough-paced statesman, he outwardly joined with the most prevaling side.

time (M); for this reaſon they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the ſevereſt anathemas.

6. THEY entertain the higheſt and juſteſt notions of the Deity and of his perfections, and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extenſive and unlimited as his knowledge; and at the ſame time allow, that mankind has a freedom to determine himſelf; but that God gave unto every man a portion of his univerſal grace to aſſiſt him in his right choice; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and conſtitutions, but chiefly by the ſtars, makes that grace very neceſſary. They have a four fold diſtinction of this diſpoſition of the ſoul, the one of ſickneſs, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death. This diſtinction ſeems to have been alluded to by our Saviour in ſeveral places of the goſpel; as where he ſpeaks of the dead burying the dead; that not the whole, but the ſick, have need of a phyſician, and ſome others of the like nature.

7. THEIR morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the auſtere Eſſenian and the epicurean Sadducee. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abſtemiouſneſs, whether of eating, drinking, or any other lawful pleaſures.

8. THEY believe a future life of rewards and puniſhments, according to mens good or bad actions in this (N); that the ſouls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will ſubſiſt there as the angels do.

9. WE have already hinted, that they condemned the Phylacteries of the Phariſees. They had no leſs an abhorrence for all kind of pictures, that were uſed either by heathens, or afterwards by chriſtians, for a religious uſe, or, as they term it, to be worſhipped; and condemned the other ſects for being remiſs enough in that point, to make a traffick of them for gain.

10. THEY

(M) The reader may remember, that we have lately had occaſion to confute this ridiculous pretence, and the cauſe from which it ſprung (28), which, it ſeems by this, was not ſo confined to the carnal Phariſees and Sadducees, but their more ſober and mortified ſects gave into it.

(N) Tho' they held this in oppoſition to the Sadducees, whom they therefore accuſed of maintaining the annihilation of the ſoul; yet we do not find that they believed the reſurrection with the Phariſees.

(28) Vol. x. p. 342, 343. in fin not. (Z).

10. THEY rejected the astronomical calculations as introduced after the captivity for settling the new moons and other festivals of the year; such as we have had occasion to mention more than once in the course of this chapter †. Whereas the Traditionists denied their being an innovation, and pretended, that they had been invented by Moses, and had been as much in vogue before, as since their return from Babylon.

UPON all these, and some other less material differences, there was such an irreconcileable hatred intailed between those two sects, as came little short of persecution. They not only charge each other with heresy, with perverting the scriptures, and corrupting religion; but pronounce the bittersest anathemas they can meet with in the sacred books against each other, and that publicly and solemnly; so that where either of them, especially the Pharisees, are most numerous or powerful, the others must bear themselves cursed, without daring to resist or complain (O). The late Mr. Ludolph, who had been much conversant among them, told several of his acquaintance both in England and Holland, that he saved the life of a poor Caraite at Frankfort, who, if he had not protected him, took him home, and sent him away privately, had been in danger of being either torn into pieces, or of being starved there [h]. This mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents to the children, and much more by the masters to the disciples, over whom they usurp such an uncontroulable authority, that

† Vide int. al. p. 155, 156, & not. (K). [h] Basnag. ubi supra, c. 7. sect. 25.

(O) This, we are told (29), is practised in Palestine, where the Rabbinists, by far the more numerous and wealthy, assemble themselves on mount Olivet on the feast of tabernacles, and there pronounce all the curses of the law against the Caraites, who are often within the hearing of them; for tho' we find their sect dispersed through many of the northern regions, such as Poland, Lithuania, Muscovy, &c. besides those that are to be met with in great numbers in Turky, where they enjoy much greater liberty; yet they prefer Judæa to all other countries, and would gladly live there rather than at Constantinople, Cairo, and other great cities, were they are permitted to live peaceably, and free from the curses and other ill-offices of their inveterate enemies.

(29) Basnag. ubi supra, sect. ult.

that it is next to blaſphemy and rebellion to contradict or diſobey them.

AMONG the Caraites, above all other ſects, the diſciples have ſuch profound reſpect for their doctors, that they neither ſit down before them till they are bid, nor go from them without their leave; and then they go backwards, keeping ſtil ltheir faces turned towards them. They never ſpeak to or of them, without the title of lord, maſter, or ſome ſuch like term of ſubmiſſion. The doctors on the other hand, who are averſe to the Pharaſaic pride, treat them with great gentleneſs and humanity, and, for the generality, teach their ſcholars gratis; ſo that one may ſay, upon the whole, the Caraites are by far the moſt religious, rational, and, bating their carnal notion of the Meſſiah's reign, the beſt diſpoſed to embrace the goſpel of any other ſect; and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that among the many thouſands of that ſtubborn nation, whom the appoſtles converted to chriſtianity, the far greater number of them flocked to it from that quarter; whilſt the proud Phariſees, full of their ſuperſufficient knowledge and righteouſneſs, and intoxicated with an invincible fondneſs for their own traditions, and the carnal Sadducees, contented with the enjoyments of this life, and regardleſs, if not averſe to the thoughts of a future, ſpared no pains or artifice, cruelty or injuſtice to oppoſe a doctrine ſo grating and contrary to theirs. This being therefore the ſtate of the Jews at the coming of the Meſſiah, we need not wonder at the reception which both he and his doctrine met with from them; eſpecially when, inſtead of that glorious, warlike, conqueror they had been made to expect, they ſaw him in the humble guiſe of the poor, illiterate, ſon of an obſcure carpenter.

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the Jews, from the birth to the death of CHRIST.

Herod's diſtracted ſtate reſumed.

THE reader may remember, that we left Herod in the moſt diſtracted ſtate that can be well imagined; his conſcience ſtung with the moſt lively grief for the murder of his beloved and virtuous Mariamne and of her two worthy ſons; his life and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious Antipater and ungrateful Pheroras; his reign ſtained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days imbittered by the treacherous intrigues of a helliſh ſiſter; his perſon and family

hated

hated by the whole Jewiſh nation; and laſt of all his crown and all his glories on the eve of being obſcured by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the promiſed and long expected Meſſiah and Saviour of the world. To all theſe plagues we muſt add ſome freſh intelligences which came tumbling in upon that wretched monarch; and which, by aſſuring him ſtill more, not only of the treaſonable deſigns of the unnatural Antipater, but alſo of the bitter complaints which his other two ſons, then at the Roman court, did vent againſt them both, rendered him more than ever completely miſerable. Had theſe two princes continued in their duty to him, they would have been a ſupport and comfort, tho' his favourite one had proved the traitor they had repreſented him; but whom could he truſt to, when there was not one of his family left, that did not in ſome meaſure declare himſelf an enemy to him? This was the dreadful view in which he beheld himſelf and his unnatural offspring; not that thoſe two young princes were really ſo deveſted of all filial affection, as they were repreſented to him by Antipater and his inſtruments; but it had been his and their conſtant care and ſtudy, by ſuch vile miſrepreſentations, to render them more and more ſuſpected to the jealous king. Their letters were generally filled with the pretended injurious reflections which thoſe two ſons whiſpered againſt him; ſuch as his having unjuſtly murdered thoſe of Mariamne, and their dread of being recalled into Judæa to be made to undergo the ſame fate. Antipater indeed acted under cloſer covert, and whilſt he ſeemed, as it were, unwillingly to confirm all theſe accuſations, pretended to excuſe them as the effects of raſhneſs and youth, which time and conſideration would ſoon rectify; and indeed ſo taken up was he, either in cultivating theſe diſcords, or in procuring himſelf friends at Rome and Jeruſalem by his profuſe liberality, that he ſeems to have been wholly ignorant of the diſcoveries which the rack had extorted from his agents in Judæa, eſpeeially upon the death of Pheroras, of which we gave an account in the laſt ſection.

Antipater's cabals againſt his two brothers.

It is indeed ſurpriſing, that none of his friends in Judæa ſhould have ſent him ſome private intelligence of what had paſſed at the dreadful ſcene, and warned him to ſecure himſelf betimes from his father's reſentment; but ſo intent was he on the means of ridding himſelf of him and ſeizing on his crown, that he even furniſhed him with freſh proofs againſt himſelf, by ſending a freſh ſupply of poiſon to his mother, by means of a freed man of his, in caſe the old one

ſhould

should in any ways have miscarried. Batillus, that was the servant's name, was no sooner arrived at Jerusalem, than Herod, who by this time had unravelled the whole plot, caused him to be apprehended and put to the rack; upon which he confessed the purport of his errand from Rome. Herod, the better to conceal his resentment against his treacherous son, sent him immediately a letter, in which he seemed to complain only of some ill treatment from his mother, and charged him at the same time to make what haste he could to Jerusalem, that his absence might no longer give his enemies a handle to obstruct his interest in the succession. He concluded with a promise, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all past miscarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he should desire [a].

Batillus's confession on the rack.

Antipater comes back to Jerusalem.

ANTIPATER, still ignorant of what had passed in Judæa, and thinking his father by this time poisoned and in his grave, was set out for Judæa, being as eager to reach Jerusalem, as his father to get him thither; but when he was come to Tarentum, he received a dispatch from some of his friends, which acquainted him with the particulars of Pheroras's death. The news gave him a terrible shock, not indeed so much out of love to the deceased, as because he found by it, that he had missed his aim of poisoning the king. He pursued, however, his journey as far as Celenderis, a city in Sicily, where being taken with a qualm at the thoughts of the affront put upon his mother, who, as we observed in the last section, had been banished the court and stripped of all her riches, which he looked upon as an ill omen; he stopped some time there, to consult with his friends, whether he had best proceed, or go back. At length some of them having flushed him with the sanguine hopes, that his appearance at court would dispel all his father's suspicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at Sebaste. Here he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's disgrace; and, instead of those acclamations and good wishes with which numerous crouds had followed him to the ship, he heard nothing but the bittereſt curses from the Jews against himself, as the bloody murderer of Mariamne's two brave sons [b].

WHILST Herod was impatiently waiting his arrival, he had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, namely, the destroying of his new-born rival at Bethlehem,

[a] Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6. [b] Ibid. c. 7. sub. init.

lehem, whom he ſuppoſed to be ſtill there. Finding himſelf therefore diſappointed by the wiſe men, from whom he expected a more particular information concerning him, that he might be ſure of not miſſing his victim, he iſſued forth an order to have all the male infants maſſacred, not only in that city, but in all the coaſts round about, from two years old and under (F); and, by that horrid ſlaughter, verified the oracle long before delivered by one of the prophets, which the reader will find in the margin (G) [c]. But providence had

The children at Bethlehem maſſacred.

[c] Matth. ii. 16, & ſeq.

(F) An author of the fifth century tells us (36), that Herod had alſo a ſon there at nurſe, who was maſſacred among the reſt, and that it was upon this occaſion, that Auguſtus made that reflection upon him, that it was better be Herod's hog, than his ſon. But it is more likely, that that emperor, hearing about the ſame time of the death of Antipater, which happened about ſix weeks after this horrid ſlaughter, and recollecting that alſo of his other two ſons, might make him break out into that bitter ſarcaſm againſt ſuch an unnatural father; beſides, it is hardly probable that Herod, old, crazed, and diſtracted as he was, could have any children ſo young.

It is ſomething ſurpriſing, that Joſephus, who was in no caſe ſparing of Herod's character, ſhould yet have omitted ſuch a material occurrence. The chriſtians have taxed him, and juſtly too, with partiality, as having concealed it, to avoid giving ſuch a countenance to the evangeliſt, and ſuch an ample teſtimony to the Meſſiah, as might offend his whole nation, and more particularly the Phariſaic brother-hood, who had been his moſt inveterate enemies.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting thoſe, who, preferring the authority of the Jewiſh hiſtorian to that of St. Matthew, have made uſe of the one, among many other topics, to cry down the other. The controverſy is ſo recent in every body's memory, that we need not here repeat it; eſpecially conſidering, that it is out of our province to enter into a diſpute, which, we think, has been ſufficiently decided in favour of the latter.

As to what may be objected, that Joſephus has not ſcrupled in another place to give Jeſus Chriſt a moſt noble character; we ſhall only ſay here, that that paſſage has been ſhrewdly ſuſpected of forgery, as this in all likelihood would have been, were it to be found in that hiſtorian. However, we ſhall have a fitter opportunity of ſpeaking of that pretended interpolation in the ſequel of this ſection.

(G) The whole paſſage runs thus (37), tho' the evangeliſt has only

(36) Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 4.

(37) Jerom. xxxi, 15, & ſeq.

had already taken care to convey the child far enough out of the reach of his butchers; and his parents, having been timely

only quoted the first part, as enough to direct his readers to the rest, as was the custom before the bible was divided into chapters and verses.

Thus says the Lord, a voice was hard in Ramah; *lamentation and bitter weeping*; Rachel *weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not. Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy labour shall be rewarded*, or, as the original has it, *there is a reward* (laid up) *for thy labour, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. For there is hope, saith the Lord, that, in thy latter end, thy children shall come again to their own border. I have heard* Ephraim *complain, saying, Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised*, &c.

There was a necessity for taking the whole text thus far, in order to shew how this prophecy or promise of God was verified in the slaughter of these babes; and it is for want of attending to the whole, that some commentators have been forced to have recourse to a primitive or historical meaning, in the carrying away of the ten tribes, and a secondary in this more cruel bereaving of Rachel, or the Jewish state, of her beloved children; whilst others, not satisfied with the solution, have run into downright scepticism. Whereas the whole, thus connected, implies no more than this, that no affliction or suffering, either wrongfully, or for a good cause, shall miss of its sure reward at the latter end.

The words therefore of the evangelist (38) may, and, we think, justly too, be thus paraphrased and expounded: Then, or in that bitter weeping and lamentation of those doleful mothers, was fulfilled, or truly verified, that saying of the prophet Jeremiah; In Ramah, which, in the original, signifies *a high place, was heard bitter lamentation*, &c. the mournful mothers refusing to be comforted for their lost children, because they were now no more. But what says the Lord? Refrain your cryings and tears; for there is a recompence reserved for all your labours at your latter end; and the children you count for lost shall surely return again. And when could such a comfortable promise be more truly verified, than when he, who brought life and immortality to light, came to assure us of it by so many irrefragable arguments, as well as by his own infallible word?

The Jews themselves, especially those who believed the resurrection, might easily have understood this to have been the meaning both of the prophet and evangelist, since they tell us (39), that the reason why God did not double the number of Job's

(38) Matth. ii. 17, & seq. (39) Rabb. Plur. comm. in Job, c. ult. Dieg. de Stunica, & al ibid.

timely forewarned of his bloody deſign, had withdrawn themſelves into Egypt, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant; when, upon their return, fearing ſtill ſome further attempt from his ſucceſſor Archelaus, they were directed by the ſame heavenly monitor to turn off into Galilee, and to betake themſelves to their old habitation at Nazareth. Here was likewiſe another prophecy fulfilled in the name of Nazarite or Nazaren, which was given him from his long abode in that obſcure place [d]. (H)

Soon

[d] Ibid. ver. 19. ad fin.

of Job's children, as he did that of his cattle, &c. when he reſtored him to his proſperous ſtate, was, becauſe thoſe children, tho' dead, were not loſt, as his other poſſeſſions were, but lived ſtill with God, and would be raiſed up at the latter end.

(H) This prophecy has likewiſe been very much canvaſſed, and hitherto in vain ſought after, tho', by the evangeliſt's words, it ſhould be in more places than one, ſince he doth not there quote any one in particular, but the prophets in general. The queſtion therefore is, whether it is ſaid any-where, that the Meſſiah ſhould be called Nazarite? The anſwer is not in any verſion, (except perhaps the Chaldee and the Syriac) but in the original Hebrew, where we ſhall find him called נוֹצֵר Notzer; not indeed on account of his having received that appellation from any particular city, but by reaſon of his high character, office, and deſcent. We ſhall content ourſelves with giving two inſtances of it, which will, however, ſuffice as a clue to the reſt.

The firſt is in Exodus (40), where the Lord is ſaid to deſcend in the cloud, and to proclaim the name or attributes of the Lord, in the following words: *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity*, &c. Where it is obſervable, that the firſt letter in the word נוֹצֵר notzer, keeping, is one of thoſe which the Jews call majuſculæ, or large letters, ſuch as occur only about thirty times in the whole old teſtament †, and are, according to them, never uſed by the ſacred writers, but to imply ſome great myſtery to be contained in the Word.

We ſhall not here diſpute, whether the words in the paſſage above-quoted are thoſe of God there appearing, as our, and moſt, verſions underſtand it, or of Moſes calling upon him there, tho' the latter ſeems to us moſt probable, from thoſe that go immediately

(40) c. xxxiv. 5, & ſeq.

† Vid. int. al. Vol. iii. p. 452, (Z).

Antipater's arrival.

SOON after this maſſacre at Bethlehem, arrived Antipater at Sebaſte, and from thence went directly to Jeruſalem, where Herod

ately before, Vajicra beſhem Jehovah, *And he called on the name of the Lord.* It is ſufficient, that the name of Notzer is given to the divine perſon there appearing, which could not be that of God the Father, whom no man hath ſeen at any time; but of the Son, in that human appearance he often took both before and under the Moſaic diſpenſation; and for further proof of which, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume *, and all we ſhall add is, that none could have a better claim to this title of Notzar cheſſed, keeping or preſerving mercy, than he that came to obtain it for us at no leſs a price than his own ineſtimable life.

The other place we ſhall mention, is in Iſaiah (41), where the ſame Meſſiah is called a Netzer, or, a branch out of the old ſtem of Jeſſe, &c. where the word נוץ or מנוץ which we tranſlate ſtem, ſignifies the old ſtump of a tree, after the main body has been cut off; and the netzer the ſpontaneous ſhoot which ſprings from it; and ſuch was indeed the houſe of David at the time of Chriſt's birth, reduced to the loweſt degree of poverty and obſcurity, tho' at but fourteen generations diſtance from Zerubbabel; but we muſt remember, that the prieſts, the Aſmoneans, and afterwards Herod, had held the kingdom and government of Judæa; whoſe intereſt therefore it was to ſuppreſs that family, leſt ſome of them ſhould in time wrench it out of their hands. Neither was this done without the particular conduct of providence, and in purſuance of thoſe prophecies in which the low and humble ſtate of the world's redeemer is ſo lively deſcribed; and accordingly we find that when his parents came to Bethlehem, they were ſo poor, that his mother could not purchaſe a room in that city, where ſhe might be decently delivered of him, but was forced to make uſe of a ſtable for herſelf, and of a manger for her child; or, which is indeed more likely from a cloſer examination of the text, was delivered in the open fields, and laid the divine babe, εν τη φατνη, in a crib; for in that ſenſe the ſeptuagint commonly uſe that word.

If then the Meſſiah is in Geneſis and Iſaiah emphatically called Notzer or Netzer, and that name is given him by the Jews, in their doing ſo, tho' by way of contempt, they did but fulfil thoſe prophecies of him, tho' unwittingly, unwillingly, and in deriſion; and it is ſtill more to his glory, that it was completed in him in that ſublime ſenſe in which he is called by that name in the law and the prophets. The Jews had two falſe notions concerning Chriſt, the one, that he was born at Nazareth, and conſequently that he was a Galilean; and the ſecond that out of Galilee

* De his Vide Vol. ii. p. 412, (T) & 535, (S). (41) c. xi. 1.

Herod had ſo cloſely concealed his deſigns concerning him, that he made no heſitation to go and offer himſelf at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but, upon his being entered, they were ſhut up again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himſelf at his feet, and to embrace his knees; but met with a ſtern repulſe, and was immediately arreſted; and when he aſked the reaſon of it, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to Varus, by whom he ſhould be judged on the very next day. Quintillius Varus, had ſucceeded Sextus Saturnius in the government of Syria, and, being arrived at that province, was juſt then come to Jeruſalem, to pay a viſit to Herod, and was thereupon deſired by that monarch, that he would preſide as judge at the trial of his rebellious and unnatural ſon. Antipater was accordingly brought the next morning before him, and a numerous aſſembly, whom Herod had convened for that purpoſe. Upon his firſt appearing, he threw himſelf upon his knees, and begged that they would have pity on him, and not condemn him unheard. Herod, who was alſo preſent, only bid him ſtand up, that he might the better level his reſentments at him. He upbraided him with his ſecret

His trial for treaſon.

Galilee there never aroſe any prophet (42). Since then he ſet up both for a prophet and for the Meſſiah, they thought that the name of Nazarene was ſufficient to confute both thoſe claims, and therefore gave it both to him and to his followers; and theſe gladly embraced it, on account of its true and genuine ſignification, as he is called in Moſes's writings the notzer, or keeper or *depoſitory of mercy*, and by Iſaiah *the ſprout out of the old withered ſtock of the houſe of* David.

Some interpreters have imagined, that the evangeliſts alluded to the Nazarites among the Jews, of whom we have ſpoken more fully in our third volume *, or to Joſeph, who is emphatically called by his father Nazir Achauf (43), *ſeparate from his brethren*; or, as we have formerly explained that place †, *crowned above his brethren*, and whom they look upon as a type of the Meſſiah. But all this is ſuppoſed, for want of attending to the different ſpelling of theſe two words, viz. the firſt with a ץ. and ſignifies to keep, and the other with ז, and ſignifies to crown, ſeparate, &c. Now the former can be the only right one here, it being given him on account of his living at Nazareth; which word is written with the tzade, and not the zain.

(42) Vide John i. 46. vii. 41 & 52. * vol. iii. p. 249, & ſeq.
(43) Gen. xlix. 26. † Vol. ii p. 493, (R).

designs of poisoning him, and unravelled the whole conspiracy lately discovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and friends, and other evidences, whom he had also posted there to prove all his accusations; the last of which, and that which he vented with greatest vehemence, was the death of his two brave sons. Of whom, said he, addressing himself to Antipater, thou hast been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty, and the base murderer, if they were innocent. His excessive grief, followed with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at the naming of those two unhappy princes, obliged him to stop short, and to beckon to Nicholas Damascen to go on and open the rest of the accusation, and then proceed to the proofs of it.

ANTIPATER, who knew but too well his own guilt and the undoubted evidence which was there ready to prove it against him, prevented Damascen's going on, and began to
His defence. plead his own cause; the sum of which was, the unlikelihood of his ever entertaining any thoughts of such a horrid parricide, especially after the dreadful punishment of his two brothers for the like attempt. He loudly complained against the baseness of his accusers; but Damascen, being at length permitted to speak, gave such satisfactory evidence to the court, that there could be no room left to doubt of his being really guilty. Varus, however, told him for the last time, that if he had any thing to reply to invalidate the proofs alledged against him, he might now freely do it, seeing it was Herod's and his own earnest desire, that he might prove himself innocent. Antipater, for want of better evidence, had recourse to oaths and bitter curses, which he plentifully wished on himself, if he was guilty; but this being the usual refuge of the blackest criminals, the president, to stop his mouth at once and bring the trial to a fair issue, ordered some of the poison, which had been mentioned in the evidence, to be brought, and given to a condemned person before the court; which being done accordingly, the man died almost
He is cast. as soon as he had taken it. Varus immediately left the court at Judæa to return to Antioch, without declaring his opinion to any but to Herod, who ordered his son to be shut up in a prison, and sent letters to Augustus to acquaint him with the whole trial, charging at the same time the messenger to give that emperor all the further particulars of it by word of mouth [e].

PRESENTLY

[e] Antiq. ubi supra.

PRESENTLY after, there was another discovery made by an intercepted letter from Antiphilus, who was then in Egypt, and directed to Antipater; the purport of which was as followes; "I have sent you Achme's letter, (I); you know "what risque I run by so doing, since I should lay myself at "the mercy of two most potent families and my inveterate "enemies. It concerns you therefore to look to it, that nothing "miscarry." The business was to find this letter of Achme, and the messenger pretended to be ignorant of any other, except that above-mentioned. At length, upon closer search, another was found sewed in the lining of his waistcoat, which, upon their reading of it, was to this effect: Achme to Antipater: "I have written to your father, according to "your direction, and have inclosed in the packet the forged "letter from Salome to the queen my mistress; and I doubt "not but the king, upon his reading of it, will put her to "death as a traitress." This pretended letter of Salome was contrived by Antipater, and dressed up by Achme, who wrote to the king as follows. Achme to king Herod: "Out "of a desire I have to serve you, by acquainting you with "any thing that concerns your safety, I have herewith sent "you a letter of Salome to the empress my mistress, in "which she desires her leave to marry Syllæus (K). Pray "tear it as soon as read, since the discovery of it would cost "me my head." Herod, upon reading and comparing the whole, caused his son to be brought before him, bound as he was, and shewed him the letters, and at the same time asked him, what he had to answer for himself? Antipater, at the sight of them, was thunderstruck, and could not utter a word; and upon its being insisted on, that he should name his accomplices, he only mentioned Antiphilus. Salome, who was touched to the quick at this attempt against her, after having expressed her innocence by many antic gestures and direct imprecations, strenuously insisted to have the traitor executed out of hand. Herod, on the other side, was thinking at first to have sent him to Rome to have been tried be-

(I) This Achme was by nation a Jewess, in the service of Julia Augustus's wife; but had been brought over by Antipater with large sums, to contrive this plot against his father and his aunt Salome (44).

(K) Syllæus was a Nabathean and Herod's sworn enemy, and was soon after beheaded at Rome for betraying Ælius Gallus into the Arabian expedition, and for some other crimes (45).

(44) Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. ad fin. (45) De hoc vide Strab. l. xvi.

fore Cæsar; but fearing, upon second thoughts, lest he should either be rescued by the way, or acquitted by his friends there, contented himself with sending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his son to his prison [f].

Herod's last illness and will.

WHILST his embassadors were hastening to Rome, Herod, worn out with age, sickness, and numberless cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent disease, which, added to all his other misfortunes, made him so remorse and choleric, that he became a burden to himself, and to every one about him. Finding his end approaching, he set about making his will, by which he appointed his youngest son his heir and successor, the misrepresentations and calumnies of Antipater having rendered his other two sons, Archelaus and Philip, obnoxious to him. He bequeathed in legacies, a thousand talents to Augustus; five hundred to his empress, and left a considerable fortune to the unworthy Salome. The rest of his estate, lands, revenues, and money he ordered to be divided between his children and grandchildren.

A tumult in the city.

BUT if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this disposal of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was soon after soured by a seditious tumult, which was raised about this time by Judas, the son of Seraphæus and Mattathias, the son of Margolothus, two Jewish doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. These men, at the pleasing news of his being given over, unhappily took it into their heads to stir up a good number of their disciples, at the head of the city youth, to go and pull down all the structures which that monarch had built contrary to their laws. These, with their two masters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day that Herod was expired, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had set up a golden eagle of extraordinary bigness and exquisite workmanship, and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers, as the greatest eye-sore of all. The king's commander in chief, expecting it to be the beginning of a sedition, ran immediately to the place with a body of his troops, and was agreeably surprised to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately dispersed themselves at his arrival. Forty only of them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to stand their ground, were immediately seized, and brought to the dying king; and upon their being asked what

[f] Idem ibid. ad fin.

what motive had induced them to ſuch an attempt on the temple? boldly anſwered him, that they had long ſince reſolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it ſo long. They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any puniſhment he could inflict on them, ſince what they had done was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of God.

Herod's ſpeech to the aſſembly.

THIS affront having raiſed in ſome meaſure his drooping ſpirits, he ordered them to be ſent in chains to Jericho, whither he alſo cauſed himſelf to be conveyed in a litter, by reaſon of his extreme weakneſs. Here he aſſembled the heads of the Jews, and, in a ſet ſpeech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the ſumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of God, during his whole reign, and for which he expected to have deſerved better returns, and to have endeared both his perſon and memory to the whole nation; but that to his great grief, he found it quite the reverſe, ſince they had dared even during his life and in the face of the ſun, to offer ſuch an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to God, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; ſo that they had even turned their malice into an open ſacrilege. The aſſembly could eaſily have told him, that his pretended dedication of a figure forbidden by the ſecond commandment, was no other than a piece of idolatrous complaiſance to the Romans; but being afraid to rouſe his cruelty too far, they contented themſelves with diſclaiming the fact, and allowing it to deſerve an exemplary puniſhment. Herod, ſomewhat ſoftened by this anſwer, contented himſelf with depoſing the high-prieſt (L), whom he ſuſpected to have been a private encourager of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother Joazar; after which he cauſed Mattathias the ringleader and the reſt of the priſoners to be burnt alive, and forgave all the reſt [g].

The zealots burnt alive.

THIS indignity, however, gave him reaſon enough to think what mourning the Jewiſh nation was like to make for him; and as his diſeaſe became more and more loathſome

g Antiq. ubi ſupra c. 9.

(L) This was that Mattathias, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore, who having contracted ſome pollution in a dream on the eve of the expiation day, was forced to ſubſtitute another to perform the ceremonies of that ſolemnity. Joſephus adds, that the moon ſuffered an eclipſe on the night following that pontiff's depoſition (46).

(46) Antiq. ubi ſupra c. 8.

and intolerable (M), and made him still more desperate and inhuman, he bethought himself of such a horrid expedient to prevent their rejoicing at his death, as scarcely entered into the heart of any tyrant. He issued out his summons for the heads of all the Jews to repair to Jericho on a set day, under pain of death; and, upon their arrival, ordered them all to be shut up in the Circus: and having sent for his sister Salome and her husband Alexas, gave them strict charge to have them all butchered as soon as his breath was gone. By this means, added he, I shall not only damp the people's joy, but secure a real mourning at my death. About this time came back his messengers from Rome, with Augustus's approbation of Antipater's sentence, and the news that Achme had been there put to death for her treachery. Herod could not but feel a sensible joy at it, in spite of all his tortures; and finding himself at that time very hungry, called for an apple and a knife; but his pains encreasing at that instant, and he essaying to put an end to them with the knife, made a grandson of his, who tried to stop his hand, give a great shriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believe that he was dead. The report of it, soon reached Antipater's prison, who expressed such lively joys and hopes at the news, as hastened his execution; for his goaler having acquainted the king with it, threw him into such a rage, that he dispatched one of his guards on the very instant to put him to death [h]. He outlived his son but five days,

Herod's last legacy to the Jews.

Antipater put to death.

[h] Ibid. ad fin.

(M) This disease which Josephus (47) doth not scruple to call a judicial one, was so complicated, and attended with such nauseous and frightful symptoms, that we believe our readers will gladly spare us the repetition of them here. However, the king, still flattering himself with the hopes of a cure, sent for physicians from all parts, who, having tried their art in vain, advised him at length to the hot waters of Callirhoe, on the other side of Jordan, which empty themselves in the lake Asphaltites. Upon his coming thither, he was ordered to be set in a vessel of oil up to the neck, which, instead of relieving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought by the outcries of his attendants. It was then that he first began to think his disease incurable; upon which he ordered a donative of fifty drachms per head to all his soldiers, and proportionably to his officers, and ordered himself to be conveyed to Jericho, where he soon after issued out that bloody edict we are going to mention in the text.

(47) Idem ibid.

days, during which he altered his will afresh, left his kingdom to Archelaus, made Antipas tetrach of Galilee and Perea; and left to Philip the regions of Trachonitis, Gaulon, Batanea, and Panias, which he erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To Salome, besides fifty thousand pieces in money, he gave the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, with some considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh after his advancement to the Jewish crown, and the thirty-fourth year after the expulsion and death of Antigonus [i] (N), and to the no small joy of all the Jews. Herod's death.

For Salome and Alexas, bad as they were, and in spite of all the oaths and protestations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were so far from executing his last inhuman orders, that they even strove to smother the shameful secret from the nation. To this end they went immediately after his being expired to the hippodrome, where the heads of the Jews were detained, caused the gates to be flung The imprisoned chiefs released by Salome.

[i] Ibid. c. 10. sub. init.

(N) Archbishop Usher dates his death on the 25th of November, the seventh month, called Cisleu (48). Another learned chronologer observes, that it gave the Jewish nation a joyful occasion for a festival, as he died hated of all wise men (49).

Our learned prelate has therein followed the Jewish book last-quoted, which places his death on the seventh day of that month, according to the Hebrew computation; but a late critic has since pretended that the old Megillah had been long since lost, and this new one foisted into the world instead of it, and is therefore of no authority (50). We shall content ourselves with referring our readers to another learned man (1), who has fully confuted this assumption, it being quite out of our province to enter further into that dispute.

The Jewish historian sums up Herod's character in these remarkable words (2); "He was a man inexorably cruel, and a "slave to his passions. His will was his law; and yet no man, in "the general, more fortunate than he. He mounted the throne "from the condition of a private man, fell into many difficulties, "but surmounted them all, and lived at last to a great age. As "to his domestic broils with his children and family, how unhappy soever he may have been in my opinion, yet was he fortu-"nate in his own; for he got still the better of his enemies."

(48) Sub. A. M. 4001. (49) Vide Megillath Tahanith sub men. Cisleu. (50) Bern. Lamy. appar. chronol. p. 1. c. 9. sect. 5. (1) Joh. Meyar, annot. in Megill. Tahan. p. 62. & seq. (2) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 10.

Year of the flood 3000. After Christ's birth 1. Before the vulgar æra 5. Archelaus proclaimed.

flung open, and declared to them, that it was the king's order they should all depart to their respective homes, he having no further occasion for their presence; which they accordingly did; soon after which, and not till then, they published the news of Herod's death (O). They then summoned the chief officers and soldiery to an amphitheatre at Jericho, and read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their past services and fidelity to him, and desired them to shew it now to his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed his successor. His last will was read to them at the same time by Ptolemy, the then keeper of the royal seal, in which there was this remarkable clause, 'That it was to be of no force till ratified by Cæsar.' The audience, however, taking it for granted, that the emperor would not fail to confirm it, sent out an universal shout, Long live king Archelaus; and both officers and soldiers promised him the same allegiance and attachment which they had shewn to his father.

Herod's stately funeral.

THE new king, to shew his gratitude to him, began with preparing him a funeral answerable to his greatness and dignity. His body was laid on a sumptuous golden litter, enriched with variety of precious stones, wearing the royal crown on his head, and holding the sceptre in his hand. His sons and grandsons, of whom we have spoken in a former section, his sister and her husband, accompanied with the rest of his relations, marched by his side, and were followed by all his officers, both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter his guards led the van; then came the Thracians, next the Germans, and, last of all the Gauls or Galatians; all of them armed and in order of battle. The procession

(O) Whether this unexpected release of the Jewish heads was really owing to the less brutish temper of Salome and her husband, or whether it might not, as they gave it out, have been ordered by the relenting tyrant at his last agonies, and suppressed by the Jewish historian out of hatred to that monarch; sure it is, that the very design, much more the prosecuting it so far, must argue him to have been a monster of cruelty, and capable of the most horrid butcheries, to satiate either his ambition or resentment.

This will sufficiently take off the objection against the probability of his murdering so many infants in and about Bethlehem, drawn from the horridness of the act; and we have had occasion already to shew, that Josephus's silence of it can much less invalidate the authority of the evangelist, who affirms it as a fact well known to the Jewish nation.

proceſſion was cloſed with five hundred of the king's domeſtics with aromatic perfumes, and proceeded to his caſtle of Herodion mentioned in the laſt ſection, which was about eight ſtades, or a thouſand paces, diſtant from Jericho (P), and where they depoſited his remains, according to his will [k]. They returned from thence to Jeruſalem, where Archelaus, having finiſhed the ſeven days mourning for his father, according to the Jewiſh cuſtom, gave the people a magnificent feaſt. He went next to the temple cloathed in white, and in the midſt of their loud acclamations; and, being there ſeated on his golden throne, gave the people thanks for the zeal they expreſſed for him; but added, that he would not aſſume the title of king, till it had been confirmed to him by Auguſtus, tho' that, as well as the royal diadem, had been offered to him at Jericho by the ſuffrages of the whole army. He concluded with aſſuring them, that, as ſoon as he was confirmed by the emperor, his chief care and ſtudy ſhould be to deſerve that love they ſo unanimouſly teſtified for him, and to make his reign more eaſy and happy, than that of his father had proved to the Jewiſh nation. This ſpeech was followed with freſh vollies of huzzas; after which they began to try the ſincerity of it, by a number of petitions ſuitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tribute, others for the total abolition of their cuſtoms, others, again for the releaſe of priſoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, Archelaus not thinking it adviſeable to exaſperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with ſuitable ſacrifices, and a ſumptuous entertainment, which he gave there to his friends.

Archelaus's ſpeech to the Jews.

The Jews, however, ſoon reſumed their rebellious courſe in ſpite of all theſe grants. That afternoon was ſcarcely over; before

[k] Idem ibid & bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult.

(P) Or rather, as Joſephus has it in another place (3), two hundred ſtades or furlongs; for leſs than that could hardly be, conſidering that it was but ſixty from Jeruſalem. Our learned Uſher therefore ſuppoſes ſome error crept in the former, and that the hiſtorian there meant, that the cavalcade marched but eight ſtades a day (4).

Mention being alſo made of an Herodion upon one of the mountains of Arabia (5), Mr. Reland juſtly concludes, that there muſt have been two caſtles of that name built by that monarch, the former in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem and Tekoah, viz. this where he was buried; and the other at a greater diſtance, and on the other ſide of Jordan (6).

(3) Bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult. in fin.. (4) Sub A. M. 4002. (5) Bell. Jud. ibid. c. 16. & alib. (6) Palæſt. illuſtr. ſub. Herodion.

A new tumult raised.

before a number of malecontents, who had been for some time holding secret cabals for raising new mutinies, broke loose in a body, and for want of a more plausible pretence, came beating their breasts, bewailing the deaths of Mattathias and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded justice against those friends of the deceased king, who had had a hand in their deaths; particularly they desired, that the high-priesthood might be taken from Joazar, to whom it had been given upon that occasion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exasperate the new king; but as he was on the point of departing for Rome, and was unwilling either to have his journey stopped by this tumult, or to go away before it was quelled; he sent his master of the horse to appease them by fair words, and to remind them, that their king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor; but, before he could utter a word to them, they fell a pelting him with vollies of stones, so that he was forced to withdraw. He sent some fresh officers on the same errand, and they met with the same reception; insomuch, that they wanted but number to have raised themselves into open rebellion. By this time the feast of the passover was come, which brought a great concourse of people from all parts to Jerusalem; during which solemnity the malecontents never stirred from the temple, but chose to beg for subsistence of the comers, rather than leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were drove from it by main force [1]

The mutineers dispersed.

ARCHELAUS, who justly feared, lest these mutineers should spread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feast, sent an officer at the head of some troops, with express orders either to disperse them, or to seize on such as stood their ground. They were scarcely come in sight of the revolters before they found themselves briskly attacked by them, and by a great number of strangers, whom their outcries had inspired with the same rebellious spirit; a bloody encounter followed, in which most of the soldiers were killed upon the spot, and the officer terribly wounded and narrowly escaped with his life. This fresh indignity obliged at length Archelaus to send his whole army against them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple, and to hinder the strangers from assisting them. After another obstinate fight, in which three thousand of the rebels were killed, the rest were soon put to flight, and betook themselves to the

[1] Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1.

the mountains; upon which the king publiſhed an order for all ſtrangers to depart to their own homes, by which an end was put to the paſchal ſolemnity for that year, the rebellion ſuſpended for ſome time, and Archelaus was left at liberty to prepare for his journey to Rome [m]. He ſet out ſoon after accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother Philip, and took with him his mother Mattace, by nation a Samaritan, Nicholas Damaſcen, an old friend and counſellor of his late father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewiſe accompanied by his aunt Salome, with her children and ſome other near relations, who pretended to aſſiſt him with their intereſt at the Auguſtan court, when their real deſign was to obſtruct his confirmation, and to accuſe him to the emperor of the maſſacre of his ſubjects lately committed in the temple.

Archelaus goes to Rome. Year of the flood 3000. Of Chriſt 1. Before the vulgar æra 5.

WHEN Archelaus was come to Cæſarea, he was met there by Sabinus, Auguſtus's intendant of Syria, who was haſtening into Judæa, to take care of the rich legacies which Herod had bequeathed to that emperor. He had, however, been diſſuaded by Varus, in his way thither, from undertaking any thing further, till the emperor's will was known, and Archelaus confirmed in his kingdom; ſo that he had been prevailed upon by that Syrian governor to ſtay in that city, till he received further orders from Rome. He ſtayed however, no longer there, than till Varus was returned to Antioch, his capital; after which he went immediately to Jeruſalem, lodged himſelf at the royal palace, and ſummoned the king's treaſurers to give him an account, and to put him in poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures; but as theſe had orders from Archelaus not to part with them till his return, they refuſed to deliver them to Sabinus, alledging, they would preſerve them for Auguſtus, till they received further directions from him. By this time Archelaus and his retinue were arrived at Rome; and among thoſe whom the ſubtle Salome had brought with her to oppoſe his election, was Antipas another of Herod's ſons, whom that monarch had appointed his ſucceſſor by his firſt will, and whom ſhe deſigned to ſet up againſt his brother, under pretence, that that was of greater validity than his ſecond. Antipas had been perſuaded to take this ſtep, not only by Salome, but much more by one Ireneus, an eloquent orator, and one that was perfectly verſed in all the affairs of ſtate, had been admitted into the inmoſt ſecrets of Herod's court, and, being come with him to Rome, was moſt likely to repreſent

Antipas oppoſes him.

[m] Antiq. ibid c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra.

preſent that young prince's claim to the beſt advantage. With that orator was alſo another great ſtateſman, named Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolas Damaſcen, and one of the late king's counſellors. Antipas had likewiſe brought his mother Cleopatra, born at Jeruſalem, with ſome other relations and friends; and theſe were ſcarcely come to Rome with him, before they found means to draw the greateſt part of Archelaus's relations and partiſans over to their ſide [n] (Q).

THERE was ſtill another thing which very much weakened the intereſt of Archelaus, namely, his officers at Jeruſalem refuſing to deliver up Herod's legacies to Sabinus; of which both he and Varus had taken care to inform the Roman court. Archelaus was therefore forced, in his own vindication, to preſent a memorial to the emperor, in which he exhibited his title to the crown, the particulars of Herod's laſt will, together with an inventory of the treaſure which that monarch had left behind him, to which he likewiſe added his royal ſignet with which that will was ſealed. This memorial was ſoon followed by another from Antipas, in which were diſplayed ſuch allegations as were moſt likely to invalidate Herod's laſt will and his brother's title. Auguſtus, having peruſed the writings on both ſides, ſummoned a council of his friends, to examine their reſpective claims, and made Caius, the ſon of Agrippa by his adopted daughter Julia, preſident of it. Antipater, the ſon of Salome, an eloquent ſpeaker and ſworn enemy to Archelaus, opened with a ſpeech full of the bittereſt invectives againſt him; ſuch as his having aſſumed the royal title and authority, without ſtaying for the emperor's conſent; his having cauſed three thouſand Jews to be maſſacred in the temple by his own troops at the late paſſover feſtival; his having turned out ſeveral eminent officers, and put others in their room; his having preſumed to ſit on the royal throne, heard and adjudged cauſes, and granted conſiderable immunities, releaſed all the priſoners whom

Antipater's ſpeech againſt Archelaus.

[n] Idem ibid.

(Q) It ſeems by Joſephus's account, as if Archelaus's party had taken ſome diſguſt at him, either from his ſevere manner of quelling the late tumult in Judæa, or on ſome other pretence; whilſt Antipas and his friends took care to inſpire them with hopes of a milder government under him. But there was ſtill a third party, who liking neither of the brothers, nor indeed any of Herod's family, did what they could to make them both miſcarry in their pretenſions, in hopes of living ſolely and more quietly under the dominion of the Romans.

whom his father had cauſed to be ſhut up in the Circus; all this by his own aſſumed authority, and in the quality of a Jewiſh monarch. He likewiſe accuſed him of unnatural contempt to the memory of his deceaſed father, from whom he had received ſuch ſignal tokens of paternal love, and of his having ſpent the night, which followed that monarch's death, in ſuch feaſting and jollity, as was like to have raiſed a ſedition among the people, who could not behold ſuch a flagrant inſtance of ingratitude, without the utmoſt deteſtation. He concluded with telling the court, that Herod, who beſt knew the oppoſite tempers of the two brothers, had not ſo much as dreamt of appointing him his ſucceſſor, whilſt he enjoyed his health and ſenſes; but had expreſly named Antipas to that dignity; but ſuppoſing that he had conceived a better opinion of Archelaus during his laſt ſickneſs, he has ſhewn you now what a king he is like to prove; what uſe he is like to make of his power, ſince, even whilſt in the condition of a private man, he could ſend his troops into the very temple, to cut the throats of his ſubjects.

DAMASCEN ſpoke next, and anſwered the greateſt part of Antipater's accuſations, by ſhewing, firſt, that, with reſpect to the pretended maſſacre in the temple, nothing leſs than ſuch a ſeverity could quell the ſedition then kindled; that thoſe men were only a band of rebellious fellows, and the firſt aggreſſors, not only in raiſing the tumult, but in murdering thoſe officers whom the king had ſent to appeaſe them by the mildeſt means; and that he had acted nothing in this, or in any other inſtance, but by the advice of thoſe who were now turned his accuſers: that, as to the alteration which Herod made in his will about the ſucceſſion, he, being in his perfect ſenſes at that time, had doubtleſs very good reaſons for what he did, and might probably have obſerved ſomething in Antipas's behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother to him; and as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his ſubmitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whoſe approbation it was to be of no force. As ſoon as he had made an end of ſpeaking, Archelaus went and threw himſelf at Auguſtus's feet in ſuch humble guiſe, as moved his compaſſion towards him. Cæſar raiſed him up, pronounced him worthy of the Jewiſh crown, and promiſed to do nothing contrary to his father's will; after which he diſmiſſed the aſſembly without any farther deciſion, being deſirous to take ſome time to conſider, whether he ſhould beſtow the kingdom ſolely upon him, or divide it among Herod's

rod's children, ſeeing they all applied themſelves alike to him for redreſs °.

WHILE theſe things tranſacting at Rome, the reſtleſs Jews had raiſed a new inſurrection in Jeruſalem, which was, however, ſuppreſſed by Varus's ſpeedy arrival from Antioch and the puniſhment of the ringleaders; but, upon his return to Antioch, having left Sabinus with a Roman legion to keep that metropolis in awe, this general, ſeeing himſelf ſuperior to the Jews, made a bold puſh upon the fortreſſes of the city, and the treaſures of the Herodian family, with a deſign to convert them to his own uſe. He choſe, however, a wrong time for ſuch an attempt; and the Jews, who came flocking thither to the approaching feaſt of pentecoſt, not perhaps ſo much out of devotion as to oppoſe his deſigns, did quickly divide themſelves into three bodies, one of which beſieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilſt the other two went and poſſeſſed themſelves, the one of the Hippodrome, and the other of the temple on the eaſt and north ſides of it; ſo that he was incloſed on every ſide, and in danger of being overpowered by the Jews. Theſe were the more exaſperated againſt him, becauſe he had forced his way into the treaſury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents out of it, beſides other rich plunder, which his ſoldiers had carried off, in ſpite of all their oppoſition. This deſperate attempt had happened as follows: the Roman general ſeeing himſelf hemmed in on all ſides, and on the brink of being aſſaulted by the reſolute Jews, ſent an expreſs to deſire Varus to come immediately to his aſſiſtance; whilſt himſelf getting up on the top of one of the towers of the caſtle, named Phaſael, from thence beckoned to his troops to make a ſally on the enemy. They did ſo, and had an obſtinate ſkirmiſh with them, in which they killed a number of Jews. The reſt, not at all diſcouraged at this loſs, got up on the outer galleries of the temple, from which they galled the Romans with ſtones and arrows, whilſt thoſe of the enemy from below had quite loſt their ſtrength before they could reach them. Tired at length, and aſhamed to ſee the advantage the Jews had over them, they brought vaſt quantities of wood and other combuſtible matter to the foot of the wall, and ſetting it on fire, plied it ſo briſkly with freſh fuel, that the flame reached at length to the corniſhes of the gallery; which, being of timber and covered with paint and wax, on which the gilding was laid, were eaſily ſet on a blaze. A great number of the

Sabinus beſieged.

° Antiq. ubi ſupra c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi. ſupra.

the Jews on the battlements perished in the flames, whilst the rest casting themselves down headlong, either died by the fall, or by the enemy's sword; so that not one of all those brave men was left alive, the Romans giving no quarter to any of them. As soon therefore as the flames were so far abated, that these could wade through them, they broke into the sacred treasury, from which they carried off the plunder above-mentioned. Some Jews burnt and killed.

THESE two actions therefore could not but highly exasperate the Jewish nation, and make them double their vigour against him. Accordingly, whilst one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cause a defection from the Roman general, by promising an amnesty and free leave to march off unmolested to as many as should leave the place. They added the like promise to Sabinus, upon the same conditions, and assured the Roman troops, that they had no other design in taking up arms, but to free themselves from the tyrannic yoke of the Herodian family. Sabinus would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the Jews would not permit him to rely on their promise, so that he chose rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from Varus. During this time new troubles were raised in other parts of Judæa; among others two thousand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been discharged from the service, assembled themselves in a body, and fell upon Archelaus's forces commanded by his nephew Archiabus; but this young general not daring to face them upon equal terms, knowing them to be old experienced soldiers, went and secured himself as well as he could in some fortresses, and other places of difficult access [P].

WE have heretofore had occasion to mention one Ezechias, a captain of a gang of banditti, whom Herod had with much difficulty caught and put to death, with about forty of his troops. This man left a son named Judas, who, seeing now the country labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death; and having got together a band of most desperate fellows at Sephoris, a city in Galilee (R), after several incursions into the king's dominions, A sedition raised by Judas.

[P] Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 2.

(R) This city, tho' not to be met with in Joshua or any of the sacred writers, at least by any thing like that name, is frequently mentioned by Josephus; and we have had occasion to speak of it in a former section, as one of the five places in which

dominions, forced at length into the royal armory, where he equipped his men cap-a-peé, and from thence into the treasury of all the places where he came, and being thus furnished with men, arms, and money, injected terror into the whole province, and plundered all he could come at; and so successful was he for some time, that he began to aim at the supreme power; whence he is thought, not without good grounds, to have been the same which is mentioned by St. Luke under the name of Theudas [q] (S).

A second by Simeon.

He was not the only one that aimed at the crown, during these troublesome times. There started up another, named Simeon, a person of comely stature, strongly built, and well esteemed by the Jews, and sufficiently conceited to think himself worthy of it. He had been employed by Herod in affairs of great importance with credit. As soon therefore as he appeared at the head of a party, the people saluted him king of the Jews; and he, to shew his zeal against the two rival sons of his late master, led his men directly to Jericho, where they set the royal palace, a rich and stately building, in flames. He proceeded to do the like to several others, giving his men the whole plunder of them. What further mischiefs such a leader, at the head of such resolute fellows might

[q] Acts v. 36.

Gabinius settled his independent tribunals. It was in the tribe of Zebulon, not far from the mountain and plains of Thabor, and was one of the first cities in Galilee on the road to Ptolemais. It became afterwards the metropolis of that province in Nero's time, when that emperor gave it to young Agrippa.

It has been since known by the name of Diocæsarea. It is placed at about twelve miles (more or less, for authors are not agreed about it) from Tiberias, and near the famed mount Ashmon, or Asamon, which was looked upon as the centre or navel of Galilee (7).

(S) This seems more than probable, not only from what each historian says of him, the one, that he aimed at the crown, and the other, that he gave himself out to be some eminent person, or great deliverer; such as the Jews were in more than ordinary expectation of at this time; but likewise from the affinity of their name תודה Thoudah in the Syriac, answering to the Hebrew יהודה Jehudah, and to the Greek Ἰούδας (8).

(7) De hac vide Joseph. Antip. l. xiv. c. 10. xvii. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. pass. (8) Vide ann. Usser. sub. A. M. 4003.

might have done, if their career had not been timely ſtopped, is eaſy to gueſs; but, happily for that country, Gratus, Archelaus's general, or, according to Tacitus [r], Varus, the Syrian governor, fell ſuddenly upon them, and, whilſt they fought with more courage than ſkill, gave them a total overthrow. Simeon was caught in his flight in ſome narrow defile, and, being brought to the general, had his head immediately ſtruck off [s]. Whilſt theſe were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was doing the ſame in another; particularly that of Amatha on the Jordan, built probably by Herod for the benefit of the hot waters, which that city was famed for [t], and took its name from (T).

A third by Athronges.

But the moſt deſperate and dangerous of all thoſe ſeditious gangs, for they raged in every place like an epidemic diſeaſe, was that of one Athronges, heretofore an obſcure ſhepherd, of no merit or worth, but what he challenged for his gigantic ſtature and brutiſh ſtoutneſs. This fellow ſet up likewiſe for the royal authority. He had four brothers of the ſame monſtrous ſize, whom he made his lieutenants over the multitudes that came flocking to him, for the honour of fighting under his banner. He took upon him the royal diadem, and tho' he often conſulted his council, yet acted according to his arbitrary will. He hated the Romans and Herodians alike; but the former felt oftener the effects of his cruelty. He gave no quarter to either ſide, when they fell into his hands; but he ſeemed rather to bend his force againſt the Romans, becauſe their late plunders and cruelties were freſher in every body's memory. He laid an ambuſh againſt one of their convoys of corn near Emmaus, and fell upon them ſo ſuddenly, that he left their commanding officer and forty of his men dead on the ſpot, and would in all likelihood have cut them all off, had not Gratus come in good time to their aſſiſtance. At length, after many ſuch exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of Archelaus, after his return into Judæa. One of his brothers was taken by Gratus, and another by Ptolemy. The laſt of them ſurrendered himſelf upon good conditions; and ſo the whole gang was diſperſed. But all this while the whole country was ſtill in a flame from freſh inſurrections, as

His gang defeated.

[r] Hiſt. l. v. [s] Joſeph. ubi ſupra. [t] Euſeb. Onomaſt ſub voce.

(T) From the Hebrew, חמה or חמת Chamah, or Chamath, in the regimen, ſignifying hot. Mr. Reland thinks it to be the ſame with Ramoth-Gilead.

well as from that of the Jews againſt Sabinus, whilſt the Herodian competitors were waiting at Rome for the emperor's deciſion.

Varus marches againſt the beſiegers.

By this time Varus, being appriſed of the danger Sabinus and his legion were in, took the road to Judæa, at the head of his other two, which was all that he had then in Syria, and with four troops of horſe and ſome foot, which he had got from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He ordered their rendezvous at Ptolemais, where he received ſome freſh auxiliaries, beſides fifteen hundred more, which the king of Arabia ſent him to Berytus, more out of hatred to the Herodian family, than love to the Romans. With part of his army Varus marched towards Samaria, whilſt the reſt, under the command of his ſon, made an inroad into that part of Galilee which was neareſt to Ptolemais. This laſt, having put to flight all that oppoſed him, went and took Sephoris, ſold all the inhabitants by auction, ſet fire to that noble city, and reduced it into a heap of rubbiſh. His father, on the other hand, paſſed by Samaria, becauſe he heard that it had had no hand in the Jewiſh inſurrections, and marched ſtraight to Jeruſalem. In his way he ſuffered his Arabian troops to plunder and burn ſeveral villages and towns; ſuch as Arus, becauſe it belonged to Ptolemy, a friend of Herod; Sampho, and Emmaus; this laſt in revenge of the ſlaughter which Athronges had made of the Romans near that place; but the inhabitants of it, foreſeeing the ſtorm, had timely forſook it. Whilſt this was doing without the city, the beſiegers, who were juſt going to ſtorm the

Raiſes the ſiege.

palace, having heard of Varus coming with ſuch a force, raiſed the ſiege and marched off in a fright; upon which the beſieged came forth, with the grandchildren of Herod, to compliment him on his arrival, and to thank him for his timely help. Sabinus was the only one who did not follow their example; but ſtole away privately towards the ſea. Varus gave a very ſevere reprimand to the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, for the late hoſtilities againſt the Roman legion; but was ſoon appeaſed, when he was appriſed, that they neither had a hand in it, nor were able to hinder it, being themſelves pent up by thoſe foreign Jews, who were come to the feaſt and had begun the tumult. However, as he thought it expedient to make a ſevere example of the ringleaders of it, he ſent ſome of his troops through the whole kingdom, with orders to make a ſtrict ſearch after them, and bring them priſoners to him. Upon their return they brought a vaſt number of thoſe wretches, two thouſand of whom he cauſed to be crucified, and releaſed the reſt. This ſeverity did not

hinder

hinder another body of ten thouſand from taking up arms againſt him, which prevented his diſbanding his auxiliaries, as he had deſigned, and obliged him to ſend them to quell this new revolt. They eaſily compaſſed it, becauſe the enemy, inſtead of ſtanding the brunt, ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion. Varus forgave the common people, and contented himſelf with ſending the chiefs of them bound to Auguſtus [u].

A new inſurrection quelled.

ALL this while Archelaus was ſoliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and to name him king of Judæa. About this time Martace his mother died; ſoon after which there arrived a deputation from Judæa, conſiſting of fifty of the heads of that nation, who were ſent to oppoſe his election, and to beg of the emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of Syria, and ſubject to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were ſeconded by above eight thouſand Jews then ſettled at Rome, who all profeſſed an averſion to a kingly government, and a deſire of living under that of the Romans, provided they might be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion and laws. Auguſtus referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of Apollo, which he had lately built, and where both ſides were to be heard in their turn. Here the Jewiſh embaſſadors began with inveighing againſt Herod, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation not like a monarch, but like a tyrant, violating all their laws both ſacred and civil; impoveriſhing a nation, whom, at his firſt acceſſion to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; ſacrificing an infinite number of his ſubjects either to his ambition, jealouſy, or reſentment, not ſparing even the matrons and virgins of diſtinction, either in his fury or his luſt; notwithſtanding all which, they would gladly have accepted of his ſon Archelaus for their prince, had he not given them ſo many convincing proofs of his tyrannic diſpoſition, an inſtance of which they urged in the maſſacre of the three thouſand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to Auguſtus, that he would put their nation under the Syrian governors, and then he would ſoon be convinced, whether the Jews were really ſuch rebellious people as they had been repreſented to him; and not, on the contrary, men of the moſt ſteady loyalty to the ſuperior powers. All this was immediately anſwered by

[u] Antiq. & bell Jud. ubi ſupra.

Damascen, who took upon him to vindicate the deceased, as well as the new, king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty. And Augustus, having heard both sides thus far, dismissed the assembly, without declaring his resolution, till further consideration.

Cæsar's division of the Jewish kingdom.

He was not long, however, before he decided the controversy in such a manner, as convinced the world of his friendship both to Herod and to his offspring. He bestowed the half of the kingdom on Archelaus, under the title of Ethnarch, or governor of a nation, and backed it with a promise that he would give him that of king, as soon as he heard that he had rendered himself worthy of it. This part or ethnarcy contained Judæa Propria, Idumæa, and Samaria; but he exempted this last of one fourth part of their taxes, in consideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in Judæa and Galilee. However, this partition, as well as change of title from a king to an ethnarch, plainly shews, that he was nothing less than satisfied at his proceedings, and indeed, whatever Damascen might urge to colour his two speedy assumption of the regal power, it is plain, he had not paid that regard to the emperor which he ought to have done; all which was sufficiently aggravated by the opposite party. And as he looked upon that young prince as too likely to follow his father's violent measures, nothing could be more prudently thought on to keep him within due bounds, than such a conditional promise. He likewise dismembered from Judæa the cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon, because they followed the customs of the Greeks; and joined them to the province of Syria. Josephus reckons the whole yearly revenue of this new ethnarchy to have amounted to six hundred talents. The remainder of Herod's kingdom was divided between his other two sons, Philip and Antipas; the former of whom had the regions of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, to which Cæsar added that part of Galilee which had formerly belonged to Zenodorus, mentioned a little higher, and which alone amounted to about one hundred talents per year. The latter had the greatest part of Galilee, and the countries beyond Jordan, amounting to two hundred talents a year. Salome had for her share, besides half a million of silver, the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, to which Augustus added that of Ascalon. The rest of Herod's legacies, particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to him, he generously distributed between his other relations, his grand-sons, and two virgin-daughters, whom he married to Pheroras's sons, re-

servir

ſerving for himſelf only a few of his moveables, not ſo much for their value, as out of regard to the memory of his deceaſed friend [w].

A pſeudo-Alexander ſets up for the crown.

THIS new diviſion of the Jewiſh kingdom was ſcarce ſettled, before there ſtarted up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a Jew, brought up at Sidon, and ſo like the late Alexander the ſon of Herod by Mariamne, formerly put to death, that, when he came to give himſelf out to be the ſame, and to have been preſerved alive, he eaſily deceived not only the bulk of the Jews, but even thoſe who had been acquainted with that unfortunate prince. He was aſſiſted in this impoſture by a cunning fellow, who had formerly gone through all the intrigues of Herod's court, and who finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of ſucceſs, adviſed him to ſet about it immediately. Theſe two accordingly began with giving out, that the two young princes, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, whom the Jews ſuppoſed to have been put to death purſuant to their father's order, had been preſerved by a faithful friend, and two other perſons ſubſtituted in their ſtead. Theſe two went firſt to Crete, thence to Melos, where they raiſed conſiderable ſums of money from the Jews that were ſettled in thoſe iſlands. Having ſucceeded ſo well at their firſt ſetting out, they reſolved to ſail for Rome; and being arrived at Puteoli, were met by all the heads of the Jews, eſpecially by thoſe who were in the intereſt either of the Herodian, or of the Aſmonean, families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and conſequently as the only rightful king of the Jews. Upon this ſuppoſition, they ſpared neither pains, coſt, nor acclamations, to render his entry into Rome as ſplendid as poſſible. The litter or chair of ſtate in which he was carried, the vaſt crouds that accompanied him, and the reception he met with at every place he came to, were all anſwerable to the high notion they had conceived of him.

Diſcovered by Auguſtus.

As ſoon as they were come to Rome, whither the reſt of the Jews flocked in crouds to pay their homage to this new-riſen offspring of the Aſmonean race, Auguſtus, who knew Herod too well to believe that he could be impoſed upon in a matter of ſuch importance, ſent one of his freedmen, named Celadus, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new Alexander to him. Celadus was as eaſily impoſed upon as the reſt; but Cæſar, who

[w] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 13. Vide & Strab. & Tacit ubi ſupra,

examined him with a more curious and unerring eye, ſoon diſcovered a manifeſt deficiency in the port and majeſty of this upſtart, from what he had obſerved in that young prince, beſides a certain calloſity in the hands of the former, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore aſked him and his inſtrument, What was become of his brother? and why he did not likewiſe come and make out his claim to the Jewiſh crown? and was readily anſwered by both, that Ariſtobulus had ſtaid at Cyprus to wait the iſſue of this journey, that if one of the ſons of Marriamne miſcarried, the other might be preſerved to keep up the Aſmonean race and title. Their mutual agreement, which ſtill helped to confirm the reſt, ſerved only to make the emperor look upon the whole as a forged ſtory; and, to be further convinced of it, having taken the young man aſide, he, partly by threats, and partly by a promiſe of ſparing his life, extorted a full confeſſion of the whole impoſture, the conſequence of which was, that the young man was ſent to the gallies, and the other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the Jews who had aſſiſted them with money, Cæſar thought their loſs and diſappointment a ſufficient puniſhment[x].

Puniſhed.

Year of the flood 3001. Of Chriſt 2. Before the vulgar æra 2. Archelaus's tyranny.

But neither the diſlike which the Jews had ſhewn upon this occaſion to the Herodian family, nor the prudent caution on which Cæſar had given Archelaus, proved ſufficient to keep him within due bounds. He was no ſooner returned into Judæa, than he began to betray ſome marks of his arbitrary and relenting temper. He began with the depoſition of Joazar from the high-prieſthood, on pretence, that he had ſided with ſome of the late mutineers; and beſtowed that dignity on Eleazar the brother of the depoſed pontiff. He next repudiated his wife Mariamne, and married Glaphyra, the widow of his brother Alexander, contrary to the Moſaic law, becauſe ſhe had had ſeveral children by him, and had been married, ſince her firſt husband's death, to Juba king of Mauritania. He depoſed ſoon after the newinſtalled pontiff upon ſome diſguſt, and raiſed Jeſus the ſon of Sias to that dignity. He beſtowed an immenſe deal of coſt in rebuilding and beautifying the royal palace at Jericho, and bringing down one half of the ſtream, which watered the village of Nerea, into the grove of palm-trees which he had planted in the neighbouring fields[y]. About this time Caius,

[x] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. ult. Bell. Jud l. iii. c 5. [y] Antiq. ibid. Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 6.

Caius, coming from Egypt [z] into Judæa, expreſſed his contempt of the Jewiſh religion, by refuſing to offer up ſacrifices at Jeruſalem, for which he is ſaid to have been commended by Cæſar [a].

THE firſt years of Archelaus proved peaceable enough; but the people at length, both Jews and Samaritans, being tired with his tyrannical reign, joined in a petition to Auguſtus againſt him; which had no ſooner reached him, than he ſent an agent of his into Judæa, without any other letter, to fetch the Jewiſh ethnarch to him. Archelaus, tho' warned, as well as the inceſtuous Glaphyra, by ſome portending dreams (V), had given ſo little heed to them, that Cæſar's meſſenger found him in the height of his mirth, when he came to acquaint him with his orders, and obliged him to haſten with him to Rome. Upon their arrival there, Auguſtus, with his uſual equanimity, heard both the charge and the defence; after which he condemned Archelaus to be baniſhed to the city of Vienne, in Gaul or Dauphiné, and all his goods to be confiſcated. Judæa, by this ſentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and Cyrenius, the then governor of Syria, and a man of conſular dignity, was ſent thither to ſee it executed as we have lately hinted upon another occaſion); after which having ſold Archelaus's palaces, and ſeized upon all his treaſure, he returned

Baniſhed. Year of the flood 3005. Of Chriſt 6.

[z] Oroſ. l. vii. c. 3. [a] Sueton. in Octav. c. 93.

(V) Theſe dreams, which, whether true or falſe, ſhew how much the Jewiſh nation was addicted to them, our author gives us the following account of:

Archelaus ſaw ten ears of corn full ripe, and ten oxen devouring them; which viſion made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he conſulted the wiſeſt and moſt expert magicians and Chaldeans about it (9); but they differing in their opinion, one Simon an Eſſenian interpreted the ten ears of the ten years of Archelaus's reign, which, he ſaid, was to have a ſpeedy end, ſignified by their being devoured by the oxen. The event verified his interpretation, as appears by the ſequel.

That of his wife needed not, it ſeems, a conjurer to expound it. She dreamt, that her firſt huſband, the unfortunate Alexander, came to her; and, whilſt ſhe was preparing to receive him with open arms, upbraided her with faithleſs incontinency, in marrying Juba, and then his brother Archelaus, after ſhe had ſo many children by him; but, added he, I ſhall ſoon rid thee of this reproach. The conſequence was, that ſhe juſt lived long enough to tell her dream, and died within two days after it (10).

(9) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6. (10) Ibid. & antiq. ubi ſupra.

ed to Antioch, leaving the Jews in no small ferment upon the account of this new tax [b].

ne cauſe of eir future ars and to- l deſtructi- n

COPONIUS, the Roman general of the horſe and governor of Judæa under Cyrenius, had accompanied him in that expedition; and his preſence, as well as the good offices of Joazar the then high-prieſt (W), had, for a while, kept the nation under ſome reſtraint, till Judas the Gaulonite, of whom we have ſpoken in the laſt ſection, and one Saducus, a turbulent Phariſee, ſet it again into a flame. We hinted before, that this boutefeu took upon him to condemn this taxing as ſlaviſh, idolotrous, and inconſiſtent with their duty to God, the only ſovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of Abraham. This topic ſeldom failed to make an impreſſion on a people, who were taught to look upon themſelves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the reſt of the world as deſigned to be their ſlaves; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when the hopes of the Meſſiah or temporal deliverer inſpired them with a tenfold diſdain againſt the yoke, which their conquerors were then laying upon them. Judas therefore could not have wiſhed for a more favorable juncture, to make himſelf the head of a numerous and powerful party; And therefore, added he, it is high time, that you ſhould make a ſtrenuous puſh for your country's freedom, and, without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, do but depend on the favour of providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors. There wanted but this laſt incentive to ſet them a madding after the promiſed liberty. Accordingly, we find that his ſpeech worked them into a kind

[b] Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

(W) Joſephus has forgot to tell us how he was reinſtalled into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by Archelaus ſome years before, to make room for the ſon of Sias, hinted a little higher; but it is probable, that, after that prince's baniſhment, Joazar found means to recover that dignity under the Syrian governor; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he ſhewed in appeaſing the diſcontented Jews.

But this laſt action, inſtead of confirming him in his pontificate, proved the cauſe of his ſecond depoſition, it having rendered him ſo obnoxious to the Jewiſh nation, that Cyrenius was forced, for quietneſs ſake, to turn him out of it, and to put Ananus in his place (11).

a kind of furious phrenſy, which quickly vented itſelf into the moſt horrid butcheries and cruelties; his party plundering, burning, deſtroying, and murdering every-where, indiſcriminately Jews as well as Gentiles; and, in a word, all that oppoſed his ſpecious pretence of religion and liberty. The war, being thus kindled within and without, brought on a grievous famine, and next a peſtilence; all which did end at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation [c]. All this was owing to the ambition of this new upſtart ſect or faction, of whom we have already given an account in the cloſe of the laſt ſection; to which we ſhall only add, that, after the death of their chief, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the godly name of zealots, and under that ſpecious title committed the moſt unheard-of cruelties, and carried their violence even into the very temple.

The temple polluted by the Samaritans.

ALL this while the Samaritans had not forgot their old grudge againſt the Jews, though they had been ſo long quiet. Cyrenius was ſcarce gone out of Judæa before they began to hatch new miſchiefs againſt them; they waited till the next approaching feaſt of the paſſover, when, on the eve of it, a number of them having by private means ſlipt into the temple, ſtrewed the galleries and other places of reſort with dead mens bones, ſo that the prieſts on the next morning, finding that ſacred place polluted, were forced to put a ſtop to the ſolemnity. How they afterwards purified it, and what other remedy they took to renew the feſtival, Joſephus doth not tell us; he only adds, that it made them more cautious for the future to guard the avenues from all ſuch inſults. However, the ceremony was ſoon reſumed, and it was on this feſtival that Chriſt, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents to that ſolemnity, according to the Jewiſh cuſtom, which obliged all the males that have attained to that age, to repair to the temple on the three grand feſtivals †.

Jeſus Chriſt ſtays after the feaſt.

Here the holy child choſe to ſtay unknown to his parents, who were departed with the reſt of the company. They did not miſs him till night, when having in vain ſought him among their relations and acquaintance, among whom they ſuppoſed him to have been, they returned immediately to Jeruſalem. Here, after a three days ſorrowful ſearch, they found him at length in the temple, ſitting among the Jewiſh doctors, and ſurpriſing them with the wiſdom of his queſtions and anſwers, ſo far beyond his mean education and tender years.

[c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1. & ſeq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8, & ſeq. † See vol iii. p. 183, & 184. (O), Conf. & Exod, xxiii. 15. & xxxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16. & Luke ii. 41, & ſeq.

years. His pious mother, though ravished at so pleasing a scene, could not forbear expressing some tender resentment at the solicitude which his absence had given her. The short answer he returned was not presently understood by them, but yet was a lecture full of excellent wisdom: *Wist ye not*, said he, *that I must be about my father's business?* and so he really was; for as he had been sent to be teacher of the world, and as he now commenced what the Jews called a son or disciple of the law, it became him, who was to be our pattern, to make his first accesses to his future office of instructor, by coming to learn of those whom God had appointed to preserve and teach the knowledge of his laws. His mother suffered none of these sayings to slip out of her memory, and she and her husband gladly returned with him to their mean habitation, where he continued in a dutiful subjection to them. In this humble privacy, his wisdom encreasing with his stature, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all that beheld him, and continued exercising the trade of a carpenter (X) till the thirtieth year of his age, when be began to make a more glorious appearance in the world.

CORONIUS was soon after this feast succeeded by Ambivius, in whose governorship Salome died, and bequeathed her three cities, mentioned a little higher, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by Archelaus, and all her vast treasure, not to either of her nephews, who still held their small

(X) This is the common received opinion, founded on an antient tradition, that Joseph dying soon after this feast, he being by that time very old, the child Jesus was obliged to work at that trade, to maintain himself and his mother; and is further confirmed by the Jews calling him sometimes the carpenter, and sometimes the carpenter's son (12).

We beg leave to take notice here also, that this encrease of knowledge which the evangelist attributes to him, is very inconsistent with Arius's notion of the λογος or word supplying the place of the soul in him; neither has any of his followers, either antient or modern, been as yet able to take off the difficulty. The Socinian system would indeed more effectually do it, were it not in too many cases diametrically opposite to the doctrine of the gospel. There remains therefore no other way to remove it, than by owning that Christ had a human soul as well as a human body, and that the former, notwithstanding its union with his divine nature, was as capable of improvement in wisdom, as the latter was of encrease in strength and stature; which is undoubtedly the antient doctrine of the christian church.

(12) Conf. Marc. vi. 3. & Matth. xiii. 55. John iv. 44.

ſmall toparchies, but to the empreſs Julia, or, as Joſephus affects to call her, Livia, Ambivius after a ſhort time was ſucceeded by Annius Rufus; and Auguſtus died at Nola in Campania, as ſhall be ſeen in the Roman hiſtory, and was ſucceeded by Tiberius, after this latter had been ſomewhat above two years admitted into the copartnerſhip of the empire. From this latter muſt the fifteenth year of Tiberius, mentioned by the evangeliſt [d], be taken. Tiberius, upon his coming to the empire, recalled Rufus, and ſent Valerius Gratus into Judæa, who was the fourth Roman governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years [e]. About five years after his being entered into it, he depoſed the high-prieſt Ananus or Annas in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raiſed Iſhmael the ſon of Fabus to that dignity. Being ſoon after diſpleaſed with his choice, he took it from Iſhmael on the next year, and gave it to Eleazar the ſon of Ananus, whom he had lately depoſed. Eleazar in a year's time was forced to reſign, and was ſucceeded by Simon the ſon of Camith, who, within the compaſs of another year, was turned out, and Joſeph, ſurnamed Caiphas, and ſon-in-law to Annas above-metioned, was put in his room [f]; ſo uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (Y).

Various changes of governors and high-prieſts. Year of the flood 3014. Of Chriſt 15.

GRATUS himſelf was ſoon after recalled, and ſucceeded by Pontius Pilate, a perſon who exceeded all his predeceſſors in injuſtice, extortion, and cruelty, and ſo thoroughly wedded to his own intereſt, that he was capable of the vileſt actions to promote that favourite end. Joſephus has been ſomewhat ſparing of his character; but Philo [g] has left us a lively draught of it, a ſhort sketch of which the reader may ſee in the margin (Z); by which he may judge how qualified he

[d] Luke iii. 1. Vid Uſſer. ſub A. M. 4017. Prid. ſub. An. C. 12. [e] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 3. [f] Comp. Joſeph. ubi ſupra, & Luke iii. 2. John xviii. 13. Acts iv. 6. [g] Legat. ad Caium.

(Y) Theſe are the two high-prieſts that are mentioned in the goſpel to have proſecuted and condemned Jeſus Chriſt to death; and Caiphas, or, as he is there called, Caiaphas (13), was the perſon who adjudged it neceſſary that he ſhould be cut off to ſave the nation from ruin.

(Z) His whole adminiſtration, according to this author, was one continued ſcene of venal juſtice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action of racking and putting innocent men to death, untried, and uncondemned, and of every kind of ſavage cruelty.

(13) John xi. 49, & ſeq.

Year of the flood 3025. Of Christ 26: Herod and Philip in their toparchies.

he was for the part he was shortly to act, in passing the most unjust sentence on the most innocent of men.

We hinted a little higher, that the other sons of Herod had still kept possession of their toparchies, notwithstanding Archelaus's deposition and banishment; it will be therefore very proper here to give some further account of them, before we enter into a new and different scene. They had each of them settled themselves the best they could in their small territories. Antipas, better known by the name of Herod, who had the country of Galilee, began with rebuilding the city of Sephoris, which had but a little before been reduced into ashes by the son of Varus, and surrounded it with a strong wall and towers, so that it became the bulwark, and one of the best cities, of that canton; and as he had been successful enough to ingratiate himself with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of Genezareth, and called it Tiberias, in honour of him (A); and from thence that lake came to be called the sea of Tiberias. This city he was forced to people mostly with Galileans and strangers, because it being built on a ground which was full of sepulchres, the going over which pollutes the Jews seven whole days, he could hardly get any of that nation to settle there, though he endowed it with considerable privileges, and gave its inhabitants the greatest encouragement, viz. lands to some, houses to others, to take off their qualms of conscience about treading on dead bodies. Another city, formerly called Betaramphtha, he rebuilt, and called by the empress's name, Julias. His brother Philip followed his example, and built the village of Bethsaida, on the opposite end of the same lake, into a magnificent city, and called it likewise Julias, and gave the name of Cæsarea to Paleas, the place where the Jordan has its spring-head, after he had greatly enlarged and beautified it.

Built Sephoris and other cities:

(A) Josephus adds, that it was not far from the hot baths of Emmaus; for which reason we think it necessary to remind our reader of what we observed in a former note, that the Jews gave the name of Hamah and Hammath to all places that had any such waters; that of Emmaus is the same, only softened and grecified. We must therefore not confound this last with another in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (14), which bears the same name, and most likely upon the same account.

(14) Vid. int. al. Luc. xxiv. 13. Vid. & Reland. Palæst illustr. l. i. c. 46.

it [h]. During this time came out that edict of Tiberius, which obliged all Jews and Egyptians to depart from the city of Rome [i], or, according to another, out of the territories of Italy [k]. The cause of this edict, being some vile practices, which a few mean persons of each of those nations had been acting in the imperial city, is foreign to our present subject; we refer our readers for a further account to Josephus [l] and the two authors last quoted. All that we need to add to it is, what Philo has observed more than once [m], that this severity against the Jews, whatever pretence it might be coloured with, was hatched under-hand by Sejanus. That wicked minister, who knew how opposite his plots and designs were to the known loyalty of the Jews, could not but conceive some dreadful jealousies from them, which obliged him at length to rid himself of them (B).

Jews banished Rome: Year of the flood 3018. Of Christ 19.

HITHERTO Judæa, though in a violent ferment on account of the late tax, and some other tumults which the Romans had appeased by mean force, had not, however, broke out into such a violent and universal flame, as it did after the coming of Pilate. It was this governor, whose fierce, obstinate, and cruel temper, hastened on those seditions and revolts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of the Jewish state. His predecessors had hitherto wisely forbore to bring the Roman standards into the city, because their bearing the images of men and living creatures made them to be had in abomination by the Jews. But Pilate, who thought it beneath him to shew them the same complaisance, ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis, to enter it in the night, with those standards covered, and caused them on the next morning to be displayed. This new and shocking sight put the whole city into an uproar; they went to him in a body to Cæsarea, where he then was, and begged of him that they might be removed to some other place; but were answered, that he could not comply with their request, without glancing an affront on the emperor.

Pilate causes new troubles in Judæa:

Sets up standards at Jerusalem.

[h] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 3. [i] Tacit. an. l. ii. c. 85. [k] Sueton. in Tiber. c. 36. [l] Antiq. ubi supra, c. 4. [m] Legat. ad Caium.

(B) What seems to confirm what our author says on that subject is, that, after the death of that faithless minister the emperor expressed himself more favourably with respect to the Jews, in the orders he sent to the several governors of his provinces, as shall be seen in the sequel.

emperor. As they ſtood ſtiff in their petion, and he in his denial, ſix whole days, five of which the former had continued proſtrate on the ground before his palace, night and day [n], he at length came out to them, as with deſign to give them audience; and being mounted on his tribunal, which he had reared in the circus, gave the ſignal to ſome of his troops, whom he had coveniently poſted, to fall on them, and to murder all that ſhould not immediately depart, and who inſtantly came out and ſurrounded them. The Jews, however, far from being terrified at ſo horrid a perfidy, did meekly hold out their necks to thoſe butchers, telling them and the governor, that the loſs of their lives was nothing ſo terrible to them as the violation of theirlaws: aud Pilate, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a paſſive conſtancy in that turbulent nation, was ſo moved at it, that he at length granted their requeſt, and ordered the ſtandards to be removed out of their metropolis [o].

Shields conſecrated to Tiberius hung up in the royal palace;

BUT as he ſeems to have been wholly upon mortifiing and ſpighting the Jewiſh nation, he ſoon reſumed his uſual courſe. A project came next into his head to ſet up a number of ſhields in the royal palace of Jeruſalem in honour of Tiberius (C); but which the Jews failed not to reſent, as an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there ſhould be no carved images upon them that might give them offence; but the very inſcription of them was, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwiſe, there was nothing more common, both before and after the Jewiſh captivity, than for the Jewiſh monarchs to cover even the front of the temple with ſuch ornaments, as the reader muſt have often obſerved through the courſe of their hiſtory. The magiſtrates therefore of that metropolis, with the ſons of Herod (D) at their head, went to repreſent to him in the moſt civil terms, that ſuch a conſecration

[n] Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8. [o] Id. ibid. & antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 4

(C) This tranſaction we have from Philo (15); Joſephu makes no mention of it.

(D) Meaning probably of the late Herod the Great; wh thoſe ſons were, our author doth not tell us; but we may reaſor ably ſuppoſe two of them to have been Herod Antipas, tetrarc of Galilee, and Philip his brother, mentioned a little highe both willing enough at that time to oblige the Jews. The oth two muſt have been probably ſome of his grand-children.

(15) Legat. p. 1033, & ſeq.

ſecration was contrary to their laws, and to beg of him that he would pay a greater regard to them. Pilate repulſed them with his uſual ſcorn and obſtinacy, till they ventured at length to adviſe him, not to puſh things ſo far as to exaſperate the nation into an open revolt. They added, that if he had received any ſuch command from Cæſar, he need but ſhew it to them, and they would immediately diſpatch a deputation to Rome to petition the emperor againſt it. Theſe laſt words threw the governor into a ſtrange dilemma: on the one hand, he dreaded nothing ſo much as ſuch a deputation, which would in all likelihood lay open all the iniquities of his adminiſtration: on the other, if he complied with their requeſt, in removing the ſhields, he not only gave an advantage to a people he hated and deſpiſed, but expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of the emperor, who might probably look upon ſuch a compliance as an affront to himſelf, and a compliment to the Jews. The magiſtrates, perceiving the trouble he was in, immediately withdrew, and ſent ſoon after a very preſſing, but ſubmiſſive, letter to Rome, which had the deſired effect. Tiberius immediately diſpatched another to Pilate, wherein he highly blamed him for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the ſhields into ſome other place; which he accordingly did, and ſent them to be hung at Cæſarea [p].

His next project to vex the Jews was, to find out ſome ſpecious pretence for drawing money out of the ſacred treaſury. This was indeed the moſt effectual way to touch them to the quick, next to the rifling of the temple; for he knew but too well their invincible attachment to thoſe two places. The plauſible pretext he choſe for it was, the bringing of an aqueduct, about two hundred furlongs off, into Jeruſalem; the expence of which he expected ſhould be ſupplied out of the ſacred depoſitory, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax ſhould be levied upon it. However, as he knew that this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, ſo he took care to provide againſt it, by cauſing a number of his ſoldiers to mix themſelves with the croud, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready upon a ſignal to fall upon the mutineers. He was hardly ſeated on his tribunal, before it was ſurrounded accordingly by a vaſt concourſe of the Jews, who came exclaiming againſt his project, and ſome of the meaner ſort, as is uſual in ſuch mobs, accompanied their clamour with bitter invectives againſt him.

Another tumult cauſed by Pilate.

[p] Legat ad Caium.

Pilate had not heard them long, before he gave his men the ſignal, who immediately fell on the Jews pelmel with their clubs, wounded, lamed, and even killed many of them indiſcriminately, and diſperſed the reſt [q]. Joſephus doth not tell us, whether Pilate went on with his deſign, neither is it eaſy to gueſs, either from him or from Philo, at what year of his government the three laſt-mentioned tranſactions happened. All that can be gathered from the whole is, that he took all the pains he could to make it uneaſy to them, from the beginning to the end of it, and that the Jews were not behind-hand with him, either in oppoſing his deſigns, oppreſſions, and cruelties, or in giving him freſh troubles by their tumults and ſeditions, in which every ſect joined to give a helping hand, though at ever ſo great variance in other points. This was the diſmal ſtate of Judæa, when the Saviour of the world made his firſt publick appearance into his miniſtry: miſerably torn by their inteſtine broils: oppreſſed with the heavy yoke of the Roman emperors, and of their more rapacious ſubſtitutes: divided into factions and ſects, which treated each other with greater rancour and inhumanity, than their very oppreſſors: deceived, and often led to their ruin by upſtart demagogues, falſe prophets, and pretended Meſſiahs; and ſoothed and flattered to a degree of judicial infatuation, into the miſtaken notion of a ſpeedy temporal deliverer, and of a glorious and laſting ſcene of conqueſts, triumphs, and other earthly happineſs, under his auſpicious reign. All which proved ſo many invincible obſtacles to their embracing that ſalvation, which Chriſt the true Meſſiah came to offer them, and made them run into the very jaws of that deſtruction, which their rejection of him and his doctrine, joined to all their other impieties, did ſhortly bring upon them. All which will be beſt ſeen by a ſhort review of the three laſt years of his life: of the irrefragable credentials he brought with him, and the obſtinate and unreaſonable oppoſition they made againſt him: of his love and tenderneſs towards them, and of their malice and ingratitude to him: of his irreproachable innocence, and of their injuſtice in condemning him to death: and laſtly, of the innumerable evidences given to them after his reſurrection, of his being the true promiſed Meſſiah, and of their invincible hardneſs aud obſtinacy in rejecting him to the laſt. We ſhall therefore cloſe the preſent ſection with a ſhort account of thoſe three laſt ſignal years of his life and his doleful exit on the

The cauſes of the Jews infidelity and deſtruction:

[q] Antiq. ubi ſupra.

the croſs; confining ourſelves chiefly to ſuch particulars as have an immediate connection with the two main points in our view; the divinity of his miſſion, and juſtice of the Jews puniſhment in the deſtruction of their city, temple, and commonwealth, and total diſperſion of their nation, for their obſtinate rejection of him and his doctrine (E).

(E) It will be perhaps objected, that in entering thus far into thoſe two religious points, we go out of our limits as hiſtorians, and that, inſtead of writing a continuation of the hiſtory of the Jews, we are going to prove the truth of chriſtianity againſt them. But let it, we pray, be conſidered, that though this were the real caſe, the harm would not be great; and that, provided both points are kept going ſtill hand in hand, and we do not ſo fix our eye upon one, as to loſe ſight of the other, we ſtill anſwer the two main ends of hiſtory, to make men wiſer and better.

We ſhould moreover be guilty of a flagrant injuſtice to the infatuated Jews, if we ſhould neglect ſo fair an opportunity of reminding them of the ſource of all their misfortunes, and pointing out to them their only remedy. We have heretofore taken notice of a promiſe made to them by God, that though their ſins had cauſed them to be diſperſed through the four quarters of the world, yet, as ſoon as they were brought to an humble acknowledgement and confeſſion of them, he would gather them home again into their own land.

Accordingly, before their total diſperſion, the longeſt captivity they underwent was but of ſeventy years, though it was brought upon them by the horrideſt crimes, ſuch is idolatry, murders without number, ſacrileges of the blackeſt nature committed by Manaſſes and his wicked ſucceſſors; and yet they had this comfort in the midſt of their puniſhment, that the ſame prophets who had foretold their captivity had likewiſe ſet a period to it; and were ſtill encouraging them to bear their chaſtiſement patiently, ſince God would certainly put an happy end to it at the time perfixed.

What crime can they then charge themſelves with of ſo atrocious a nature, as to bring this more dreadful captivity of ſeventeen hundred years upon them, without one prophecy, or even comfortable glimpſe, when they ſhall ſee an end to it? If they know of any ſuch ſin, why do they not confeſs and acknowledge it, and thereby put a period to their miſery? for God's promiſe ſtands as ſure now, as it did three thouſand years ago.

Since then they are ignorant of this grievous crime; why ſhould we make a difficulty to point it out to them, when we have ſo fair an occaſion offered? why ſhould we not tell them, that it was their putting the Meſſiah to an unjuſt and ignominious death? and which they are ſo far from acknowledging, that they juſtify and glory in it, and by ſo doing murder him ſtill in their

Chriſt enters into his miniſtry:

It was now the thirtieth and laſt jubilee ſince its firſt celebration in the land of Canaan †, when Chriſt, in the thirtieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable one, not to the Jewiſh nation only, but to the whole world. The Jewiſh was uſually uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpets, the new chriſtan one by the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*

† See before vol. iii. p. 213 Uſſer. an. ſub. A. M. 4030.

their hearts, as often as they think or ſpeak of him, and ſo become partakers of their anceſtors guilt as well as puniſhment.

Again, The ſcripture doth in ſeveral places, but more expreſly St. Paul (16), aſſure us, that there will be a time when they ſhall be all recalled; and their having continued ſo long unblended with other nations, notwithſtanding their diſperſion through every part of the habitable globe, is a ſtrong proof of it. For whatever ſuperficial heads may imagine, an impartial thinker will eaſily obſerve, that nothing but a particular providence could have kept them in that unmixed ſtate, as they have continued in theſe ſeventeen centuries; when he ſees even in his own land a multitude of nations, in a much leſs time, as much blended and abſorbed into one common name, as their bodies are into one common earth. Eſpecially when we conſider, by what weak ſupports, or rather poor mean evaſions, their faith and hopes have been kept up, ever ſince they have ſeen all ſcripture calculations concerning the time of the Meſſiah ſo long elapſed; to ſay nothing of the many diſcouragements they have at one time or other met with from every nation under heaven.

We are aſſured by the ſame apoſtle (17), that this recall of the Jews will not be till after the fulneſs, or total converſion, of the Gentiles. Were the former once rightly appriſed of this, it is likely their zeal in obſtructing the one would inſenſibly abate, when they ſaw that it was the fatal means of retarding the other.

We may add, that ſince the beſt hiſtorians have not thought it out of their province to plunge into the deep abyſs of obſcurity, to find out the cauſes of the decadence and fall of kingdoms and empires, but have even endeavoured to diſcover them in certain aſpects of the heavenly bodies, tranſits of comets, and ſuch-like amuſing dreams; may we not much more be allowed to venture to trace this remarkable one of the Jews under the conduct of ſuch infallible guides, as the ſcripture and hiſtory afford us? All which will be beſt ſeen, when we come to compare Chriſt's prophecies, againſt that unhappy people, and the wonderful accompliſhment of them, as we have it related by one of the beſt hiſtorians of their own nation.

(16) Rom. xi. paſſ. (17) Ibid. verſ. 25, 26.

Lord, and so on [r]. This was the miraculous son of Zacharias, a priest, prophet, and fore-runner of the Messiah, who having left the wilderness, where he had spent his younger days, came now to preach repentance and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and in the high-priesthood of Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, mentioned a little higher. The austerity of his life (F) and the newness of his doctrine drew daily great numbers of Jews to be baptized by him in the Jordan, supposing him to be the Messiah; but he quickly disclaimed that glorious title, assuring them, Year of the flood 3029. Of Christ 30.

[r] Conf. Isaiah xl. 1, 2, 3. lx. i. & seq. Luc. iii. 2, & seq. iv. 19.

(F) His dress and manner of living seems to have been the same with the antient prophets, of whom we have spoken in a former volume *. His food was wild honey and locusts, which a modern traveller tells us are very common in those parts, and good for food; from whence he concludes, that they were the creatures the Israelites fed so plentifully upon in the wilderness, and which all the versions have misrendered quails. We have had occasion heretofore † to confute the latter part of this assertion. As for the locust, which the baptist fed upon, the generality of interpreters understand it of a real insect so called, whence some eastern nations have been called Acridophagi or locust-eaters (18). Others understand it of a kind of bean or pulse so called; the reader may consult interpreters about it, if he pleases; but the other notion is much more probable, that insect being common, cheap, and particularly permitted in the levitical law to be eaten by the Israelites (19).

Archbishop Usher supposes, with great probability, that this preacher of repentance began his ministry on the grand fast, or expiation day, of which frequent mention has been made in this history, it being enjoined to every Israelite to fast, and to afflict themselves on that day, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. This day fell, as we elsewhere observed ‡, on the tenth day of the seventh month, called Tishri, answering to about the nineteenth of our October; and on that solemnity the jubilee was to be proclaimed through all the land. (20)

Upon both which accounts no time could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more spiritual and universal jubilee, which was now at hand.

* Vol iii. p. 471, Com. with Matth. iii. 4. † vol. ii. p. 592, (Q). (18) Vid. Eustath. in Od. 9. Plin. nat. hist. l. xix. c. 29. Mos. Levit. &. al. (19) Levit. xi. 21, & seq. ‡ See vol. iii. p. 213, and p. 205, (K). (20) Ibid. xxxv. 9. vid. Usser. sub A. M. 4030.

that he was only ſent as his precurſor, and to point him out to them, as the perſon who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghoſt. Jeſus came accordingly to the place ſoon after to be baptized among the reſt, and John in an humble guiſe excuſed himſelf from that high office; but being at length prevailed upon to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghoſt viſibly deſcended and lighted upon him, whilſt a voice was heard from heaven, ſaying, *This is my beloved ſon, in whom I am well pleaſed* [s].

Baptized and manifeſted by John:

Whereupon the baptiſt took that opportunity to manifeſt him to all that were there preſent, and to bear this ample teſtimony of him, that he was the very Chriſt, an the lamb of God, who was to take away the ſins of the world [t].

As John continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbourhood of Bethabara (G), a great concourſe of people flocked to him from all parts, eſpecially in their return homewards from Jeruſalem, where they had been celebrating the feaſt of tabernacles, which fell out about the beginning of November †. Among them was a great number of the Phariſaic

[s] Matt. iii. 13. & ſeq. Luc. iii. 21. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. ibid. vid. & John. i. 29, & ſeq. † Vid. vol. iii. p. 193, & (B)

(G) So called from the Hebrew בית עברה beth-habarah, the houſe of paſſing over, or ferry-houſe, ſuppoſed by ſome to have had that name from the paſſage of the Iſraelites over Jordan ‖; but whether ſo or not, its name ſhews it to have been probably ſome great ferry, and ſo very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourſe of people at ſuch places.

But the word beth-habarah may be alſo, and perhaps more properly, tranſlated a cuſtom-houſe, as the officers of it, whom we render publicans were called בעלי העברה, bahale hahabarah, maſters or overſeers of the cuſtoms; a great many of whom came accordingly to the baptiſt, to enquire what kind of repentance was proper for men of their profeſſion; and were anſwered, that they ſhould exact no more than their due (21); to the ſoldiers, which are uſually ſet to guard ſuch avenues, he forbid uſing violence, falſe accuſations, extortion, &c. to the reſt, who on the ſame ſuppoſition, dealt in the mercantile way, he enjoined likewiſe a practice oppoſite to their common one; that is, liberality, hoſpitality, charity, &c. inſtead of covetouſneſs, fraud, &c. Thus was he fulfilling what was foretold of old (22), *Every valley ſhall be filled, every mountain levelled*, &c.

‖ See vol. iii. p. 69, (Y). (21) Luke iii. 13. (22) Ibid. verſ. 5. Conf. cum Iſai. xl. 4, & ſeq.

Phariſaic ſect, whom he ſeverely rebuked upon ſeveral accounts, particularly on their pretended privilege of being Abraham's poſterity; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that as long as their lives were ſo oppoſite to that of that glorious progenitor, they muſt expect to be caſt, like the chaff, into the fire, whilſt God could raiſe a poſterity to the father of the faithful out of the very ſtones they were trampling upon. On this year was born to Herod Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, a ſon named alſo Agrippa, who was the laſt king of the Jews, and before whom St. Paul was allowed to plead his cauſe; and on the next year was his ſiſter Berenice born, who was alſo preſent at the trial [u], ſhe being ſixteen, and her brother ſeventeen years of age, when their father died [x].

JOHN the Baptiſt having given ſuch an ample teſtimony to the Saviour of the world, the two firſt that became his followers were two of his own diſciples, viz. Andrew the ſon of Jonah and Simon his brother, to whom he gave the ſurname of Cephas, or Stone. On the next day, as he was returning to Nazareth, he called Philip to follow him; and this went and gave notice of him to an honeſt Iſraelite, named Nathanael, who is generally believed to be the ſame, who is by the other evangeliſts called Bartholomew, aſſuring him that they had found the promiſed Meſſiah, namely Jeſus of Nazareth. Nathanael's mean opinion of that city, and of the whole Galilean region, could ſcarcely permit him, at the firſt news, to believe that any thing ſo good as a prophet, much leſs the Meſſiah, could come from ſuch a mean quarter. He was, however, ſoon undeceived, when Jeſus told him ſome of the private diſcourſe which Philip and he had had together under a fig-tree, far enough out his of hearing. Theſe two therefore, and ſome others, followed him into Galilee, where they were all invited to a poor couple's wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, Jeſus's mother, who was one of the gueſts, acquainted him with it (H), who a-

[u] Acts xxv. 13, & ſeq. [x] Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. xix. c. ult. Uſſer ſub. A. M. 4030, & ſeq. See alſo a little higher, p. 323. in fin. not.

(H) The anſwer which ours and moſt other verſions make him, who was to be the pattern of all perfection, give to his mother on this occaſion, has given juſt offence to all ſerious readers; notwithſtanding the ſpecious gloſſes which commentators have put upon it, ſuch, as if he expreſſed himſelf to her in thoſe contemptuous

His miracle at Cana.

roſe ſoon after, and, of his wonted compaſſion, miraculouſly ſupplied them with a freſh and ſufficient quantity. This wonderful change of ſuch a quantity of water into excellent wine filled the company with admiration, and further confirmed his new diſciples, that he really was what they thought him, the true Meſſiah. From Cana he went to Capernaum, a ſmall city on the weſt ſhore of the lake Genezareth, where we ſhall often find him in the ſequel; and where he made but a ſhort ſtay at this time, by reaſon of the approaching feaſt of the paſſover, to which he repaired with his diſciples, it being the firſt feſtival of that kind he celebrated ſince his entrance into his miniſtry[y].

Upon his coming to the temple, he found it crouded with people that ſold cattle, poultry, and other ſuch things as were uſed in the Jewiſh offerings, and had been ſet up there for the convenience of thoſe that came from far to the feaſts, and bought them on the ſpot, rather than bring them from their homes. This had likewiſe introduced a number of money-changers for the uſe of thoſe who brought foreign coin inſtead of victims, and whoſe tables and trade were equally a profanation of that ſacred place. It is likely, that the prieſts, who might and ought to have made them keep their ſtalls and compters at a greater diſtance, made a perquiſite of their indulgence, and conſequently aggravated the abuſe. Againſt them therefore Chriſt choſe to exert the firſt eſſays of his authority and zeal, by turning them all out of that ſacred building, after a ſevere reproof for their mercantile profanation

Drives the traders from the temple.

[y] John ii. 13, & ſeq.

tuous terms, to prevent, if poſſible, that extraordinary worſhip, which he foreſaw his followers would in time pay to her, and the like.

Whereas a learned critic of our own (23) has lately proved beyond all contradiction, that the words, if rightly rendered, are full of the deepeſt filial reſpect; for the word γυνη, woman, is ſo far from being a term of contempt, as it ſounds in our language, that he has proved it from the beſt authors to have been given even to queens. We may ſay the ſame thing of the word אישה, iſhah, in the Hebrew, which is uſed in the ſame reſpectful ſenſe by the Jews.

As for the phraſe which is there rendered, *What have I to do with thee?* it is well known to be a Hebrew, idiom, which implies no more than, *What is it to you or me* (24)?

(23) Blackw. ſacred claſſ. vindic.

(24) See a parallel in Sam xix. 22. 1 Kings xvii. 18, & alib.

profanation of it. But whilſt his diſciples admired his zeal for the houſe of God, ſo worthy of the ſon of David, the diſſatisfied Jews were queſtioning and demanding the ſigns of his authority; and received this remarkable anſwer from him, they ſhould *deſtroy this temple*, meaning that of his body, *and he would raiſe it up in three days.* It was upon this occaſion that they, miſtaking his meaning, reminded him of the forty and ſix years it had been in building; of which we took notice a little higher. His diſciples, however, underſtood him much better after he was riſen from the dead [z]. In the mean time, he did not omit giving them many other pregnant proofs of his divine miſſion, in the many miracles which he did before them, and which ſtill encreaſed the number of his diſciples; but he, who knew their hearts, eaſily judged, that many of them would ſoon turn their backs upon him, eſpecially when the ſanhedrin and the Phariſaic ſect came to denounce their ſentence of excommunication againſt them(I). However

[z] Ibid. ver. 18, & ſeq.

(I) It is doubtleſs a matter of great wonder, how the Jews could ſee ſuch a vaſt number and variety of miracles wrought by Chriſt on the ſick, halt, maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, paralytic, lunatic, demoniac, and other objects of pity, and yet believe him a falſe prophet, a deceiver, or any thing rather than a perſon ſent from God: how they could ſee him give ſight to thoſe that were born blind, life to one that had lain four days corrupting in the grave, feed ſo many thouſands with a few loaves and fiſhes, ſtill the winds and ſeas by his ſingle word; in a word to diſplay, as it were, his irreſiſtible power over the univerſal creation; and yet either condemn him as a cheat, or be ever aſking for ſome further and more convincing ſigns of his being the Meſſiah (25).

We have already accounted in part for this ſtrange proceeding in the detail we gave of their ſeveral ſects, whoſe tenets, being for the moſt part diametrically oppoſite to the doctrine and ſpirit of the goſpel, proved ſo ſtrong an obſtacle againſt it, as few were able to ſurmount. To this we may add, that Chriſt, chuſing the ſabbath day for working the major part of thoſe miracles, gave them ſtill a greater offence; their fooliſh ſuperſtitious prejudices making them look upon even ſuch works of mercy to be a violation of that holy day, notwithſtanding all he could urge to the contrary; a flagrant inſtance of which we have in the cure of the man born blind, in the chapter laſt quoted out of St. John.

But what moſt helped to confirm them in this abſurd judgment of him was, a paſſage in Deuteronomy (26), which, rightly underſtood

(25) Vid. int. al. John vi. 1. ad 30. ix. paſſ. (26) Ch. xiii. 1, & ſeq.

However, though that ſect was the moſt inveterate againſt him, we ſhall find ſome of a more upright temper, who, making

derſtood, is only a prudent caution againſt their being drawn aſide by falſe prophets, and pretended wonder-workers; but which they did, and ſtill do, underſtand to this day, ſo literally and contrary to the plain deſign of the law-giver, as to infer a poſſibility of a man's working many and great miracles, either by the help of the devil, by magic, or other means, and without any other view, but that of withdrawing people from the ſervice of God.

Now, when men are once prepoſſeſſed with ſuch an abſurd notion, what miracles can any perſon work that may not be reduced under that claſs, if they have any diſlike either to his perſon or doctrine, or can find any plauſible objection againſt his manner of working them? All which concurred here againſt thoſe of our Saviour, and were upon thoſe accounts rejected by the generality of the Jews, even to this day, as we hinted above. Accordingly, they are ſo far from denying him to have done great and ſignal miracles, that they have invented the moſt ſtupid ſtories to prove, that he did them either by magic, which they ſay he learned in Egypt, or by going privately into the temple, and ſtealing thence the ineffable name of God, by virtue of which he could perform all thoſe great wonders; and many more ſuch ſhameful and childiſh evaſions, the bare mentioning of which is a ſufficient confutation of them. Thoſe that deſire to know more of this Jewiſh traſh, may conſult, among others, the book intitled Sepher Tholedoth Jeſu, or the hiſtory or book of the generations of Jeſus, and ſome others which the reader may find in the margin (27).

But to give our Engliſh readers a ſhort ſpecimen of their opinion concerning him out of thoſe books, ſome affirm him to have been the ſon of one Panther, begotten on a milliner of his debauching, and that the ſoul of Eſau, whoſe memory they have in great abhorrence, paſſed into him, which is, according to their doctrine of the ſoul's tranſmigration, mentioned at the cloſe of the laſt ſection. That he ſtole into the temple, and took from thence the name of God; and having made an inciſion into his thigh, ſtuck it into it, and let the fleſh and ſkin grow over it. That he became by it a very great conjurer and wonder-worker. That Judas was another of the ſame ſtamp and his competitor. That they had a great number of conteſts, which we ſhall forbear inſerting on account of their ridiculouſneſs as well as impiety; and that Judas was ſtill conqueror in all, and gave him at laſt a total defeat.

One would be apt to think theſe to be idle tales, invented only to amuſe their children, and breed them up in a contempt of chriſtianity; and ſome of them have even affirmed it, to wipe off

(27) Rab. Gedaliah Shalſheleth Haccabalah Gantz. Chronol. Nitzachon, Abr. Ben Dior, Tzemach David, & al multi

making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be instructed by him, and became his disciples, though privately, and for fear of their unbelieving brethren [a].

AMONG these was one Nicodemus, a venerable ruler, who rightly concluding that such stupendous works could not be Nicodemus comes to be instructed by him.

[a] Ibid. vers. 23. ad. fin.

off the just imputation they would otherwise incur; and yet they are chiefly founded on some as ridiculous stories fetched out of their Talmud, where mention is made of Christ's miracles, and of the means by which he attained to the power of performing them; and pass as current amongst them, as the book out of whichthey are taken.

But what can they say for one of their greatest rabbies (28), who affirms one Jesua, the son of Berachia, or Perachia, to have been tutor to Jesus Christ, and to have taken him into Egypt, and to have turned him off for his debaucheries; though in order to these two having been cotemporaries, the latter must have been born under Alexander Jannæus, and have died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the reign of Aristobulus. This anachronism another learned rabbi (29) has endeavoured to rectify by substituting a second Jesua, who lived in the time of Hillel and Shammai, and was tutor to Jesus Christ. But this, like their history of the second temple, which makes Pompey to have taken him prisoner, doth but lessen, but not clear, the anachronism (30); and only exposes their ignorance, not to call it worse, in attempting to invalidate his miracles by such poor shifts.

But, lastly, if we consider the vast superstition which then reigned among the Jews, how addicted they were to astrology; what strange power they attributed to the heavenly bodies, or rather to the angels which presided in each of them; what prodigies they thought might be done by the right evocation of them; what supernatural efficacy they ascribed to the right pronunciation of the name of God; how extensive they supposed the power of magic to be; and that it was not only lawful, but necessary, to learn it in one's own defence; and lastly, that those were not the notions of a small number, but of the whole nation, except perhaps some few more judicious and unprejudiced; such as was Nicodemus, and some others, whom we shall mention in the sequel, and who made a more impartial judgment of Christ's miracles; we need not wonder, that the rest, who neither liked his person, character, nor doctrine, should attribute those stupendous works to any other cause, than to the power and finger of God.

(28) Abr. B. Dior. ubi supra. (29) Gedaliah, ubi supra.
(30) Vid. Basnag. hist. Jud. lib. iii c. 5. sect. 5,

be wrought without the divine assistance, and in confirmation of some new signal doctrine, such as the thinking part of the Jews expected the Messiah to bring with him; came privately one night to have a conference with him about it. Jesus, who took a singular delight to enourage such sincere enquirers [b], and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration, without which, he assured him it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He expressed himself moreover in such terms, as he might have justly expected to be well understood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, such as the Jews affirmed to be that of their new proselytes, concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume †. But Nicodemus, better versed perhaps in the reigning disputes of his and the other sects, than with such fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been quite swallowed up by the present polemic contagion, seemed wholly at a loss how to understand it. Our Saviour therefore having given him a further explication of that heavenly doctrine, requested of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the present, assuring him, that that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added, that the miracles which he had seen him work should not be the only proof he would give men of his divine mission, since they should see him shortly lay down his life in confirmation of it; and, in so doing, fulfil all the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, and the decrees of the divine love and providence, by dying a piacle for the redemption of mankind [c]. And therefore he justly concluded, that if men receive not his divine testimony, but will shut their eyes to that marvellous saving light which he has brought into the world, it is because their evil deeds, which are manifested and reproved by it, make them prefer their own darkness; and this it is which aggravates their guilt, and will hereafter their sad punishment [d] (K).

Nicodemus,

[b] Vid. int. al. Mark x. 21. † vol. iii. p. 323. [c] John iii. vers. 11, & seq. [d] Ibid. vers. 19, & seq.

(K) We have contented ourselves to give the bare substance of this divine colloquy, which contains indeed the quintessence of christianity, viz. the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and the reformation of mankind by the help of this new light which he brought down to them. This light upon due attention, not only to this discourse to the Jewish ruler, but

on

Nicodemus, who felt the force of all theſe truths, became his diſciple from that very night, but without daring to make open profeſſion of it, for fear of the Jews. However, when their ſanhedrin was once plotting to put him to death, he

on the tenor of the whole goſpel, will appear to conſiſt in theſe three particulars.

1ſt, That he came to teach us a more perfect rule of life, than human reaſon could, by its own unaſſiſted ſtrength, ever diſcover. For whatever ſome ſanguine men may imagine concerning the ſufficiency of that faculty, an impartial review of the world, and of the moſt polite parts of it, before the ſacred writings of Moſes and the prophets were publiſhed in other more known languages, will eaſily confute that fond conceit.

2dly, He came to communicate a ſuperior degree of ſtrength to our corrupt nature, without which the leſſons of that divine maſter would have been loſt upon the far greater part of mankind; whilſt, like perſons infected with cuticular diſeaſes, they would ſtill have preferred the pleaſure of ſcratching to the benefit of a cure; and therefore to enforce the obſervation of this new rule of life, without which man could be happy, neither here nor hereafter, and to make him accept of and ſeek for that divine aſſiſtance, which alone could enable him to live up to it.

He was, 3dly, to enforce it by the worthieſt and moſt powerful motives, the rewards and puniſhments of another life; both which he has ſet before us in the ſtrongeſt light, that thoſe who could not be allured to the virtues of his goſpel, by the beauteous proſpect of the one, might at leaſt be frighted into it, by the dreadful apprehenſion of the other. That is, in other words; that ſince our too great attachment to the things of this world was the unhappy ſource of all our diſaſters, this double proſpect of a future one might effectually wean us from them, by the aſſurance he has given us of the fatal conſequences of an inordinate purſuit after them, and of the ample rewards which a generous neglect of them will intitle us to at the end of our race. All which is ſtill more ſtrongly enforced upon us from a due conſideration, that he who beſt knew the value of that immortal life, which he came to reveal, thought not his own life too dear a price to purchaſe it for us.

On this manifeſtation of the love of God to us, is founded our love to him as our ſovereign bliſs and benefactor, and of our neighbour, as partakers with us of the ſame divine favour. Nor is the fear of his puniſhments low and baſe, as it may ſeem at firſt, or leſs conducive to it. For how can a man be rightly frighted out of the paths of ſin and puniſhment into thoſe of virtue and reward, without feeling a ſacred love and gratitude towards his gracious deliverer, inſenſibly kindled in his heart, and riſing by degrees

he had the courage to oppoſe it [e]; and when they had really crucified him, he and Joſeph of Arimathea, another Jewiſh ruler

[e] Ibid. ch. vii. ver. 50.

degrees into moſt pungent remorſe for his paſt follies, and into the moſt fervent deſires of pleaſing him for the future?

Now the foundation of all this muſt be laid on ſuch a ſtedfaſt faith as Chriſt ſpeaks of to Nicodemus (31), grounded on thoſe irrefragable credentials which he brought with him, ſuch as the many and plain prophecies concerning him, his innumerable miracles, his reſurrection, effuſion of his holy ſpirit, and ſeveral other concomitant evidences which will further appear in the ſequel. This heavenly teſtimony, he adds therefore, will be rejected by many, becauſe their deeds are evil; for if his doctrine is confeſſedly ſo divine, and ſo excellently calculated for promoting our happineſs here and hereafter, that men of unbiaſſed reaſon might embrace it without thoſe heavenly credentials, there muſt ſure be ſome evil root in the hearts of thoſe that can oppoſe it, after they have ſeen it confirmed by ſo many miracles, prophecies, &c. and illuſtrated by his godlike example.

'Tis therefore to convince us of this, that he aſſures us in another place (32), that if any man will, or is ſincerely diſpoſed to, do his (God's) will, he ſhall ſoon no whether or not his doctrine be of God; if he has a real deſire to be virtuous and holy here, in order to be happy hereafter, he ſhall receive a more feeling teſtimony of the divinity of my doctrine, than all thoſe outward ones of miracles, &c. for theſe, through the depravity of man's nature, may in too many of them produce but a kind of hiſtorical faith, which, deſcending no lower than the head, ſeldom brings forth any other fruit than ſpeculative ſyſtems. They were deſigned to convince the underſtanding, and ſilence the gainſayers; but the change of the heart and the conqueſt of mens inordinate paſſions, not being to be attained but by the aſſiſtance of the divine grace, which is now freely and more plentifully going to be offered to every believer, thoſe only will receive and feel the efficacy of it, who ſeek and pray for it from a ſincere deſire to comply with the terms of the goſpel, and from a due ſenſe of their wanting that ſuperior aſſiſtance to enable them to it. When theſe therefore come to feel the wonderful changes which this divine grace ſhall work in them; that it inſpires them with new affections, new thoughts and deſires; that it rectifies their corrupt nature, ſubdues their irregular appetites, enables them to live quite other lives, and to foregoe all things, even life itſelf, rather than loſe the favour of God, and the aſſurance of heaven; it will prove an inexhauſtible ſource of evidence of the truth and divinity of my

(31) John iii. 18, 19. (32) Ibid. vii 17.

ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial [f].

JESUS left Jeruſalem ſoon after to go into the other parts of Judæa, where he ſet his diſciples on baptizing thoſe who received his doctrine. This brought on a diſpute between them and thoſe of the baptiſt, who was not yet caſt into priſon, but was ſtill baptizing a little higher on the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Salim and Ænon, more towards Galilee (L). The difference between them, being about Jeſus's making a greater number of proſelytes than John, was referred

Year of the flood 3030. Of Chriſt 31.

[f] Ibid. xix. 39.

my doctrine, and of joy and comfort to them; becauſe that bleſſed Spirit, which worketh all theſe wonders in them, will bear witneſs with their ſpirit, that they are now the ſons of God (33); whilſt the careleſs and ſelf-ſufficient will ever fall ſhort of it, for want of this ſincere deſire after holineſs, or of a ſenſe of their ſtanding in need of any other aſſiſtance to attain it.

Thus much we thought neceſſary to premiſe, in order to the better underſtanding of the deſign and œconomy of the goſpel; for ſince the bare belief of it, or a faith in Chriſt, its divine author, without practice of his precepts, will never intitle a man to the rewards of it; and this practice, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, cannot be attained without the divine aſſiſtance; and this laſt is only to be obtained by prayer grounded upon a right belief in the truth and faithfulneſs of our heavenly redeemer and law-giver; but all three muſt co-operate towards that main end; the miracles and other outward teſtimonies of the chriſtian diſpenſation were highly neceſſary to attract a degenerate world to a religion ſo oppoſite to theirs, and ſo contrary to their depraved appetites; but it is this wonderful change, which the divine grace, it communicates, works in us, that gives the finiſhing ſtroke and ſtrongeſt light to its other evidence; and the man, once thus happily transformed into a new, a heavenly creature, becomes more ſure of the truth and certainty of the goſpel, than if he had ſeen its divine author giving ſight to the man born blind or raiſing Lazarus from the dead; becauſe he juſtly thinks them alike the effects of an almighty and miraculous power.

(L) Ænon was about eight miles ſouth of Scythopolis (34); Salim in the neighbourhood of it was the ſame with the Salem of the Old Teſtament, where Melchiſedech was king, and where ſome of the ruins of his palace were ſtill to be ſeen in St. Jerom's time (35). The reader may ſee what we have ſaid of it heretofore †.

(33) Rom. viii. 16. (34) Vid. Euſeb. ſub. voc. (35) Loc Hebr. † Vol. ii. 451. & (F).

ed to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding thereto this noble teſtimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, and teſtified the truths he had ſeen and heard; ſo that thoſe who received his teſtimony, did ſet to their ſeal, that God is true, whereas thoſe who reject it make him a lyar, and are therefore obnoxious to his divine diſpleaſure, whilſt they continue in their unbelief [g] (M). Soon after this, John, whoſe extreme ſanctity had raiſed him to the eſteem, not only of all the Jews, but even of Herod Antipas, the then tetrach of Galilee, this laſt often took pleaſure in hearing and adviſing with him [h] for a time; till having ventured to take Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, into his bed, he received ſo many ſevere reproofs from that holy perſon for his inceſt, that he at laſt cauſed him to be thrown into a priſon, where he ſoon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the helliſh intrigues of that inceſtuous lady, and to all outward appearance much againſt his own will [i]. The occaſion of this unlawful marriage was as follows:

John the baptiſt beheaded by Herod.

The occaſion of it.

HEROD, whoſe firſt wife was the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia, was ſince fallen in love with that of his brother Philip, whom he had ſeen at his caſtle, where he had ſtopped ſome days in his journey to Rome. Herodias was the daughter of Ariſtobulus and grand-daughter of Herod the great, as has been hinted in a former note. Herod made no difficulty to diſcover his paſſion and to propoſe marrying her, to which ſhe conſented, upon condition that he divorced his firſt wife. This laſt, having received ſome information of her huſband's deſign, wiſely concealed her reſentment; and having obtained his permiſſion to retire for ſome time to the caſtle of Macheron, which was then in her father's hands, ſhe, inſtead of going thither, made all the haſte ſhe could to the

[g] John. iii. 22. ad fin. Vid. & Matth. xiv, 1. & ſeq.

[h] Mark. vii. 20.

[i] Ibid.

(M) Since the bare light of reaſon aſſures us, that the nature of God is incomprehenſible, it follows, that he cannot make any revelation of himſelf to us, but what muſt include myſterious truths vaſtly above our reach; and that it muſt conſequently be a ſtrange perverſeneſs in man to reject them upon that account, when they come atteſted to us with the ſeal of heaven, for that is in fact to give the lye to eternal truth. Whereas the belief of them, being only an open acknowledgment that God is true, cannot but be the moſt reaſonable, as well as acceptable ſacrifice we can make to him of that faculty.

the Arabian court, where being at length arrived, ſhe acquainted the king with the whole intrigue. This cauſed a rupture between Herod and Aretas, which ended in a war, which laſted till the death of Tiberius, four years after their falling out. Herod, thus rid of his wife without a divorce, made no ſcruple to marry his ſiſter-in-law, though ſhe had had children by his brother Philip, which was contrary to the Moſaic law. John the Baptiſt was not the only perſon who condemned that marriage as inceſtuous; the whole nation ventured to cry out againſt it; but, as his character gave him a freer acceſs to the court, he had the courage to reprove both the king and his paramour in the ſevereſt terms. Herodias, being at length ſtung to the quick with his frequent reproaches of inceſt, and infidelity to Philip, reſolved to ruin him, and eaſily perſuaded the eaſy king to caſt him into priſon. His pretence for it, according to Joſephus *, was his drawing ſuch multitudes after him to be baptized; but the true reaſon was that given by the evangeliſts above-quoted, namely his and Herodias's reſentment.

John confined in the caſtle of Macheron.

THE place where he confined him is not mentioned by the latter, but the former tells us it was the caſtle of Macheron; though he ſhould have told us how it came ſo ſoon again into his poſſeſſion, after he had juſt hinted before that it belonged to the Arabian king. But it is not unlikely, that he regained it from him after their rupture. All this while Jeſus continued preaching in Galilee, and working ſo many ſingular miracles, that the fame of it came to the Baptiſt in his confinement. John therefore, ſuppoſing his own death to be near at hand, as he had formerly foretold it, ſent two of his followers to enquire of him whether he was the expected Meſſiah, not ſo much for his own ſatisfaction, as for that of his diſciples. They came opportunely to him, whilſt he was healing of a number of ſick, halt, maimed, and blind, ſo that he only bid them return, and acquaint their maſter with what they had ſeen, leaving it to him to explain the matter to them. All this while Herodias had not been able to prevail on the king to attempt the life of his priſoner. His fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary prophet, had hitherto outweighed his baſe complaiſance to her. But ſhe ſoon after compaſſed that by her helliſh policy, which her perſuaſions had not been able to do. Herod's birth-day being celebrated with ſuitable ſolemnity, before a number of his head officers, and other perſons of diſtinction; ſhe took

Herodias's helliſh policy.

* Antiq. l. xviii. c 7.

the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king moſt probably heated with wine, to ſend her daughter Salome to dance before him; and ſhe performed her part ſo well, that he promiſed with an oath to gratify her in whatever ſhe ſhould aſk of him, even to the half of his kingdom. This was what Herodias was waiting for, and for which ſhe had given her inſtructions to her daughter; ſo that the young princeſs, taking the king at his word, deſired the head of the Baptiſt to be given her inſtantly in a charger. Herod, ſurpriſed at her demand, expreſſed no ſmall concern at it, whether out of reſpect to that holy perſon, or the fear of a tumult. But, at length, the conſideration of his oath and of his gueſts having turned the ſcale, he ordered an executioner to go and perform her bloody requeſt; which being done accordingly, his diſciples, upon hearing it, came to take away the reſt of his body, and gave it an honourable burial. Thus fell that great and good man, and more than a prophet, according to his own prediction *; of whom Joſephus, in the place above quoted, gives us the following character: That his whole crime was his exhorting the Jews to the love and practice of virtue; and, firſt of all, to piety, juſtice, and regeneration, or newneſs of life; not by the bare abſtinence of this or that particular ſin, but by an habitual purity of mind and body. Now, continues he, ſo great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appears by the multitude of his diſciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, (for he could do what he would with them) that Herod, not knowing how far the reputation of a man of his ſpirit might influence the people towards a revolt, reſolved at length to take him off, before it was too late, &c. He adds, that Herod was very unſucceſsful in his war with the Arabian king, all which the Jews looked upon as a juſt judgment of God upon him for that impious murder. An antient father tells us † further, that when Herodias received the Baptiſt's head from her daughter, ſhe pierced his tongue with a bodkin, and ſhewed it ſome other indignities, ſuch as one may eaſily ſuppoſe from a perſon of her looſe character.

Salome dances before Herod.

Her bloody requeſt.

Joſephus's character of the baptiſt.

Jeſus goes from Judæa into Galilee.

We return to Jeſus Chriſt, who, upon the news of John's impriſonment on account of the great number of diſciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, leſt Pilate ſhould take ſome umbrage at him upon the ſame account. For there came, as we obſerved a little higher, rather a greater reſort of people to be baptized by his diſciples; for himſelf, the evangeliſt

* John. iii. 30. † Cont. Rufin.

evangeliſt aſſures, baptized none. This made him therefore leave Judæa, after a ſtay of about eight months [k], and depart for Galilee; when paſſing through Samaria, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of Sichem, or, as the Jews by way of reproach called it, Sichar [l], which ſignifies drunk, according to the phraſe of the prophet, who calls the rebellious Jews the Shicore Ephraim, the drunkards of Ephraim [m] (N). After a few days ſtay at that place, he went on into Galilee, where he was well received by the Galileans, who had ſeen his late miracles at Jeruſalem at the late paſſover, and preached in their ſynagogues. Whilſt he was at Cana, the place where he had turned water into wine, a nobleman came about a day's journey to him, beſeeching him that he would come down and heal a ſon of his, who was at the point of death, and expreſſed himſelf in ſuch preſſing terms, as ſufficiently teſtified the ſincerity of his faith. Jeſus therefore, unto whom it was equally eaſy to heal at a diſtance, or at a greater nearneſs, diſmiſſed him with theſe words: *Go thy way: thy Son liveth.* He obeyed, and, upon his enquiring of his ſervants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promiſe was come out of Jeſus's mouth; ſo he and his whole family believed on him [n]. He went from thence into his old city of Nazareth, and being entered one ſabbath-day into their ſynagogue, where the leſſon out of Iſaiah [o] was given him to read, in which there is a lively deſcription of the Meſſiah's preaching the goſpel, and of his confirming it with many godlike miracles of mercy; he expounded it of himſelf, with ſuch powerful and majeſtic grace, as raiſed the admiration of the whole audience. But ſome of them being offended at his exquiſite wiſdom, whom they knew to have had ſo mean an education among them, he reminded them of ſeveral other cities in Judæa, and of many perſons in Iſrael, who had ren-

The nobleman's ſon cured.

Preacheth at Nazareth.

[k] Vid. Uſſer. ann. ſub A. M. 4035. [l] John iv. paſſ. See alſo Vol. ii. p. 453, and vol. x. p. 67. [m] Iſaiah xxvii. 1. [n] Ibid. ver. 56. ad fin. [o] Iſaiah lxi. 1. Vid. Luke iv. 16. & ſeq.

(N) Shechem or Sychar ſtood about forty miles from Jeruſalem, fifty-two from Jericho, and ten from Shiloh (36), near unto Jacob's well.

(36) Vid. Euſeb. & Hieron. loc. Hebr. & Reland. Palæſt in Shichem.

dered themselves unworthy of the divine favours by the like unseasonable partiality. This reproof was so highly resented by the Nazarites, that they rushed upon him with one consent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, with a design to have cast him headlong down; but he, slipping through the crowd, escaped their malice, and went to dwell at Capernaum, a city situate on the coasts of Zebulun and Nepthalim; and preached among them, according to another oracle out of the same prophet [p], importing, that those regions of Galilee should in time be called, from their native darkness, unto the marvellous light of the gospel. Being on another day preaching in one of their synagogues, there stood a demoniac before him (O), in whom the

A demoniac cured.

[p] Isaiah ix. 1. & seq. Matth. iv. 14. & seq.

(O) We have already taken notice of the opinion of the Jews concerning these demons who possessed mankind, some, with Josephus, believing them to be the souls of the wicked, and others, that they were a kind of imperfect creatures, whom God was forced to leave unfinished on the sixth day, because the evening of the sabbath came upon him before he had given them the finishing stroke (37). Upon either of these accounts, they believe them to find some pleasure and refreshment in possessing and annoying the bodies of the living. Of this kind they reckon also the satyrs, incubusses, fauns, familiar spirits †, &c. The Christians, on the other hand, believe them, with greater countenance from holy writ, to be fallen angels, who have born a constant enmity to mankind ever since the creation of Adam.

But it is here objected against either hypothesis, that if those malicious spirits had such an extensive power, as these possessions seem to attribute to them, there would be no end of their mischiefs, till they had made an end of mankind. Whereas, whatever we may read of them in former days of ignorance and superstition, we see nothing like it now even pretended among the more civilized nations, and only hear some imperfect accounts among the more remote and less cultivated ones, which yet may be either mere cheats, or at best mere delusions; and this has made a great number of our moderate sceptics believe them all to have been of this last kind (38), as being less derogatory to the honour of God, than the supposition of his giving so great a power to evil spirits.

But

(37) Vid. Bereshith. rabba, cap. 1. & lib. Zeror, Hammor sive fasciculum myrrhæ. † See Vol. I. p. 246. (note) (38) Vid. le Clerc com. in loc. Becker Monde enchant. Bayle, & al

the unclean ſpirit cried with a loud voice; and, acknowledging him to be the holy one of God, expoſtulated with him, not to deſtroy him. Him Jeſus having put to ſilence by his powerful word, caſt him out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who ſpread his fame throughout all that region; inſomuch, that before he had taken a little refreſhment at Peter's houſe, and healed his mother of a fever, under which ſhe had languiſhed ſome conſiderable time, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diſeaſes, and ſet them before him; and Jeſus, ac-

 cording

But theſe learned critics ſeem not to obſerve, that all theſe plauſible pretences rather confute than countenance their notion; for who can believe, that Chriſt, who was ſo jealous of his Father's honour, would not only have overlooked, but both by his words and actions even countenanced and confirmed a national error ſo oppoſite to it, if he had not known, that God, for ſome ends beſt known to his infinite wiſdom, had ſuffered thoſe evil ſpirits, to afflict and puniſh mankind? If he had known, that all theſe pretended poſſeſſions were the mere effects of melancholy, hypochondria, lunacy, and ſuch-like diſorders, incident to our nature, would he not have equally diſplayed his miraculous power in curing of them under this notion? and would not his pretended interrogations of thoſe pretended devils, and their petitioning to him; his (39) diſtinguiſhing between their ſeveral kinds, and the different means of expelling them (40), have been acting a farce unworthy his divine character? how much more his promiſing to his diſciples the ſame power of caſting them out (41)?

That theſe devils are every-where repreſented in ſcripture as enemies to mankind, is beyond all diſpute; and that they are not as yet confined to the place of their puniſhment, appears not only from their frequent expoſtulations with Chriſt, *Art thou come to torment us before the time?* but much more from that dreadful and definitive ſentence to be pronounced againſt the wicked, *Go, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil*, &c. which, if only prepared for them, implies, that they are not yet ſent into it. If therefore we ſtick cloſe to the plain and obvious meaning of the inſpired writers, we muſt ſuppoſe thoſe poſſeſſions to have been ſomething very different from ſuch pretended diſorders of the body or mind; and where lies the unreaſonableneſs of the ſuppoſition of a vaſt variety of ſpiritual beings, ſome of a good and benevolent, others of a bad and maleficent, nature, but all under the government of the ſupreme being?

(39) Matth. viii. 28. Mark v. 9, & ſeq. & alib. (40) Matth. xvii. 20. & ſeq. (41) Vid. int. al. Matth. x 1. Mark xvi. 17. Luke x. 17.

cording to his wonted compaſſion, laid his hands on every one of them, and ſent them all home healed [q].

Calls Simon Peter.

BEING come to the lake of Genezareth, or ſea of Tiberias, the crouds followed him ſo thick, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to Simon Peter, whom from a fiſherman he had called to be one of his apoſtles, and bid him launch out a little way, and taught the people from thence. As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, he bid Peter caſt his net for a draught; and was anſwered, that though they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afreſh. They did ſo, and caught ſuch a large draught, as was like to have ſunk the boat. Peter, ſurpriſed at it, fell at his feet, and beſought him to depart from ſuch a ſinner as he was; but Jeſus taking him up, bid him be of good courage, for he would from thenceforth make him a fiſher of men [r]. During his abode in Galilee, he continued ſtill confirming his doctrine with ſuch numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of Syria, Phænice, &c. inſomuch, that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities by him. During his abode at Capernaum (P), a paralytic, who had heard of his fame, got himſelf tranſported thither, in his couch born on men's ſhoulders, to be preſented to him; but the houſe, in which he was, being ſo thronged within and without, that they could get no acceſs to him, they got him up to the top of the houſe, and having untiled part of it, let him down by ropes, and ſo ſet him before him. Jeſus beheld their faith with pleaſure, and addreſſing himſelf to the paralytic, bid him be of good chear, for his ſins were forgiven; which, according to the Jewiſh notion, that ſuch infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents ſins [s], was

[q] Luke iv. 31. ad fin. [r] Luke v. 4, & ſeq. Mark. xvi. 20. & ſeq. & alib. [s] De hoc vid. John ix. 2.

(P) This city was ſituate on an eminence by the lake of Genezareth, though the exact place be not known. Our Saviour exchanged it inſtead of that of Nazareth, where the ſtubbornneſs and incredulity of the Nazarites had been an obſtruction to his doctrine and miracles. He made it his chief abode during the three laſt years of his preaching, and wrought a great number of miracles there; but as they made him no anſwerable returns for thoſe favours, he forewarns them, that though their city was then exalted up to the clouds, it ſhould ſhortly be thrown down to the loweſt abyſs (42); which came accordingly to paſs in the Jewiſh war, ſo that no footſteps remain of it.

(42) Matth. xi. 23.

was no more than telling him that he was healed of his palſy. But the ſcrupulous Jews, not underſtanding it in that ſenſe, accuſed him in their hearts of blaſphemy, in aſſuming a power peculiar to God; but Jeſus, by the immediate cure of the ſick man, ſoon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally impowered to forgive ſins and to cure infirmities [t]. It was his cuſtom, by reaſon of the great reſort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the ſea-ſide; and, upon his often paſſing to and fro, he obſerved a publican ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom, named Levi, or Matthew, and bid him follow him (Q). Matthew did not heſitate one moment, but left his

Cures a paralytic.

Matthew called.

[t] Matth. ix. 1, & ſeq. Luke v. 18 & alib.

(Q) The other evangeliſts give him only the name of Levi, which was his Jewiſh name; for he was a Jew, and the ſon of Alpheus, and native of Galilee. He is therefore thought to have called himſelf by that of Matthew, which is ſuppoſed to have been ſignificant of his profeſſion, to expreſs his grateful ſenſe of his vocation. His chief reſidence and office was at Capernaum, and there it was, that he was called, from the profeſſion of a publican, to the dignity of an apoſtle and evangeliſt.

He has been highly reflected upon by Porphyry and Julian, ſurnamed the apoſtate (43), for thus lightly following a man, whom he had ſo little knowledge of; but as it is ſcarce probable that he ſhould live in the ſame city ſo long, and not have heard of his doctrine and miracles; ſo it is rather a wonder he did not become his diſciple ſooner, conſidering his great readineſs in following him as ſoon as he was called; but it is likely, he thought his profeſſion was as odious to him, as it was to the Phariſees and the reſt of the Jews, and would prove an obſtacle to his reception. But as ſoon as this gracious invitation had convinced him of the contrary, he ſufficiently ſhewed how ready and glad he was to embrace it, by his forſaking all to follow him.

His being here called the ſon of Alpheus has led ſome antients (44) into a notion, that he was the brother of James, who is alſo called the ſon of Alpheus (45); and they have, it ſeems, been followed in it by the generality of modern Greeks, but there ſeems to be no foundation for it. The goſpel gives us no further particulars concerning him, ſaving that he continued a faithful diſciple of his maſter; and therefore all we ſhall venture to add is, that he is univerſally allowed to have been the firſt that penned any ſuccinct hiſtory of the goſpel. He is ſaid to have wrote it at the deſire of

(43) Vid Hieron. in Matth. ix. 33. in Matt. Theodoret. & al.

(44) Chryſoſtom. Homil.

(45) Matth. x. 3, & alib.

office and followed him; and to expreſs the ſenſe he had for this gracious call, he made him a ſumptuous feaſt at his own houſe, to which many of the ſame profeſſion were alſo invited. This gave a freſh occaſion of offence to the ſcrupulous Jews, who made ſome ſevere complaints of it to his diſciples; but Jeſus ſoon ſilenced their clamour, by aſſuring them, that he was come to call, not the righteous, but ſinners to repentance [u]

AFTER ſeveral other miraculous works done during his ſtay in this place, Jeſus departed for Jeruſalem to be preſent at the approaching feſtival of the paſſover, where there uſed to be a great concourſe of Jews, who came before-hand to purify themſelves againſt that feaſt. In this city there was a famous pool or reſervoir, adorned with five porches or piazzas, and called in the Hebrew Beth-eſdah (R), whoſe water, being

[u] Matt. ix. 10, & ſeq.

of the apoſtles and Jewiſh converts of Paleſtine, before his departure from it, to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him (46), about eight or ten years after Chriſt's reſurrection. The laſt-quoted father tells us, it was written in the Chaldaic-Syriac tongue, which was then the common one, and in Hebrew characters. We refer our readers for the further particulars of it to the controverſy lately ſtarted about it. As for St. Matthew, he is moſt commonly believed, by antients and moderns, to have preached the goſpel in Perſia and Parthia, and to have ſuffered martyrdom in Caramania, a province then ſubject to the Parthians.

(R) Probably, as ſome conjecture from the words בית חסדה beth-cheſdah, the houſe of mercy, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the ſick, lame, &c. The vulgate, however, read it beth-zaida, which ſome render the Probatic pool, on a ſuppoſition that the ſheep deſigned for ſacrifice were firſt waſhed in it, which ſheep ſo waſhed, were called Probatæ. Others, who read it בית אשדה beth-eſhdah render it, the houſe of defluxion, from another ſuppoſition, that the waters, in which the entrails of the victims offered in the temple were waſhed, emptied themſelves by a ſubterranean ſewer into this pool or reſervoir, whence ſome have taken it into their heads, that the blood, dung, and other filth of thoſe creatures running along with them, gave that medicinal virtue to the pool. Perſons of ſuch witty conceits are ſeldom ſolicitous about the character of the ſacred hiſtorians, or elſe the evangeliſts, attributing thoſe cures to a miraculous motion of the water, would make them

(46) Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. iii. c. 24. Chryſoſt. in Matth. 1. Iren. l. iii. c. 1. Hieron. de vir illuſtr. & al.

being at ſome particular ſeaſons mirraculouſly ſtirred, had the virtue of curing the firſt perſon that jumped into it of whatever diſeaſe he was troubled. Here Jeſus beheld, among the crouds of ſick folk that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under an incurable palſy thirty-eight years, but for want of ſome charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of the benefit of that place. Jeſus, moved with compaſſion at his miſery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed and go to his home. This cure, being done on the ſabbath-day, gave freſh offence to the Phariſees, who, looking upon him as a ſabbath-breaker, began to think of putting him to death for it. To diſculpate himſelf, and convince them that works of mercy were ſo far from being a violation, that they were the proper buſineſs of the ſabbath, he expreſſed himſelf to them in words to this effect: *As my Father worketh hitherto, ſo do I work:* intimating thereby, that though God had reſted on the ſeventh day from creating, in memory of which the ſabbath had been inſtituted, yet did he not ceaſe on that day from the work of preſervation, which work himſelf was now imitating, in preſerving a number of wretched periſhing objects, whoſe miſery claimed his pity and aſſiſtance. But the Jews, ever watchful for matter of new accuſation againſt him, inſtead of admiring his godlike imitation of that ever-beneficent Being, accuſed him of blaſphemy, for having preſumed to call him his father, making himſelf thereby equal to God. Jeſus tried in vain to remonſtrate to them, by many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated nothing to himſelf, but what his miraculous works did evince his undoubted claim to; and by aſſuring them, that they ſhould ſhortly ſee greater and more ſtupendous ones than thoſe wrought by him, ſuch as had never been done ſince the creation of the world.

Cures a paralytic on the ſabbath.

H's defence of it cenſured by the Jews.

more cautious, how they ſet up a bare conjecture againſt their teſtimony.

The five porches mentioned by St. John, ſeem to argue this pool to have been built in the form of a pentagon. Euſebius and St. Jerom (47), tell us, that they ſhewed ſtill in their time a kind of double pool or reſervoir, the one of which filled itſelf every year with rain water, and the other, which retained ſtill a kind of redneſs, as if from the blood of thoſe victims above mentioned, which the temple ſewer carried into it. The reader may ſee what has been ſaid of its remains in a former volume †.

(47) Loc. Hebr. † Vol. iii. p. 160, & (Q).

world. He tried in vain to convince them from the teſtimony of the prophets and other ſacred writings, from that of John the Baptiſt, but eſpecially of his heavenly father, who had declared him his beloved Son, and had given him moreover ſuch a miraculous power over the whole creation [w]. He was at length obliged to ſilence their falſe accuſation, by reminding them, that even the ſcripture gives the title of gods to mortal men [x]. If then, added he, they be called *gods*, *againſt whom the ſentence of mortality had been pronounced by God* (S) *himſelf*, why ſhould you reckon me guilty of blaſphemy, whom the Father has thus ſanctified and ſent into the world, becauſe I call myſelf the Son of God?

Works other miracles on that day.

JESUS obſerving, however, how ſtrenuous the blind Jews were againſt his doing works of mercy on the ſabbath, reſolved, if poſſible, to convince them of their error, by chuſing that day to diſplay ſome of the moſt ſignal ones, and exploding their cenſures by ſuch cogent arguments as they could not gainſay. Accordingly, after his departure out of Jeruſalem, he went into one of their ſynagogues, where there ſtood a man, St. Jerom ſays he was a maſon, who had a withered hand. He began with aſking the Jewiſh doctors, whether it was lawful on the ſabbath, to do good or evil, to ſave or to deſtroy, intimating, that the omiſſion of the one, when a proper occaſion offered, was near equivalent to the commiſſion of the other. As they had nothing to anſwer to this reaſoning, they ſtood ſilent to let him do as he thought fit; but when he had reſtored the man's hand, by bidding him to ſtretch it forth, the ruler of the ſynagogue, inſtead of being

[w] John v. 19, & ſeq. [x] Conf. Pſ. lxxxii. 6, &c. John x. 34, & ſeq.

(S) This is certainly the meaning of Chriſt's words here, and not as our, and other verſions render it, *Thoſe unto whom the word of God came*. For the place referred to in the pſalms is, *I have ſaid ye are gods, but ye ſhall die like men*. So that, according to the moſt literal ſenſe of our Saviour's words, they ſhould run thus: *If they are called gods, againſt* (not *unto*) *whom the word of God came forth*, meaning this ſentence of death. Thoſe that are acquainted with the Hebrew idiom, to which the evangeliſts were uſed, know, that the context muſt decide the meaning of thoſe particles, which are capable of ſeveral even oppoſite ſignifications, which the ſenſe alone can determine (48).

(48) Vid. Nort. Knatchbul. Le Scene, & al. in loc.

being convinced either by the miracle or argument, in a kind of indignation, fell a cenſuring thoſe objects of pity for offering themſelves to be healed on the ſabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week. This ſtrange behaviour extorted a ſevere rebuke from the meek Jeſus; he aſked him, whether they did not think it lawful to help an ox, an aſs, or a ſheep out of a ditch, or even to lead them to the water or paſture on that day? An undeniable argument, that they thought it lawful to do good to brutes on the ſabbath, and how much more was it to do ſo unto men? He urged alſo upon the like occaſion the circumciſion of children on the ſabbath, the prieſts killing and dreſſing their victims, and other ſuch-like works, which were uſually done on the ſabbath, and yet were far from being reckoned a profanation of it [y].

BUT there had one thing happened to him in the going to that place, in order as is ſuppoſed, to preach at that ſynagogue, which had already highly exaſperated them. One of the evangeliſts obſerves [z], that it was the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt *; when as they were going through ſome corn fields, his hungry diſciples ventured to pluck the ears, and rub them between their hands to eat them. The Phariſaic croud, who beheld this kind of labour with a malicious eye, began to exclaim againſt their maſter for ſuffering it, it being in their opinion a manifeſt violation of the ſabbath. Jeſus was forced to excuſe it by reminding them of the prophet's words, *I will have*, or, more properly, *I delight in, mercy rather than in ſacrifice*; intimating thereby, that neceſſity takes away the rigour of the law, and juſtifying it by the example of David, who, in the like emergency, ventured upon the ſacred ſhew-bread, which was prohibited to all but the prieſts; and not only eat of it himſelf, but diſtributed it among his retinue. Their ſtubbornneſs was proof againſt all that he could urge in their or his own defence, and his ſilencing of them, by ſuch convincing arguments, made them only the more inveterate, till they came at length to a reſolution of putting him to death. Jeſus, having timely notice of their wicked deſign, withdrew himſelf towards the ſea-coaſts, whither he was ſoon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts, and to whom he ſtill extended his

His diſciples cenſured for plucking the corn.

[y] Luke vi. 10, & ſeq. Matth. xii. 9, & ſeq. & al. [z] Luke vi. 1. * De hoc Vid. vol. iii. p. 178. end of note (M). [a] Hoſ. vi. 6.

his wonted compaſſion, both by his teaching them and healing their ſick.

ONE night, having withdrawn himſelf both from them and from his diſciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and ſpent the whole night in prayer; and on the morrow calling them together again, he choſe twelve from among the reſt, to be the more immediate witneſſes, preachers, and recorders of his life and doctrine; and to whom he gave the title of apoſtles, which word ſignifies meſſengers or embaſſadors. The reader may ſee their names in the margin [b] (T). All that

Chuſes the twelve apoſtles.

[b] Luke vi. 14, & ſeq. Matth. x. 2, & ſeq. Mark iii. 16, & ſeq.

(T) Theſe were, 1ſt, Simon, whom he ſurnamed Peter, and whom we have mentioned a little higher; and, 2. Andrew his brother; 3. James, ſurnamed The Greater, an inhabitant of Bethſaida, and John his brother, who were the ſons of Zebedee and Salome, often mentioned in the goſpel. Theſe, as well as Andrew, had lately been the baptiſt's diſciples, but had left him to follow Jeſus, and on the account of their reſolute conſtancy or more likely perhaps from that queſtion they asked him; *Wilt thou that we command fire from heaven, to conſume*, &c. (49) were ſurnamed by him Boanerges, or the ſons of thunder or tempeſt; that word being only a corruption of the Hebrew בְּנֵי-רַעַם bene-raham, or rather רַעַשׁ, rahaſh; 5. Philip mentioned before; and, 6. Bartholomew, ſuppoſed the ſame with Nathanael; 7. Levi, or Matthew, the publican and evangeliſt; and, 8. Thomas, ſurnamed Didymus, which ſignifies a twin; 9. James diſtinguiſhed by the name of The Leſs, and the ſon of Alpheus, or Cleophas, and of Mary, the firſt couſin, if not the ſiſter, of the virgin Mary, for which reaſon he is often called the brother of our Lord; 10. Simon, ſurnamed The Canite, from Cana the place of his birth, and Zelotes, probably becauſe he had belonged to that ſect; 11. Judas, otherwiſe called Jude, and brother to James the Leſs, ſurnamed alſo Lebbeus, and Thaddeus; and Judas the traitor, and ſurnamed Iſcariot.

Concerning the ſurname of this laſt, there have been various conjectures; ſome thinking that he was ſo called from Keriot, a city in the tribe of Judah (50), from which he is ſuppoſed to have come; "iſh" in the Hebrew ſignifying a man. St. Jerom and Euſebius ſpeak of a town in the tribe of Ephraim, called Iſcariot (1); others, who make him of the tribe of Iſſachar, think Iſcariot

(49) Luke ix. 54. (50) Vid. Joſh. xv. 25. Echard. Eccl. Hiſt. cent. 1. c. 4. Calmet. ſub. voc. & al. (1) In Iſaiah xxviii. 1.

that we ſhall ſay at preſent of them is, that he did not give them this preference to all the reſt, either on account of their great ſenſe or learning, for they were ſome of the moſt rude and illiterate; nor for their credit, rank, or high birth; for they were moſtly, if not all, poor fiſhermen, and either natives or inhabitants of Galilee, the moſt obſcure and deſpiſed canton of the Jewiſh kingdom; much leſs for their courage, who proved all rank cowards in the time of danger. They had no reliſh or propenſity to his pure and exalted doctrine; for they dreamt of nothing, but of an earthly kingdom and temporal happineſs. In a word, they were in all reſpects the moſt unqualified for the great taſk to which they were appointed, the converſion of the world. But this was a work, which, as a great prophet had long ago foretold [c], and the apoſtle has ſince obſerved [d], was to confound the counſels of the wiſe, ſwallow up the underſtanding of the prudent, and defeat the power of the mightieſt. We have already ſeen it in a great meaſure fulfilled in the perſon and character of their divine maſter, and in the circumſtances that accompanied his low and humble birth and education, as well as in that vaſt ſeries of wonders, which he wrought ſince his entrance into his public miniſtry. And we ſhall ſee the ſame infinite wiſdom diſplay itſelf ſtill more ſurprizingly throughout the whole ſequel of this chapter. Their character.

In the mean time, the wondering crouds flocked to him from all parts of Judæa and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by that divine and efficacious virtue which flowed from

[c] Iſaiah xxix. 14. [d] 1 Cor. i. 19.

riot only a corruption or abbreviation of Iſſachariotes; others fetch their etymologies of it ſtill further. The reader may ſee them in the vocabularies at the end of the vulgate and other bibles.

Were we to offer our conjecture on ſuch a dark and dry ſubject, we ſhould rather fetch it from the Hebrew אִישׁ-חֹרֶשׁ, Iſchirret, literally the man of the bag, or the bag-bearer. We have formerly obſerved †, that the proper ſignification of the word chirret, is a bag, in ſuch a one Naaman is ſaid to have tied his preſent to Gehaſi (2); and St. John acquaints us, that Judas was a thief, and carried the bag: Why might not this nick-name then have been given him on that account by the diſciples, when they knew how fond he was of his office, and how unfaithful he was in the diſcharge of it?

† Vol. ii. p. 618. (B). (2) 2 Kings v. 23.

from him, insomuch, that the bare touch of his garments wrought the most surprizing cures, on the sick, lunatick, demoniac, and other afflicted persons. He led them therefore one day to a convenient spot of ground (U), where he preached to them that celebrated sermon, commonly known by the name of his sermon upon the mount. We shall not take upon us to repeat it here. The reader may read it in its native, but powerful, simplicity, in the places quoted in the margin [e]. All that we shall observe of it is, that he began it with a most comfortable display of the blessed state of those, whom both Jews and Gentiles accounted most miserable; that, through the whole course of it, he not only exploded the wretched glosses, by which the Jewish doctors had almost obliterated every mortal precept of the Mosaic law, but substituted such new and excellent ones of his own, as exalted them to a pitch, which the world till then had neither heard nor dreamed of. To instance in one or two of his precepts, amongst the many sublime ones there delivered, how highly had that negative precept been admired by all the wisest heathens, of not doing to others what we should not desire to be done to us! and yet how vastly short is it of that new and noble one of his, *whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do ye unto them* [f]. We observed a little higher, that the Pharisees thought themselves free from guilt, provided they abstained from the very act of sin, though they indulged themselves in every thought, desire, and complacency, that came short of it; but here the ax is laid to the very root, and every sin, even in the least degree of it, condemned, even in the heart. Well might then his ravished audience cry out, that he taught with a power and authority, vastly above what they had observed in the scribes and Jewish doctors [g].

His excellent sermon on the mount.

He

[e] Matth. v, vi, & vii. pass. Luke vi. 20, & seq. [f] Matth. vii. 12. [g] Ibid. ver. ult.

(U) St. Matthew (3) tells us, that he went up into a mountain, and St. Luke (4) hints, that he stood in a plain, or champain place. The difference may probably be smaller than we are aware of. Those mountainous parts have their plains as well as vallies; so that he might only stand on a higher ground than his audience, for the conveniency of being better heard, whilst they stood or sat on the plain ground below him. For St. Luke doth not expressly say, that he preached in the plain; but that he came down to it, to heal those that waited for him.

(3) Ch. v. 1. (4) Ch. vi 17.

He concluded this excellent diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that not every one that ſhould call him Lord ſhould enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that performed the divine will, and complied with the precepts he had been delivering to them. For the latter, added he, like the wiſe man that builds his houſe on a rock, builds his hopes on a ſure foundation; whereas the former, like the fool that builds on the ſand, is liable to have them overthrown by every blaſt, by every wind of doctrine, and by every temptation.

On his deſcent from the mount to return to Capernaum, he was addreſſed by ſome of the heads of the city in the behalf of a worthy centurion, from whom their nation had received ſome ſignal favours, and whoſe ſervant was then very ill of a palſy. Jeſus offered to go to his houſe and heal him; but when the Roman officer heard of it, he ſent him an humble meſſage, in which he acknowledged himſelf equally unworthy to receive him under his roof, as he had been to come and offer his requeſt in perſon, but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his ſervant; For, added he, if my authority, ſmall as it is, can yet enforce obedience from thoſe under my command, how much more will your all-powerful one be obeyed, where-ever you are pleaſed to exert it! His ſingular faith and humility did not go long unrewarded; and Jeſus, highly pleaſed with him, healed his ſervant at that inſtant, and greatly commended his faith, as far ſurpaſſing all that he had beheld, even in Iſrael; upon which account he took occaſion to aſſure his audience, that many ſtrangers ſhould be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilſt the children of it ſhould be miſerably caſt out for their diſobedience and unbelief [h]. On the day following he went to Naim (W), and, upon his entering the city, he met a large croud of people accompanying the corpſe of a young man, the only ſon of a poor

Heals the centurion's ſervant.

Raiſes a dead man at Naim.

[h] Matt. viii. 5, & ſeq. Luke vii. 12, & ſeq.

(W) This city was ſituate in the plain near mount Tabor, and within about two miles of that mountain, and was divided from it by the brook Kedron (5). The ſame author places it at a ſmall diſtance from Endor and Scythopolis (6). There was another city of that name in Idumæa, where, Joſephus tells us (7), Simon the ſon of Gobrias made his retreat, after he had ſtrongly fortified it.

(5) Euſeb ſub voce Naim. (6) Ibid. ſub. voce Endor.
(7) Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 7.

poor widow, and, in compaſſion to her touched the bier, and raiſed her ſon to life, whilſt the aſtoniſhed multitude ſpread forth his fame through all the country, and proclaimed him the prophet ſent by God to redeem his people [i], It was probably at this time, that the baptiſt ſent his two diſciples to him, of whom we have lately ſpoken, and upon which Jeſus took occaſion to cenſure the unjuſt judgment, which the unbelieving Jews paſſed upon that more than prophet and himſelf: John, ſaid he, was a very abſtemious and mortified perſon, and you cried him down as a demoniac; me, who came in a more ſociable and affable way to call ſinners to repentance, you repreſent as a drunkard and glutton; but wiſdom will, in ſpite of your ſlanders, be ſtill juſtified by her children [k]. It was upon this account that he ſo ſeverely upbraided thoſe neighbouring cities, which had been witneſſes of his ſtupendous works, aſſuring them, that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of Sodom and Gomorrah, whom ſuch miracles would have wrought into the deepeſt repentance [l]. He concluded his diſcourſe with a ſolemn thankſgiving to his heavenly Father, who, in his infinite wiſdom, had choſen the humble and infant-like to impart the myſteries of his goſpel to, whilſt the proud and conceited worldlings rendered themſelves unworthy of them; and with a gracious invitation to all, that laboured under their ſinful burdens, to come and experience how eaſy the yoke, and how light was the burden, which he laid on his followers (X).

[i] Ibid. ver. 11, & ſeq. [k] Ibid. 20, & ſeq. [l] Ibid x. 13, & ſeq. Matth. xi. 20, & ſeq.

(X) This is a truth indeed that is beſt underſtood from one's own experience; yet as there is not one poſitive or negative precept of the goſpel, that is not excellently adapted to our own exigencies, and founded upon the ſolideſt wiſdom, it highly concerns us to liſten to this, rather than to our corrupt appetites, which will always make us look upon God as a ſevere taſk-maſter, rather than a kind and skilful phyſician, whoſe ſole aim is to cure us of our diſeaſes, and to reſtore our ſouls to that perfect ſtate of health, which alone can make us happy here or hereafter.

Were we indeed commanded to purchaſe this deſireable ſtate at as dear a rate as the miſer doth his gold, the ambitious his riſe, the ſoldier his fame, or the labourer his poor livelihood; though, even here, it would be our higheſt wiſdom to comply with the conditions

THIS diſcourſe moved a Phariſee, named Simon, to invite him to take a meal at his houſe, where he had not been long, before he was accoſted by a woman, formerly of a looſe character, but now a ſincere penitent. This woman came behind him in the humbleſt guiſe, accompanied with a flood of tears, with which ſhe waſhed his feet; and, having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a coſtly perfume ſhe had brought with her. A ſight ſo ſhocking to the proud Phariſee filled his head with a ſtrange notion, that, if his gueſt were a prophet, he would of courſe have ſpurned ſuch a notorious ſinner from him; but Jeſus, whoſe peculiar character it was not to break a bruiſed reed, or quench the leaſt good ſpark [m], but rather blow it into a flame, viewed her with a more compaſſionate and unerring eye, and diſmiſſed her with an anſwer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the ſincereſt repentance and love. Neither did he let his hoſt go unanſwered or unſatisfied; but, by a fit and pathetic parable, made him pronounce her a more worthy object of his mercy and regard, than all his own pretended ſanctity and hoſpitality could intitle him to [n] (Y).

His pity to a poor ſhe penitent.

UPON

[m] Iſaiah xlii. 3. Matt. xii. 20, & al. [n] Luke vii. 36, & ſeq. Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 1, & ſeq.

conditions, ſince the conſequence is of infinitely greater weight; how much more muſt it be ſo, when every duty is not only eaſier and more worthy of a rational ſoul, but abſolutely neceſſary to fit us for that happineſs for which we were created!

Let thoſe, therefore, whom a wrong biaſs has warped into a prejudice againſt chriſtian duties, but view them with an impartial eye; and the more they conſider them, the more they will be convinced of this truth, that they are ſo far from being the arbitrary impoſitions of a ſupreme Being, that there is not one poſitive one, but is as neceſſary to the ſoul, as food is to the body; nor a negative one, that is not as expedient as abſtinence from groſs food is to a man in a high fever, or from drink to one in a tympany; but with this ſure and comfortable advantage, that the divine grace and aſſiſtance here promiſed will remove all difficulties and diſcouragements, and make every part eaſy and pleaſant; ſo that our own happy experience, which it is our fault if we fall ſhort of, added to God's infallible word, will make religion yield us the trueſt happineſs we can be capable of in this life, as well as the glorious aſſurance of a better in the next.

(Y) None of the evangeliſts has told us where this laſt ſcene happened. Our Lightfoot and ſome others think it was in Bethany,

Cures a demoniac.

UPON his return to Capernaum, he was followed with ſuch throngs of people, on account of his continual miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had juſt then wrought, that his mother and relations fearing, leſt he ſhould be ſtifled (Z) by the croud, came to diſengage him from it. As they could not get into the houſe for the throng, they ſent to deſire him to come to them; but when it was told him, that they ſtood without, deſiring to ſpeak to him, he told the audience, that none were more nearly related to him, than thoſe who came to him to hear the word of God and practiſed it. In the mean time, whilſt his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confeſſion from the better part of the by-ſtanders, the Phariſees, moved with their uſual indignation, cried out *that he caſt out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils* †. Jeſus eaſily confuted that ſlander, by ſhewing the folly of ſuppoſing Satan ſo far divided againſt his own intereſt; and that nothing, but a ſuperior power of his, could force him to it; but, to aſſure them farther of the fatal danger of ſuch malicious and impious ſuggeſtions, he added, that tho' every ſin or blaſphemy againſt the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that thoſe againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhould find no forgiveneſs, either in this or the next world ° (A); and therefore

The ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

† De hoc vide ſupra, vol. i. p. 181. ° Matth. xii. 31, & ſeq. Mark iii. 28, &c.

thany, a city of Judæa; and that the Simon here mentioned, is the ſame with Simon the leper mentioned by the two other evangeliſts above-quoted, to which our bibles refer as a parallel; but it doth not appear, that this woman was the Mary mentioned by St. John; and we find our Saviour immediately after in Galilee working miracles, followed by a great multitude, particularly by ſome pious women, who attended on him, and aſſiſted him with their purſes, whilſt he was taken up with his miniſtry.

Theſe were Mary Magdalen, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel; Johanna, the wife of Chuſa, Herod's ſteward; Suſanna, and ſome others, who became part of his holy college.

(Z) So the word ought to be properly rendered, and not, as ours and moſt verſions do, that he was beſide himſelf (8).

(A) It is neither our deſign nor province to repeat here, either the various opinions of divines concerning the nature of this ſin, or

(8) Vide Le Scen. eſſ. on a new verſ Echard, & al.

fore he concluded with this warning, that men would give a

 severe

or the dreadful effects which a wrong notion of it has caused among weak and melancholy christians, especially among some sectaries in the predestinarian system. It might indeed be of greater comfort to insert some of those elaborate expositions, which confine that sin to those Jews only, who made so perverse a judgment of Christ's miracles, against the light of reason and conscience; but as we cannot come into that notion, so neither would we lead our readers into it.

A late critic (9) has endeavoured to take away all the difficulty, by affirming, that what we render blasphemy, or sin against the Son of man, means no more than the offences which one man commits against another. But if none but such are to be forgiven, and those against the Holy Ghost, or, as he understands it, against God, are either wholly excluded, or, at best, will, with great difficulty, be pardoned, it is to be feared we are left in a more woeful case, than that out of which he endeavoured to extricate us; but who doth not see, that whenever Christ speaks of the Son of man, he always means himself, and not man in general?

Might we presume so far as to give our opinion of this sin, it would be this, that every slander or blasphemy committed against Christ whilst upon earth, and his divine mission as yet wanting some of its most authentic evidence, should be capable of pardon; but after these last seals of his mission were superadded, viz. his resurrection from the dead, ascension, and effusion of the Holy Ghost, attended, as it was, with such miraculous gifts, such as prophecy, gift of tongues, miracles, and the like; there remained no excuse for unbelief, and consequently no forgiveness either to the present or future generation of the Jews, who should obstinately persist in it, nor indeed to any other persons or nations, who should reject the glorious light and evidence of his gospel when offered unto them.

This may be thought to lean a little hard against our modern unbelievers; but let them consider, whether the pretended grounds on which they reject the gospel, bear any proportion in point of evidence with those upon which we believe and embrace it: and if they do not, as all their united force never could, nor, we may safely add, never will, be able to prove they do, let them lay the blame at the right door. Now the gospel plainly tells us, that nothing but faith in Christ, accompanied with a sincere repentance, can obtain us the pardon of our sins; how should they then hope for it, who have neither the one nor the other to intitle them to it? Hence, we think, it plainly follows, that this is that only unpardonable sin pointed out by our Saviour. See the next note but one.

(9) Le Scen, ubi supra, part 2. c. 4. sect. 10.

ſevere account for every pernicious or hurtful (B) word at the day of judgment. Here the Phariſees, being ſtung to the heart, began, according to their uſual cuſtom, to aſk him for a more convincing ſign of his divine miſſion; but he left them with this remarkable anſwer, that ſince thoſe he had already ſhewed them were not able to convince them, there ſhould be no other or greater given them than that of Jonah; for as that prophet was three days and nights in the fiſh's belly, ſo ſhall the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, or grave, and riſe again on the third [p] (C).

From

[p] Matth. xii. 38. Luke xi. 29.

(B) That this is certainly the plain import of the phraſe ῥημα αργον, which ours and other verſions render idle or unprofitable word, appears from what goes before, that they proceed from an evil heart, which is therefore no more capable of producing better, than a corrupt tree can bear other than bad fruit (10).

(C) This ſaying confirms what we lately, and elſewhere before obſerved, that the reſurrection of Chriſt was to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the evidence of his miſſion. Before that, if his other miracles had convinced them that he was the Meſſiah, they would not have put him to that ſhameful death, which yet it was decreed and foretold he ſhould undergo; and it is upon this account that St. Peter excuſes this atrocious deed, as being done through ignorance. But after his reſurrection was proved by ſo many irrefragable tokens, thoſe who rejected him became inexcuſable and made way for the Gentiles who embraced chriſtianity. All which the reader may be fully ſatisfied of, by comparing, among a great number of others, the places quoted in the margin (11).

There are two difficulties ſtarted againſt what Chriſt here ſays of himſelf and Jonah, the one, that whatever the latter might be, Chriſt was far enough from being three days and three nights in the grave; and this has made ſome affirm, that he muſt have been crucified on the Thurſday, and not on the Friday. But the objection will eaſily vaniſh, when we obſerve, that according to the Hebrew idiom, the particle ו ve, "and," is often uſed for "or," and that it may, and ought properly, be rendered three days "or" nights.

The other is from the impoſſibility of a whale's ſwallowing up a man whole, ſeeing the diameter of its ſwallow, when ſtretched at fartheſt, is little above three inches. To which it is rightly anſwered, that the word here uſed ſignifies no more a whale than any

(10) Vide Le Scen ubi ſupra, c. 6. ſect. 2. (11) Conf Acts ii. 31, & ſeq iii. 17, & ſeq. & alib. & xiii. 46. xviii. 6.

FROM thence he went to the ſea-ſhore, ſtill followed with great multitudes, and being got into a boat, he began to teach them again, not indeed in the manner he had lately upon the mount, but by a more familiar way, and more ſuitable to their groſs underſtanding; namely, by parables, ſuch as were very well known and underſtood by all the eaſtern nations, and not (as ours and other verſions ſadly intimate) that they might be loſt upon his ignorant audience; but as we have ſpoken fully on this important point in a former volume, we ſhall deſire our readers to turn to the place *. When he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, he ordered his diſciples to get him a ſhip to croſs the ſea of Galilee, into the teritories of Philip the tetrarch, Herod's brother. Before he entered into the ſhip, there came ſome men who expreſſed a deſire to become his diſciples and follow him. One of them in paticular juſt begged, that he might go and bury his dead father; and another to go bid farewel to his relations and friends. To the firſt of theſe he anſwered, Let the dead, ſuch namely as are ſo to the hopes of a future life, perform that office [q], and come thou and preach that eternal life which I am come to bring to light; but to the ſecond he gave this ſevere rebuke, that ſuch a retroſpection, as he expreſſed after thoſe wordly conſiderations, was wholly inconſiſtent with the character of one of his diſciples, whoſe mind and heart ſhould be ſo fixed on the concerns of another life, as to be wholly indifferent to all beſides; and ſo bid him follow without delay [r].

Teaches in parables.

BEING entered into the ſhip, whether to refreſh himſelf from the fatigues of the day, or to try his diſciples faith and manifeſt his own power, he withdrew himſelf into the ſtern, and there fell a ſleep. There aroſe ſoon after ſuch a furious ſtorm of wind as was like to have overſet them, and made them run to him, and awake him, crying *Maſter, ſave us, elſe we periſh.* Jeſus, ſeeing them in ſuch conſternation, blamed

Stills the winds and ſea.

* Vol. iii. p. 506, (L). [q] Matth. viii. 18, & ſeq. See alſo Vol. x. p. 378. [r] Luke ix. 61.

any other large fiſh that has fins; and that there is one commonly known in the Metiterranean by the name of charachias and lamia, of the bigneſs of a whale, but with ſuch a large throat and belly, as is able to ſwallow the largeſt man whole. There was one of this kind caught within theſe twenty or more years, on the coaſts of Portugal, in whoſe throat, when ſtretched out, a man could ſtand upright. We may add, that the word uſed in Jonah is דג-גדול dag-gadol, a great fiſh.

med their pusillanimity and want of faith; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and sea, which immediately obeyed. When his disciples and the rest of the company had beheld their danger and deliverance, they came and threw themselves, trembling, at his feet, wondering, as well they might, what kind of man he was, who could command those unruly elements to be so quickly calmed; soon after which they landed on the other side, in the country of the Gergasenes (D) [s].

Cures two demoniacs.

HERE he was met by two demoniacs, so very fierce, one especially more than the other, that no chains could confine them; but they chose their habitation among the tombs, and made it unsafe to pass by that way, till the sight of Jesus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the son of God, and besought him not to torment them before their time. Our Saviour beheld the poor possessed with his wonted pity, and asked the most furious of them, What was his name? and was answered Legion, because a multitude of these evil spirits had taken possession of him. These therefore besought him, that, if he cast them out he would permit them to migrate into the neighbouring herd of swine; which being permitted, the whole herd was immediately seen to tumble headlong down into

[s] Matth, viii. 23, & seq. Mark iv. 36, & seq. Luke viii. 22, & seq.

(D) So the Greek manuscripts of St. Matthew have it. Those of the other evangelists call them Gadarenes. Some read Gerasenes, which makes it very difficult to know the situation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name. Origen (12) thinks the name of the city to be neither Gedara nor Gerasa, since none of those two cities were near any sea or lake, but Gergesa, situate on that of Genezareth or Tiberias, where they shewed still in his time the rocky declivities, from which the swine were hurried down into the water. If so, that place might still retain its name from the Girgashites, antient inhabitants of Canaan, of whom we have spoken in a former volume *.

This canton, where-ever it was, must have been inhabited partly by heathens, which is the reason of the herd of swine being suffered to feed in that neighbourhood, which was not permitted in any place where they were all Jews, because that creature is forbid by the Mosaic law (13).

(12) In Johann. vid. Calm. sub Gerasa. * Vol. ii. p. 208, & (D). (13) Vide Levit xi. 7, & alib.

into the ſea, to the number of two thouſand, whilſt the two poor objects were reſtored to their health and ſenſes (E). The news of this ſingular miracle was preſently ſpread through that whole region, and brought vaſt multitudes to the place; where they beheld with wonder the two men cloathed and in their right minds; but whether through fear, leſt any ill conſequence ſhould attend the loſs of the ſwine, or, which is as likely, leſt they ſhould receive ſome further and more grievous puniſhment from him, they meekly beſought him to depart their coaſts which he readily complied with [t].

Raiſes the ruler's daughter.

Upon his return to Capernaum, he was addreſſed by the ſorrowful ruler of the ſynagogue, whoſe daughter, about twelve years of age, was then expiring, and followed him to the houſe, attended, as uſual, with numerous crouds, among which was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an unnatural hemorrhagy, and conſumed her ſubſtance in ſeeking for the vain help of the phyſicians. She had ſuch a ſtrong faith in the world's Saviour, that ſhe

[t] Matth. viii. 23, & ſeq. Mark iv. 35, & ſeq. viii. 22, & ſeq.

(E) Thoſe who pretend to cenſure this miracle, as a wrong done to the owners, would do well to conſider how they queſtion the juſtice and authority of a perſon, who had given ſuch irrefragable proofs of both. Had the evangeliſts ſuppoſed any men capable of ſuch a preſumption, it is likely they might have given us ſuch reaſons for this action, as would have ſtopped their mouths.

If the owners of the ſwine were of that kind of apoſtate Jews, of whom we had frequent occaſion to ſpeak in ſome former ſections, the puniſhment muſt be allowed to have been rather too mild than too ſevere. If they were Romans, Syrians, or of any other nation, they were ſtill guilty of a breach of faith to the Jews, who, though under a foreign yoke, were to be governed by their own laws; ſo that they might as well have introduced ſome of their idols into that country, as herds of a creature forbid by their law, and abhorred by the whole nation.

However, if the ſingularity of the miracle proved a means to convert them to chriſtianity, that was abundantly ſufficient to repay their loſs; and it is perhaps for this reaſon that Jeſus would not ſuffer the cured perſons to follow him to the other ſide, but bid them ſtay in their own country, to be ſtanding monuments of his miraculous power and goodneſs; and that the change he had wrought in them was not a tranſient action, done by ſome deluſion or faſcination, but a permanent and real, and conſequently miraculous cure.

thought the bare touch of his ſkirt would give her an immediate cure; and ſo it really did, but not without being perceived by him; for not withſtanding his being ſo thronged by the multitude, he knew, by the virtue that was gone out of him, that ſome-body had touched him, and enquired of his wondering diſciples, who it was? The woman, finding, by the queſtion, that ſhe could not go undiſcovered, fell trembling at his feet, and owned herſelf the bleſſed object of his miraculous power, and had this gracious anſwer ſuperadded to her cure, *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole* (F). By this time they were come ſo near the ruler's houſe, that they could hear the mournful tunes and cries that were made over the dead damſel, who had expired in the interim; and Jeſus, who beheld with pity his paternal grief, bid him not fear but firmly believe; and entering the houſe with him, and with two or three only of his diſciples, ordered the mourners to ceaſe their doleful muſic, ſince the child was only aſleep; but, whilſt theſe derided him, he took Peter, James, and John, with the girl's father, into the upper room, and taking her by the hand, bid her riſe; which ſhe immediately did [u]. This miracle did ſtill the more encreaſe his fame, notwithſtanding all his prudent cautions to prevent it (G).

He

[u] Matth. ix. 18, &c. Mark v. 22, &c. Luke viii. 41, & ſeq.

(F) Euſebius tells us, that the woman, out of gratitude, erected a braſs ſtatue to her miraculous phyſician, in which ſhe was carved kneeling behind him, and laying her hand on the ſkirt of his coat. The ſtory is much queſtioned, if ever there was any ſuch monument of this miracle; ſhe can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been in a capacity of rearing it, becauſe St. Mark and St. Luke tell us, that ſhe had ſpent all her ſubſtance on phyſicians; ſo that it muſt have been done by ſome of the inhabitants of Cæſarea Philippi, of which city Euſebius ſays ſhe was.

(G) Chriſt's often enjoining ſecrecy to the perſons whom he cured, has been cenſured by ſome of our unbelievers, as unſeaſonable, and contrary to the deſign for which they were wrought, the proving of his divine miſſion. But he had ſeveral cogent reaſons for preventing his miracles being to much blazed abroad, at leaſt till after his reſurrection; one of which was moſt probably, that he might not haſten the effects, as well as aggravate the guilt, of the Phariſaic malice, which, he knew, was to fall on him, before he had gone through every part of his work.

But there was a much greater motive to have theſe miracles concealed for the preſent; for the multitudes, who had already beheld

He ſoon left Capernaum, to go and reviſit his ungrateful city Nazareth, and, in his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as uſual, into their ſynagogue, and preached to them with ſuch powerful eloquence, as aſtoniſhed the whole audience; bur they, remembring the meanneſs of his education and parentage, were offended at him, inſtead of admiring him the more for it. This ſtubbornneſs of theirs prevented his working any ſignal miracles there; ſo that he contented himſelf with healing ſuch ſick perſons as offered themſelves in his way, and departed, never to viſit them again. By this time Sejanus having been put to death at Rome, and Tiberius been undeceived with regard to the falſe accuſations of that helliſh miniſter againſt the Jews, ſent orders to all his governors to have them treated with greater mildneſs, as we obſerved a little higher out of Philo; and Tacitus [w] obſerves thereupon, that they enjoyed a long peace under that emperor; which could mean no more, than that they neither diſturbed his government, nor he their tranquillity; but they were at this time in too great a ferment among themſelves to be properly ſaid to have been at peace. But theſe inteſtine feuds of theirs were beneath the notice of a Roman hiſtorian, if he knew any thing of them; for theſe troubled themſelves no farther about what was done in foreign provinces, than the intereſt or fame of their commonwealth was concerned in it; and this, as a judicious hiſtorian of our own obſerves[x], is probably the reaſon, why they are ſo ſilent about the glorious tranſactions of theſe three laſt years of our Saviour's life.

Comes to Nazareth.

We are now come to the third year of his public miniſtry, which he began with making a thorough progreſs through all the cities of Galilee; where beholding, with his

Sends his apoſtles to preach.

[w] Annal. l. vi. c. 25. [x] Echar. cent. 1. ch. 4.

held ſo great a number of them, had conceived ſuch notions of his being the Meſſiah, that, upon his feeding five thouſand perſons with a few loaves, they made a bold puſh to take him by force to make him a king (14); ſo that he was obliged to withdraw himſelf from them into ſome private mountain. Such attempts might therefore have proved of dangerous conſequence, either by cauſing an inſurrection, and bringing the civil power upon him; all which, and many others of the like nature, were oppoſite to his deſign, and the ſcheme of providence concerning the time, nature, and manner of his death.

(14) John vi. 17.

his wonted compaſſion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, and how few the labourers were in compariſon of the plentiful harveſt in view, he ſent his twelve apoſtles, two and two, to preach alſo through all that country. To qualify them for this high office, he endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to diſpenſe them with the ſame gratuitous liberality as they received them, and at the ſame time forbidding them to incumber themſelves with any wordly conveniencies, but depend upon providence for a ſupply and reward worthy their charitable labour. He reminded them, however, that they muſt not expect it ſo much in this life as in the next; for, added he, I ſend you as lambs among wolves; and ſince you have been witneſſes of the ill returns which I have met with from this blind and ungrateful generation, you muſt not expect to fare better than your maſter; but rather rejoice to be, like him, deſpiſed, rejected, and perſecuted; for they will hurry you many a time to the judgment-ſeat, and inflict many a grievous puniſhment on you; but be not terrified at it, nor ſolicitous what anſwer you ſhall make to their puzzling and ill-natured queſtions; for ye ſhall be endued with ſuch wiſom at thoſe times, as all your adverſaries, ſhall not be able to gainſay [y]. In other caſes, remember always to join the innocence of the dove to the cautiouſneſs of the ſerpent (H). Bleſſed indeed will be the caſe of thoſe who receive you and your doctrine; but miſerable and dreadful, beyond that of Sodom and Gomorrah, ſhall be the fate of thoſe who reject you. And as for yourſelves, depend upon it, that he, without whoſe permiſſion not a ſparrow falls to the ground, will be ſtill your ſure guide and protector [z]. With theſe excellent gifts and inſtructions they departed, whilſt Jeſus tarried ſtill at or in the neighbourhood

[y] Vide Luke xxi. 15. [z] Matth. ix. 36, & ſeq. x. 1. & ſeq. Mark vi. 7, & ſeq. Luke ix. 1. & ſeq.

(H) That ſeems the moſt obvious ſenſe of the two Greek *φρονιμος*, and not wiſe, as moſt verſions render it. We have elſewhere ſhewed upon what account that creature is ironically called cunning and crafty in ſeveral parts of the ſcripture, and refer our readers to what has been ſaid there †. But here our Saviour only bids his diſciples to intimate their cautiouſneſs or preſence of mind, they being known to guard with their heads the reſt of their bodies, and to dart it with ſurpriſing quickneſs wherever the other parts are in danger.

† Append. in Vol. iv. p. 188.

bourhood of Capernaum, where he heard, about this time, the news of the baptiſt's death, mentioned a little higher; and whither his diſciples ſoon after returned, and with no ſmall joy acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their late miſſion [a].

HEROD all this while had only laid his conſcious fears aſleep by the death of his troubleſome monitor, which were ſoon awaked again at the name of Jeſus, whom he ſuppoſed to be that prophet riſen from the dead, whilſt others took him for Elias, or ſome other of the antient prophets. This obliged him to withdraw himſelf, with his diſciples, into a deſert place, where he was, however, followed by a great multitude, and taught them there. The day being far ſpent, and victuals ſcarce in ſuch a place, Jeſus, unwilling to ſend them away faſting and faint, made the troops ſit down in a convenient place, and having bleſſed his mean and ſcanty proviſion, which conſiſted in all of but five barley loaves and a few ſmall fiſhes, multiplied, and diſtributed it amongſt them; and, after they had all eaten to ſatiety, his diſciples were ordered to gather the remaining fragments, and they filled twelve baſkets with them, over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, which amounted to five thouſand men, beſides women and children. This ſtupendous miracle made them look upon him as the promiſed Meſſiah. They therefore were conſulting to have made him king by main force; but, as ſoon as he perceived it, he reſolved to convey himſelf far enough out of their reach [b]. He bid therefore his diſciples to croſs over the lake towards Bethſaida, whilſt he ſtayed to diſmiſs the people, after which he was to follow them. Whilſt they were on the water, he withdrew into a retired part of the mountain, to ſpend ſome part of the night in prayer. The wind, being then contrary and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the ſhore; but whilſt they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jeſus came towards them, about the fourth or laſt watch of the night, walking on the boiſterous waves, and made as if he would paſs by them; at which they gave a hideous cry, ſuppoſing that they had ſeen what the Jews call a mazick, or ſpectre of the worſt kind, concerning whoſe power of doing miſchief their rabbies tell us wonders too abſurd to deſerve a place here [c]. Jeſus ſoon recovered them of their fright, by aſſuring them that it was he; Peter, between doubt and ſurprize, anſwered

Feeds five thouſand with five loaves.

Walks on the ſea.

[a] Matt. ibid. & ſeq. Mark vi. 29. [b] Matth. xiv. 14. & ſeq. John vi. 5. & ſeq. ad 17. [c] Vide auct. Tzeror, Hammor, & Hebr. comment. in Pſal. xci.

anſwered him, *Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water*; and being permitted, vetured to walk towards him. A ſudden guſt of wind having ſwelled the ſurges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himſelf ſinking, and cried out to his maſter for help. Jeſus ſtretched forth his hand to ſave him, upbraided his want of faith, and led him into the boat, where himſelf being alſo entered, there followed a calm, and they were agreeably ſurprized ſoon after with the ſight of the wiſhed-for ſhore [d]. Here he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought him their diſeaſed from all parts to be cured. Among them were a great number of thoſe whom he had lately ſo miraculouſly fed, who had miſſed him, and came ſeeking after him, and expreſſed a more than ordinary joy when they had found him. Jeſus, however, blamed their untimely diligence, becacuſe it did not ſo much proceed from a love to his doctrine, or from an earneſt deſire after that eternal happineſs which he preached to them, as from the temporal advantages which they expected from his carnal reign, as they believed him to be the Meſſiah. He therefore exhorted them to ſeek after thoſe more ſpiritual ones, which he was came to tender to them. This unexpected turn had a ſtrange effect upon them, inſomuch, that they, who, at the firſt ſight of his late miracle, had cried him up for the great deliverer promiſed by Moſes [e], began now to queſtion him, and to aſk for ſome freſh and ſurer tokens of his being ſo. Moſes, they ſaid, had proved his miſſion, by giving their foreſathers manna from heaven, but as for him, he had done nothing like it for them, but only talked of his coming down from heaven, tho' they knew him to be the ſon of Joſeph and Mary, and promiſed them no other food and drink than that of his body and blood, which was ſtill a ſtranger and more offenſive doctrine. Jeſus tried in vain to perſuade them, that theſe were not ſo imaginary or unnatural food as they apprehended, but ſuch a real and efficacious one, as could alone fit them for, and raiſe them to, a happy immortality. All theſe, and ſeveral other, ſpiritual topics, ſerved only to convince them, that he was not the Meſſiah they wanted, and were taught to expect; ſo that the greateſt part of them forſook him from that very hour. Jeſus was nothing leſs than ſurpriſed at this defection, which, he obſerved to his diſciples, was owing to a want of ſuch a true diſpoſition of mind, as nothing could work in them, but the miraculous grace of his heavenly father,

Reproaches the carnal zeal of the multitudes.

[d] Matth. ubi ſupra, ver. 24. & ſeq. Mark vi. 46, & ſeq. John vi. 16 &c. [e] Conf. Deut. xviii. 15. John vi. 14, & 30, & ſeq.

ther, ſince nothing leſs than that could rectify the carnal warp, which their prejudices had given to their minds. He addreſſed himſelf next to his diſciples, to know of them whether they felt any inclination to leave him, as the reſt had done? To whom Peter gave this glorious anſwer in the name of the twelve, *Lord, whither*, or *to whom ſhould we go? Thou haſt the words of eternal life, and we are now fully aſſured, that thou art the Chriſt, the ſon of the living God.* Jeſus took occaſion here to hint to them, that he had indeed choſen them twelve, but that one of them was a devil, meaning Judas Iſcariot, who was to betray him [f], though he continued to follow him with the reſt (I).

Simon's noble confeſſion.

THESE

[f] John vi. 30, ad fin.

(I) The choice of this traitor into the apoſtolic college was not without a manifeſt providence, not only as he was thereby to fulfil that prophecy, that Chriſt ſhould be betrayed by one of that number (15), but as his character and actions juſtified the admiſſion of him into it. It is plain from what Chriſt ſays here of him, and the apoſtles elſewhere, that his offering himſelf a candidate for the apoſtleſhip was wholly from ſiniſter motives, and this made him put in preſently after for the office of treaſurer.

On the other hand, he ſaw enough to have made him a true convert to Chriſt and his heavenly doctrine, for he not only was a witneſs to all his ſtupendous works and excellent ſermons, but was, like the reſt, endued with the ſame miraculous power and chriſtian knowledge; ſo that if he continued in the ſame helliſh diſpoſition of mind, it was not out of any doubt concerning either the miracles or doctrine, much leſs from any knowledge, or even ſuſpicion he could poſſibly harbour, that his maſter was acting ſome grand impoſture; for had either of theſe been the caſe, he would have been ſo far from hanging himſelf out of remorſe for his treachery, that he would have gloried in the action, and juſtly too. The great horror therefore which he expreſſed for his guilt, and his deſperate end, when he ſaw him unjuſtly condemned by the ſanhedrim, could proceed from nothing elſe but a full conviction, that the perſon whom he had thus betrayed was the true Meſſiah, that his miracles were real, and his doctrine altogether divine.

If it be aſked, how a man, under ſuch conviction, could act ſuch a perfidious deed? it may be anſwered, that he did it in a fit of anger and reſentment, when he diſdainfully beheld the profuſion of a precious ointment beſtowed on his maſter, which, he thought, might have been better ſold for three hundred pence, and put into his bag (16). He might perhaps not foreſee all the ill

(15) Conf. Pſal. xli. 9. John xiii. 18. (16) John xii. 3, & ſeq.

THESE things happened a little before the third paſſover after his entrance into his miniſtry; for the evangeliſt [g] hints, that that feſtival was at hand; but whether Jeſus went up to it, or ſtayed in Galilee, is no-where expreſly ſaid. Only the former is moſt probable, not only from his conſtant and zealous attendance on all other feſtivals, but becauſe his abſence at this time, on any pretence, might have ſhewn an ill precedent to his diſciples, and given the Phariſees an occaſion of ſcandal and accuſation. But, if he went up to Jeruſalem, he did it ſo privately, and ſtayed ſo ſhort a time there, by reaſon of the plots which the heads of the Jews had laid againſt his life, that it was not known to them till he was gone back into Galilee, where we find him preſently after [h]. It is at this paſſover, that Pilate is ſuppoſed to have made ſuch a ſevere example of the rebellious Galileans or Gaulonites, whoſe blood he mingled with their ſacrifices, as they were performing their devotions in the temple [i]; the news of which being afterwards brought to Jeſus, as well as the misfortune of thoſe eighten men, whom a tower in that metropolis, named Siloam, cruſhed to death, he aſſured them, that neither of them came to ſuch a dreadful end, becauſe they were greater ſinners than the reſt; but that, without a ſpeedy repentance, they ſhould all ſhare in ſome ſuch-like dreadful fate.

THE

[g] Ibid. ver. 4. [h] John vii. 1. & ſeq. [i] Luke xiii. 1, & ſeq.

ill conſequences of his treachery, but might ſuppoſe, either that the ſanhedrin would acquit him, or that he would work ſome ſignal miracle to extricate himſelf out of their hands; ſo that when he found it quite otherwiſe, it threw him into that horrid deſpair and madneſs in which he died.

We ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſpeak more fully of the nature of his death. In the mean time we beg leave to obſerve, after an eminent critic, an error which has crept into moſt tranſlations concerning him, which ſeems to intimate as if there had been ſome worſe place than ordinary appointed for him in the other world on account of his crime. The words run thus in the verſion (17). *Lord,——ſhew whether of theſe two thou haſt choſen, that he may take part in this miniſtry and apoſtleſhip, from which* Judas *by tranſgreſſion fell, that he might go into his own place.* Whereas theſe laſt words ought more properly to be rendered, that he, viz. the perſon now to be choſen may go into his (that is, Judas's) place, that is, may fill his vacant office (18).

(17) Acts i. 24, 25. (18) Le Scene. eſſay ubi ſupra.

THE feaſt being over, the ſcribes and Phariſees, who miſſed him there, ſent ſome of their ſpies after him to watch his words and actions, and to catch ſome matter of accuſation againſt him. The firſt thing theſe laid hold on was, his and his diſciples eating with unwaſhed hands, contrary to the traditions of the antients, and the conſtant cuſtom of the Pharaſaic ſect. Jeſus eaſily exploded this accuſation, by ſhewing them the hypocriſy of cleanſing the hands, diſhes, and other veſſels, whilſt their hearts, which did moſt want it, were careleſsly left in their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. But he went further to ſhow the miſchiefs ariſing from too cloſe an adherence to thoſe traditions, a great part of which, though plainly oppoſite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and obſervance. He inſtanced in ſeveral particulars, eſpecially that abominable one, by which they had made void the only command with a promiſe, that of children honouring and ſuccouring their parents [k]. He not only ſhowed them the impiety of ſome, but the unreaſonableneſs and ſtupidity of others, of thoſe traditions; ſuch as thoſe that abſolved a man that ſwore by the temple, but not him that ſwore by the gold of the temple, or him that ſwore by the altar, though not him that ſwore by the gift that was on it; though, as he juſtly obſerved to them, it was the temple that ſanctified the gold, and the altar that ſanctified the gift. Theſe ſevere reflections did ſo much the more gravel theſe Pharaiſaic ſpies, as they ſeemed to come down to the capacity of the meaneſt of his audience, and could not but inſpire the people with a ſingular contempt for thoſe expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himſelf.

To avoid therefore the perſecutions which were likely to be raiſed againſt him from that quarter, he withdrew himſelf towards the coaſts of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into a houſe privately, being unwilling to be known there; but it was ſoon beſet by a great number of ſick folk, who flocked to him to be cured. Among theſe was a Pagan woman (K), who yet addreſſed him with the title of Lord, and Son of

[k] Matth. xv. 1, & ſeq. Mark vii. 1, & ſeq. & alib.

(K) St Mark calls her a Syro-Phœnician, becauſe ſhe was an inhabitant of Phœnice, of which Sidon was the metropolis, that province having been joined by conqueſt to that of Syria *. St. Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew or Syriac, calls her a Canaanite, becauſe

* See before, Vol. ii. p. 330, & Vol. ix. p. 5.

of David, and earneſtly intreated him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented with a devil. Jeſus at firſt ſeemed ſo far to overlook her, that his diſciples begged of him either to grant her ſuit, or diſmiſs her with a denial. The woman, becoming thereupon more importunate, received this unexpected repulſe from him, that it was not fit to deprive the children of their bread, to caſt it unto dogs; but ſhe, nothing diſcouraged at ſo mortifying an anſwer, threw herſelf at his feet, and owned herſelf indeed unworthy of a child's portion; but at the ſame time humbly expoſtulated with him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their maſters table. Jeſus highly commended her ſingular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; and the woman highly ſatisfied with his promiſe, returned home, where ſhe found her daughter ſitting on the bed and perfectly cured [l].

Heals the Syro-Phœnician's daughter.

SHORTLY after this, Jeſus went more eaſtwards towards the head of Jordan, and took a progreſs through Decapolis (L), where, among other miraculous cures, he gave ſpeech and hearing to a man born deaf and dumb, inſomuch, that the aſtoniſhed multitude cried out, *That he had done all things well, and made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to ſpeak* [m]. He was followed by the multitude from thence into ſome deſert mountain, where he tarried three days with them, teaching them and healing all their ſickneſſes of what ever kind. But as they had brought no ſufficient quantity of proviſions, Jeſus pitying their caſe, and being unwilling to ſend them away empty, ſignified his deſign to his diſciples; and finding they had ſtill ſeven loaves and a few fiſhes, he multiplied both, as he had done before, into a ſufficient quantity, to ſatiate four thouſand men, beſides women and children; and ſeven baſkets full, which the diſciples gathered of the remaining fragments [n]; after which he diſmiſſed the multitude, and croſſed the lake of Tiberias towards the ſouth-eaſt parts of Magdala or Dalmanutha

Multiplies ſeven loaves among four thouſand.

[l] Matth. ibid. v. 21, & ſeq. Mark vii. 24, & ſeq. [m] Matth. ibid. 31, & ſeq. Mark viii. 1, & ſeq. [n] Id. ibid. & ſeq.

becauſe Phœnice was the antient ſeat of the Canaanites, Sidon being the eldeſt ſon of Canaan (19.)

(L) A canton in Paleſtine, ſo called from its ten cities, ſituate ſome on this, and ſome on the other, ſide of Jordan, the capital of which was Scythopolis; it was moſtly inhabited by Gentiles.

(19) Vid. Geneſ. x. 15. & vol ii. p. 339.

manutha (M). Here he was accoſted again by ſome of the Phariſees and Sadducees, who came to aſk of him a ſign; to whom having anſwered as formerly; that they ſhould have no other but that of the prophet Jonah, he ſailed back, and left them to make the application. In their paſſage, he bid his diſciples beware of the leaven of the Phariſees and Sadducees, which caution gave them a ſtrange kind of an alarm, becauſe they had forgot to take ſome proviſion with them; but after he had put them in mind of his two late miracles on the loaves, they came at length to underſtand, that the leaven he forewarned them againſt, was the pernicious doctrines of thoſe two ſects °. Upon his landing at Bethſaida, the native

° Iid. xvi. 1, & ſeq. Mark viii. 10, & ſeq.

(M) It is not eaſy to know, whether theſe be two names of the ſame place, or two different ones, nor to gueſs where their ſituation was, only ſomewhere upon the coaſts of the ſea of Tiberias. For ſo much St. Mark intimates, when he ſays, that Jeſus, croſſing that ſea, came to Dalmanutha (20); and St. Matthew, ſpeaking of the ſame thing, ſays, he came to the coaſts of Magdala (21). Some manuſcripts of this laſt have Magedan and Magdan inſtead of Magdala. This makes it next to impoſſible to gueſs with any probability at their ſituation; for which reaſon we ſhall refer thoſe who have a mind to know the conjectures of the learned, to the authors quoted in the margin (22).

The laſt quoted author ſuppoſes Dalmanutha to be the ſame with Medan, a pleaſant place near the Phiala, or ſpring of the Jordan, where a kind of fair is kept, and much reſorted to, all the ſummer. Hegeſippus, it ſeems, calls that place Melda and Meldan, from which he thinks Dalman to be a corruption, by degrees ſtretched out into Dalmanutha. This is going very far for an etymology, and yet it is by far the beſt we have met with, and perhaps nearer than that of our learned Hammond, who takes it to be the Meggiddo mentioned by the prophet (23), and famous for the death of two Jewiſh kings, Ahaziah, and Joſiah (24).

Magdala is a corruption of the Hebrew Migdol, ſignifying an high tower. There might be many places of that name in Judæa, as well as in the neighbouring provinces; and if this Medan or Meldan was the ſame with Dalmanutha, then Magdala may have been ſome famous tower or land-mark leading to it, or ſome ſtrong caſtle or fortreſs belonging to it. All which is at beſt but conjecture.

(20) c. viii. 10. (21) xv. ult. (22) Euſeb. Hieron. in loc. Hebr. Reland. Lightfoot, Hammon, Calmet, & al. (23) Zechar. xii. 11. (24) Kings xix. 27. xxiii. 29.

tive place of ſome of his diſciples, a blind man was brought to him to be reſtored to his ſight. Jeſus could not refuſe his help to ſuch objects; but, as he had received ſuch ungrateful returns from the people of that city, for the many miracles he had wrought among them [p], he was unwilling to aggravate their guilt by freſh ones. Taking therefore the blind man with him out of the town, he reſtored him to his ſight, and bade him go directly to his home, without entering into the city again [q].

Cures a blind man.

BEING come to the borders of Syria, in the neighbourhood of Cæſarea Philippi, a city built by Philip the tetrarch of that canton, the ſon of Herod the Great, as was hinted a little higher; he began to queſtion his diſciples, who had by this time been about a year choſen into the apoſtleſhip, what the Jews commonly thought of him? Being anſwered, that he was ſuppoſed by ſome to be John the Baptiſt, by others Elias, or ſome other prophet, he aſked them, what their own opinion was of him? To this Peter anſwered for himſelf, as well as for the reſt, whoſe judgment concerning him he could not but know, and affirmed him poſitively to be *the Meſſiah, the Son of God.* It was upon this noble confeſſion that Chriſt ſurnamed him Peter, or Rock, and promiſed him upon that rock to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and looſing; ſo that which of the two ſentences he pronounced upon earth, ſhould be ratified in heaven. But he charged him and the reſt of his collegues not to let it be ſo much as whiſpered abroad, that he was the Meſſiah or Chriſt, till he was riſen from the dead [r].

The Jews opinion of Chriſt.

Peter's noble confeſſion of him.

FROM this time finding their faith ſo well founded, he began to open a myſtery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with; namely, that of his ſufferings and death at Jeruſalem. Peter, thunder-ſtruck, as it were, at ſuch an unexpected diſcovery, could not forbear crying out, Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any ſuch thing ſhould befal thee; but he preſently received ſuch a ſevere rebuke from him, as gave him to underſtand, that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and ſelf-denial. He took therefore that fair opportunity to rid them of all their prejudices concerning a temporal kingdom, and to aſſure them, that there was no way for them, or any other of his diſciples, to enter into his

Chriſt foretels his ſufferings and death.

[p] Vid. Matth. xi. 21. [q] Vid. ibid. & ſeq. [r] Matth. xvi. 12, & ſeq. Luke ix. 18, & ſeq. & alib.

his heavenly one, but by treading in his ſteps, and going from the croſs to that glorious crown, which waited for them at the end of their race. He concluded this ſorrowful diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that ſome of thoſe that were there preſent ſhould not ſee death, till they had ſeen the beginnings of this his kingdom powerfully diſplayed before them [s] (N). But as he had given ſuch a kind of foretaſte of his ſufferings and death, as could not but make a deep effect upon them, conſidering that they had always looked upon him as the reſtorer of the kingdom of Iſrael, and continued to do ſo even after his reſurrection [t]; he thought fit to give ſome of the moſt intimate of them a ſpecimen of his future glory.

THESE were Peter, and James, and John, whom he took up with him to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been mount Tabor or Thabor, deſcribed in a former volume †, and was there transfigured before them. This happened whilſt he was at prayer [u], when they ſuddenly beheld a luſtre darting from his face, outſhining even that of the ſun. His garments contracted a ſplendid whiteneſs, exceeding that of ſnow. Moſes and Elias appeared immediately after, in all the brightneſs of their glorified ſtate, and conferred with him about the ſufferings and death which he was ſhortly to undergo at Jeruſalem, and for which he was to be exalted above every name in heaven or earth [w]. During this extraordinary intercourſe, the three apoſtles, whether overpowered with the heavenly viſion and fallen into a kind of trance; or whether it happened at night, when their eyes were uſed to be cloſed with ſleep; they found themſelves in

Transfigured upon the mount.

[s] Matth. ibid. verſ. 22, & ſeq. Luke ubi ſupra. verſ. 22, & ſeq. Mark viii. 31, & ſeq. [t] Vid. Acts i. 6. † See vol. iii. p. 109. (A). & ſeq. [u] See Luke ix 28, & ſeq. and the parallels. [w] Conf. Pſ. cxxxviii. 2, & Philip. iii. 9. and before, page 41, note.

(N) Accordingly, he gave them ſoon after ſeveral ſure indices of it: Firſt, in his glorious transfiguration, then in his reſurrection, aſcenſion, in the wonderful change that was wrought on them by the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, when they came to ſee and taſte of that ſpiritual kingdom, which they had before but the moſt imperfect notion of; in the ſucceſs of the goſpel, through the greateſt part of the world, in ſpight of all the oppoſition of the Jews and Gentiles; and laſtly, in the dreadful vengeance he took againſt the former, by the arms and power of the latter, according to this formal prediction of that laſt cataſtrophe. All which will be beſt ſeen in the ſequel.

a kind of ſlumber for ſome time, from which being at length recovered, they beheld the glory, wherewith their maſter and his two heavenly viſitors were ſurrounded; and Peter, in a kind of ecſtatic ſurprize, cried out, *Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for* Moſes, *and the third for* Elias (O), being ſcarcely ſenſible of what he ſaid. Their ſurprize encreaſed, when they found themſelves ſurrounded by a bright luminous cloud; ſoon after which they heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed: hear ye him.* At theſe words they remained proſtrate on the ground, ſtruck with wonder and amazement, till their maſter came and raiſed them up; when, upon their looking about, they were ſurprized to find him alone, and in his uſual dreſs and appearance [x].

Comes down from the mount.

THEY came down ſoon after to rejoin the reſt of their company, and in the way, Jeſus gave Peter and his two aſſociates a ſtrict charge to conceal the viſion, till he was riſen from the dead. Theſe laſt words cauſed a freſh queſtion among them, what the expreſſion of his riſing from the dead ſhould mean; for, it ſeems, they could not yet perſuade themſelves of what he had ſo lately told them concerning his death at Jeruſalem. However, they took care not to ſpeak of his transfiguration till after his reſurrection. St. Peter, by his ſecond epiſtle, which he wrote a little before his own death [y], appears to have retained ſtill the moſt lively impreſſion of it, by that ſhort, but elegant, deſcription he gives of it there [z], though he owns at the ſame time the evidence which is drawn from the teſtimony of the prophets to be ſuperior to it. By that time they were got to the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them ſome Phariſees, waited for them, and had had no ſmall ſtrife with thoſe diſciples of his, whom Jeſus had left behind him; before he could well enquire into the occaſion of their diſpute, a man preſſed through the croud, and fell proſtrate at his feet, and implored his aſſiſtance in the behalf of his ſon, who was miſerably

[x] Matth. xvii. 1, & ſeq. Mark vi. 2, & ſeq. [y] Chap. i. v. 13, 14. [z] Ibid. v. 20, 16, & ſeq.

(O) Bede informs us (25), that, in conſideration of this requeſt of the apoſtle, the chriſtians in after-times built three ſumptuous churches on the top of that mount, which were had in great reverence, and very much reſorted to by the devout pilgrims.

(25) Homil. in Matth. xvi.

ſerably tormented with a dumb demon, by whom he was ſometimes hurried into the fire, and at other times into the water, and was become ſuch a diſmal object of pity, that he had brought him to his diſciples, but they had not been able to give him any relief. Jeſus, moved with the deepeſt compaſſion at this doleful ſtory, could not forbear upbraiding both his diſciples and the whole Jewiſh generation with their want of faith; and, to convince them the more powerfully of it, ordered the child to be brought before him; and whilſt he was in the ſtrongeſt convulſions and agonies, and his ſorrowful father beſeeching him in moſt moving terms, only returned him this anſwer, that, if he could believe, the cure of his ſon would be eaſily performed. At theſe words the father immediately cried out, *Lord, I believe; ſupply my unbelief*; and Jeſus rebuking the evil ſpirit, forced him to go out, not without hideous cries, and leaving the boy breathleſs on the ground, inſomuch, that the by-ſtanders believed him dead. But Jeſus ſoon undeceived them, and taking him by the hand, raiſed him up, and delivered him to his father perfectly cured. As ſoon as they had withdrawn themſelves from the aſtoniſhed multitude, his diſciples begged of him to know the reaſon, why they had in vain attempted to caſt this devil out? to whom he anſwered, that all their diſappointments in general were owing to their want of faith; but that this particular one was owing to their neglect of faſting and prayer, which alone could obtain a ſufficient power from heaven to expel that kind of evil ſpirits [a].

Heals a demoniac.

Jesus having obſerved the three, at their coming down from the mount, queſtioning about his reſurrection, took this opportunity, as they were moving towards Capernaum and freed from the crouds, to ſpeak to the twelve afreſh concerning his approaching death; and to aſſure them, that he ſhould be betrayed into wicked hands, to be crucified, but that he ſhould riſe again on the third day. But their heads ſeem to have been ſo filled with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that, inſtead of deſiring him to explain further to them the grating myſtery of his croſs, they were rather debating how he was likely to diſpoſe of his new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. This diſpute laſted till they were got to the city, where the collectors aſked them, whether their

Foretels his crucifixion and reſurrection.

[a] Matth. xvii. 14, & ſeq. Mark ix. 14, & ſeq. Luke ix. 37, & ſeq.

Pays the tribute.

maſter did not pay the uſual tribute (P)? and Peter, who knew his diſpoſition to give God and Cæſar their due, anſwered them in the affirmative. Jeſus, however, expreſſed himſelf to him in ſuch manner, as plainly hinted that tribute to be due only from ſtrangers, and not from the children, or thoſe who are free-born. Nevertheleſs, added he to Peter, to prevent giving any offence on that account, go and caſt thy hook into the lake, and in the mouth of the firſt fiſh thou takeſt, thou will find a piece of money (Q); pay that for thee and me [b].

Reproves the ambition of his diſciples:

As ſoon as Peter was returned, Jeſus aſked them, what they had been diſputing about in their way thither, whilſt they, conſcious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. But Jeſus, who knew it perfectly well, taking a child in his arms

[b] Matth. ibid. 22, & ſeq. Mark & Luke ubi ſupra, ad fin.

(P) Several interpreters have thought the tribute-money here exacted to have been that which every one was to pay yearly to the temple; and that Jeſus pronounced himſelf exempt from it on account of his being the Son of God. But we rather think with Beza, that it was the capitation money, which had been made in the time of Cyrenius, after Archelaus's baniſhment; of which we have lately ſpoke. For as our Saviour ſeems to obſerve to St. Peter here, it was a tax impoſed upon the Jews, by the arbitrary will of Cæſar againſt juſtice and equity, becauſe, by their former alliances with Rome, they were to be free from all ſuch impoſts. However, to avoid giving offence, or too great a countenance to the pernicious Gaulonitiſh faction, Jeſus rather choſe to work a miracle, than refuſe to conform to the law of the conqueror, and bring thereby a greater miſchief upon himſelf and nation.

It ſeems, as if by this law or tax every man had been obliged to inrol himſelf in ſome city, whether of his nativity or abode. Jeſus had made his chief reſidence at Capernaum, after he had forſook Nazareth. Peter had done the ſame in all likelihood, and that is the reaſon why he bids him give the piece of money for them both, without mentioning any thing of the other apoſtles, who might be inrolled at Bethſaida, or ſome other town near the lake.

(Q) This piece the Greek calls Stater, and the Hebrew or Syriac אסתירא, aſtira; it was equal to the double ſhekel, and was worth about half a crown of our money (26).

(26) De hoc vid. int. al. Breerwood de ponder. Bernard. De menſur & Prideaux in præf. ad Connect. Beza, & al. in Matth. ubi ſupra.

arms, expreſsly told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom was, to become like that little child in innocence and humility; and that the more nearly they reſembled him in thoſe two excellent virtues, the peculiar foundation of his religion and of all the chriſtian virtues, the greater and higher would their rank be there; whereas pride and ambition, the bane of his new and divine inſtitution, were the ready means to exclude them from having any ſhare or title to that glorious kingdom. Here one of the apoſtles interrupted him, to acquaint him, that they had obſerved a man take upon him to caſt out devils in his name, and had forbidden him, becauſe he thought himſelf above following them. But Jeſus blamed his untimely zeal, ſince no man could work miracles in his name, but out of ſome due regard to his perſon and character [c]; then, reſuming his figurative diſcourſe, he told his audience, that whoſoever ſhould receive one of theſe little children, or meek and humble diſciples, the leaſt favour beſtowed on them, though but a cup of water, in his name, ſhould not fail of a reward. On the other hand, added he, whoſoever ſhall preſume to deſpiſe or give them juſt cauſe of offence (as it is indeed ſcarcely poſſible for men of that low and humble character to eſcape ſuch a contemptuous treatment from a haughty and degenerate world), ſuch indignities will meet with the ſame ſevere puniſhment, as if offered to my own perſon, or even to God himſelf, whoſe greateſt favourites they are. But whilſt mankind entertain a ſpirit ſo contrary to that of my goſpel, they will hardly ever be free from ſuch pernicious offences; and this is the reaſon why I, who am come to ſave that which is in danger of being loſt, am ſo earneſt in warning you againſt them. If a good ſheperd find, that one in a hundred of his ſheep is gone aſtray, how readily doth he leave the reſt, to go and fetch back the ſtragling one! and how much greater pleaſure would it be to me to recall every poor ſtragling mortal, who know how deſirous my heavenly father is that none of them ſhould periſh, but that they may be all ſaved!

Recommends humility.

But I tell you moreover, that you ſhould be ſo far from offending theſe meek diſciples of mine, who are incapable of given you the leaſt juſt provocation to it, that you ought to avoid even retaliating the wrongs and offences that are done to you. You all ſtand in great need of forgiveneſs from your heavenly father; but how can you ever expect it from him, if you refuſe it to your fellow-creatures? In offences of

Charity.

[c] Mark. ibid. ver. 38, 39 Luke ix 49.

a different nature, and of an ill tendency to religion, your duty is to admoniſh the offender, firſt in the privateſt manner; if this fails, repeat it before one or two witneſſes; if this doth not reclaim him, declare his offence to the church; and if he rejects their admonition and cenſure, let him be reſcinded from it; and, till he return and ſubmit, look upon him as an infidel; pity and pray for him, but avoid all familiar intercourſe with him. For here I repeat it again, whatever ſentence is thus regularly paſſed upon ſuch an obſtinate offender by you here on earth, ſhall be ratified in heaven. For whatever any number of you, though ever ſo ſmall, thus gathered in my name and ſpirit, ſhall agree to aſk from above, I will ſurely be in the midſt of them, to direct and help their prayers, and ſend them home with the deſired bleſſing [d].

Forgiveneſs: HERE Peter, finding that an offender was to be forgiven, if private admonition reclaimed him, aſked his maſter, how often he muſt repeat that forgiveneſs? whether ſo far as ſeven times? and was anſwered, not only as far as ſeven, but as ſeventy times ſeven, times. But to prevent their being ſcared at ſuch an unlimited number, he explained to them the unreaſonableneſs, as well as danger, of an unforgiving temper, by the ſignificant parable of a wicked ſervant, who, having had the vaſt debt of ten thouſand talents mercifully forgiven by his lord, went and arreſted a fellow-ſervant for a poor hundred pence, and, without any regard to his entreaties and tears, threw him into a goal; for which mercileſs cruelty his lord condemned him to a condign puniſhment. The application was eaſy, and the force of the parallel eaſily felt; but Jeſus was pleaſed to corroborate it, by aſſuring them on his infallible word, that they muſt expect no forgiveneſs from his heavenl Father, unleſs they were willing and ready to forgive each other their treſpaſſes.

AFTER a ſhort ſtay at Capernaum, the feaſt of tabernacles drawing near, ſome of his near relations, who were, it ſeems, the backwardeſt to believe in him, obſerving what a long ſtay he had made in Galilee, and how the fear of the Jews had made him avoid going into Judæa [e], took upon them to reprove him for it, telling him, that, if his deſign was to make himſelf known to the world, he ought to go and ſhew himſelf at Jeruſalem to the great concourſe of people that were juſt ready to flock to that feaſt, inſtead of hiding himſelf in thoſe obſcure corners of Galilee. Jeſus, inſtead of reproving their temerity, only took occaſion to remind them,

[d] Matth. xviii. 15. ad fin. & alib. ubi ſupra. [e] John vii. 1, & ſeq.

them, that they indeed had nothing to fear there from the Jews; but that it was otherwiſe with him, againſt whoſe life the heads of that nation were more buſily plotting at this time than ever. He therefore told them, that they might go thither as ſoon as they pleaſed; but as to himſelf, he would take his own time. He ſtaid not long, however, after them, but went thitheri n the privateſt manner he could, for fear of awaking the jealouſy of his enemies [f]. He choſe to go through ſome parts of Samaria, and ſent one or two of his diſciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on the road; but theſe, according to their uſual rancour, underſtanding that he was going to Jeruſalelem to the approaching feaſt, refuſed to give him any entertainment; which ſo exaſperated his company, that the two Boanerges, whom we mentioned in a late note, were for bringing down fire from heaven to conſume that ungodly place. But Jeſus gave them ſo ſevere a rebuke, as made them ſenſible how diametrically oppoſite ſuch a revengeful and murdering ſpirit was to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to ſave mankind [g].

Jeſus goes to the feaſt of tabernacles:

BEFORE he reached Jeruſalem, he was pleaſed to appoint another college of diſciples, to the number of ſeventy, anſwering to the number of the elders choſen by Moſes to be his aſſiſtants [h], as that of the twelve apoſtles did to the twelve tribes of Iſrael (R). Theſe he ſent alſo

Appoints ſeventy diſciples:

[f] Ibid. ver. 4. & ſeq. [g] Luke ix. 51, & ſeq. [h] Vid. Exod. xviii. paſſ. Deut. i. 9. See alſo vol. ii. p. 600, & vol. iii. p. 5, (H)

(R) The names of theſe ſeventy or ſeventy-two (for they are indifferently called by either number, the firſt becauſe expreſly mentioned by St. Luke, and the latter from a ſuppoſition that he uſes the round number inſtead of that of ſeventy-two, anſwering to ſeven out of each of the twelve tribes are moſtly unknown to us. We find only twenty eight of them in Euſebius (27), Epiphanius (28), and Papias (29), chiefly mentioned in the acts, they are as follows: Matthias, Mark, Luke, Barnabas, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolas, Juſtus, Apelles, Soſthenes, Rufus, Niger, Cephas, Thaddeus, Ariſtion, John, Barſabas, Andronicus, Junius, Silas, Lucius, Menahem, Mnaſon, and Ananias the ſame who baptiſed St. Paul (30).

(27) Eccl. hiſt. l. i. c. 12. Vid. & Mills in Luke x. 1. (28) De Chriſt. c. 4. (29) Ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupra, l. iii. c. 39. (30) Acts ix. 10, & ſeq.

also by two and two, and with the same instructions and miraculous power which he had given to the twelve apostles; with this difference only, that the former were permitted to go to any city of Israel, but these only to those particular cities where himself designed to come after and preach [i]. By this time the feast of tabernacles was come, when there was no small search after, nor small strife about, him; some doubting whether he would venture himself, some affirming him to be a prophet, others an impostor. He appeared at length publickly in the temple about the latter end of the feast, and, to their great suprize, taught boldly and openly there; and displayed such a superior knowledge of the sacred books, that they could not forbear asking one another in a kind of amazement, whence a man of so mean an education could ever attain to it? When Jesus heard this reasoning, he assured them, that his doctrine was not from men, but from heaven; and that if any of them were but sincerely disposed to do the will of God, they would soon be convinced of the truth of what he said. Whilst therefore some admired his courage, in speaking such bold truths at the hazard of his life, and affirmed his miracles to demonstrate him to be the true Messiah, others, more obstinate, objected the meanness of his birth and parentage. To these he answered, that whatever they might know of his earthly descent, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly one; all which he enforced by such irrefragable proofs, that a great number of them began to believe openly in him, which when the Jewish magistrates knew, they sent some of their officers to apprehend him. But as his time was not yet come, instead of following their instructions, they came back filled with admiration, and told those chiefs, that they never heard a man speak like him [k].

Teaches in the temple.

On the last day of the feast, in which they used the ceremony of drawing water, and bringing of wood into the temple, concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume *, Jesus took occasion to entertain his audience with a discourse on those living waters, which were to be imparted to those who believed in him, alluding, as the evangelist observes, to those gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, which were shortly after to be poured on his church. This last speech caused a fresh division among them, some believing that none but the Messiah could express himself in that exalted manner; others objecting his being an obscure Galilean, whereas the Messiah was, they rightly said, to be born in

[i] Luke x. 1 & seq. [k] John vii. 11. & seq. * Vol. iii. p. 194

in Bethlehem; for ſo he was, though they knew it not. But the Phariſees, more exaſperated than the reſt, to hear ſuch numbers of the multitude, and particularly the officers ſent to ſeize on him, declare themſelves ſo openly for him, were the loudeſt in their invectives againſt him and them, alledging, that none of their learned rabbies or rulers, or indeed any but an accurſed ignorant mob, had believed on him. Here Nicodemus, who was his diſciple, though ſecretly, undertook to moderate the difference, by reminding thoſe hot-headed zealots, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that raſh and mercileſs manner, and without hearing what he had to ſay in his own defence. This ſpeech galled them ſo much the more, becauſe, though they were conſcious of the charge, they dared not bring it to ſo fair an iſſue. They therefore aſked him in a tumultuous manner, whether he was a Galilean? and bid him go and ſearch the ſcriptures, and he would find that that province never yet produced a prophet (S); after which the aſſembly was broke up for that time [1].

The Phariſees inveigh againſt him.

Jesus went that night out of the city, aud retired towards the mount of olives, and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treaſury of the temple, where the Scribes and Phariſees brought an adultreſs before him, ſaid to be taken in the very act (T). We have ſeen in a former volume, that the Moſaic law condemned ſuch offenders to death †, and they failed not to remind him of it; but pretended to have a deſire to know what he thought was to be done in this caſe, that they might find ſome accuſation againſt

An adultereſs brought before him.

[1] John ibid. verſ. 37, ad fin. † See Vol. iii. p. 346.

(S) And yet we have formerly ſhewn that Jonah, who is univerſally acknowledged by them to have been a prophet, was a native of Gathepher, a town in the tribe of Zebulun in Galilee †, ſo that theſe men muſt have been either very ignorant or perverſe to have affirmed ſuch a palpable falſhood.

(T) This whole ſtory of the woman is omitted in the Syriac and ſome other antient verſions. Thoſe who conclude from our Saviour's abſolving, or rather refuſing to condemn, her according to the Moſaic law (31), that adultery ought not therefore to be looked upon as a capital crime under the goſpel, may as well argue againſt the lawfulneſs of dividing inheritances, becauſe he refuſed in the like manner to intermeddle with ſuch an affair, when deſired by one of the parties (32).

† Vid. ſup. Vol. iv. p. 129, (A). (31) Deut. xvii. 7. (32) Luke xii. 13.

againſt him, ſuch as his too great ſeverity, if he condemned, or if he did not, his too great indulgence and diſregard to the law; or, in either caſe, his aſſuming a judicial power. Jeſus, who eaſily perceived their malicious deſign, ſtooped down, and made as if he did not hear them, but was writing ſomething with his finger on the ground. This made them more earneſt to make him declare his mind, upon which he roſe up, and told them, that he, who was free from ſin, ſhould caſt the firſt ſtone, and then returned to his former attitude. This unlooked-for anſwer filled thoſe hypocrites, not only with wonder, but with ſuch ſhame and remorſe, that they withdrew themſelves one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When Jeſus ſtood up and found all her accuſers gone, he diſmiſſed her with this mild reproof, *Go thy way, and ſin no more*, and then reſumed his diſcourſe to his audience [m].

He began with telling them, that he was the true light of the world, aud that thoſe who followed him were free from darkneſs. This expreſſion exaſperated the Phariſees afreſh, who thought that title to belong to them alone. They therefore deſpiſed him, as bearing teſtimony of himſelf, but were anſwered, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for bearing a pompous teſtimony and complimenting one another; but as for him, he had the teſtimony of Moſes and the prophets, of John the Baptiſt, and above all, that of his heavenly father, of which the ſtupendous works, which he wrought before them, were an undeniable proof. But added he, this will more evidently appear after ye have lifted me up on the croſs; for then ſhall my diſciples find themſelves truly freed from that yoke and thraldom, under which the reſt of the world doth groan. Here the Phariſees, not perceiving that he ſpoke of the freedom from ſin and guilt, told him with their wonted aſſurance, that they being Abraham's children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, ſince they had never been in bondage to any; but Jeſus, inſtead of exploding the falſhood, told them, that if their actions were to determine whoſe children they were, their pride, avarice, perſecuting and murdering ſpirit, and their perverſe oppoſing of all ſaving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil and the ſlaves of ſin, than the free-born offspring of a righteous Abraham. The Jews, unable to refel ſo juſt a cenſure, contented themſelves with calling him a Samaritan and a demoniac, but were anſwered, that the zeal which he had as conſtantly expreſſed

[m] John viii. 1, & ſeq.

preſſed for his father's honour, and the malice with which they had as conſtantly oppoſed him in it, could eaſily determine which of the two did moſt deſerve the appellative of demoniac. However, he added, turning to his audience, This I aſſure you of, that he who obeys that divine law which I am preaching unto you, ſhall never die. This equivocal expreſſion raiſed new arguments, as well as new invectives, from the carnal Jews, which, in this and ſome other occaſions, we ſhall for brevity omit; tho' they roſe to ſuch height, that they attempted ſeveral times to ſtone him, but he as often miraculouſly conveyed himſelf away from them [n].

The ſeventy return with joy.

Upon his departure from the city, the ſeventy diſciples rejoined him, and with no ſmall joy acquainted him with their ſucceſs, and that the very devils became ſubject unto them. Jeſus, though pleaſed with the approaching downfal of Satan's power, yet obſerving that his diſciples ſeemed to expreſs too great a ſatisfaction at their miraculous power, bade them rather rejoice at their having their names written in heaven. Whilſt he was giving them ſome further directions for their rightly diſpenſing of theſe new gifts, a certain doctor of the law aſked him, what he muſt do to be ſaved? Jeſus referred him to the Moſaic law, the ſum and ſubſtance of which conſiſted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as one's ſelf. But as the ſteight-laced Jews ſcarcely accounted any but thoſe of their nation and ſect for their neighbour, the lawyer aſked him further, whom he ought to look upon as ſuch? Upon which Jeſus put forth that moſt excellent parable of the Jew that fell among thieves; and, after having been over-looked and neglected by prieſts and levites, was at length happily relieved by the charitable Samaritan. From which he concluded, that our duty to our neighbour was not confined to ſect, nation, or any other circumſtance, but extended to all mankind. In his way to Galilee, he ſtopped at a ſmall village called Bethany, ſituate on the furtheſt part of the mount of olives, where he was entertained by Lazarus and his two ſiſters. Theſe upon his arrival were very differently employed, Martha in preparing an elegant ſupper, and Mary in liſtening at Jeſus's feet to his heavenly diſcourſe. Martha vexed to ſee her ſiſter Mary (U) leave the whole care of the feaſt to her, went and complained

Parable of the good Samaritan.

[n] Ibid. verſ. 12, & ſeq.

(U) This Mary has been wrongfully confounded with that ſinful woman, mentioned a little higher, out of the ſame evangeliſt,

complained of it before him; but, instead of her help, she received this severe rebuke from Jesus's mouth, that she incumbered herself too much about the trifling affairs of a supper, whilst her wiser sister was minding the one thing necessary, the concerns of another and a better life[o].

Teaches in Galilee.

FROM Bethany he proceeded to Galilee, where he went about teaching in every synagogue and other convenient places, instructing his followers with many excellent parables, and confirming all still with some new miracles[q]. Among the last, he wrought one on the sabbath day, in some Jewish synagogue, on a poor decrepit woman, whom old age and sickness had so bowed down, that she had not been able to raise herself up during the space of eighteen years. Jesus moved with her misery, called her to him, and having laid his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity, not without moving the Pharisaic indignation and resentment; but Jesus retorted their reproofs with such powerful arguments and familiar parables, as did at least silence them, though all too little to convince them, that doing such good deeds was the proper work of that day. The following is a very pregnant instance of it.

JESUS, after frequent preragrations through Galilee and Judæa, was come to the feast of the dedication of the temple, instituted by Judas Maccabæus, and mentioned in a former section *. He chanced one day, which was the sabbath, to meet in the street a man that was born blind, concerning whom his disciples asked him, whether the sins of his parents, or his own, had brought that calamity upon him (W)? Jesus answered, that neither his own nor his forefathers sins were the cause of his blindness; but that God suffered such things to happen for the greater manifestation of his unlimited power,

[o] Luke x. 17. ad fin. [p] Luke cap. xi. & xii. pass. * See vol. x. p. & 136, & note (W).

gelist, who doth not tell us her name, but only that she came to be absolved by Jesus. It doth in no case appear, that Mary, Lazarus's sister, was ever a woman of that loose character; on the contrary, Jesus, who often lodged at their house, is expressly said to have had a particular affection for the whole family; we shall see a pregnant instance of it in the sequel.

(W) This question plainly proves, that the Jews believed the doctrine of the soul's sinning in a pre-existent state, and being punished for it in another. Else a man born blind could not be supposed to have been born so on account of his own sins.

power, adding, that he was chiefly come to make a fuller diſplay of it. Having thus ſaid, he ſpit upon the ground, and anointed the blind-man's eyes with the moiſtened earth, and bid him go and waſh himſelf in Siloam's pool. He did ſo, and obtained his ſight to the no ſmall admiration of all that ſaw him, who could hardly perſuade themſelves that he was the ſame perſon, till he had aſſured them of it. The news of this wonderful cure was ſoon brought to the ſanhedrin, whither the man was alſo brought, and carefully examined; but, upon his acquainting them with the circumſtance of Jeſus's anointing his eyes with the clay made of his ſpittle, a great diſenſion aroſe among them, one ſide affirming this action to be a breach of the ſabbath, and the other aſking them, how they could ſuppoſe it poſſible for a ſinner and ſabbath-breaker to work ſuch an extraordinary miracle? To be therefore ſatisfied of the truth of the fact, they ordered his parents to be brought before them, who, upon examination, owned the man to be their ſon and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant how he had recovered his ſight. Upon their receiving this further evidence, they called the young man in again, and bid him aſcribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for as to the man who had wrought it, they knew him to be a ſinner and a cheat. After ſeveral other enquiries, in which they betrayed the moſt unaccountable partiality and inveterate rancour againſt his divine phyſician, the young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence; and to remind them, that ſince the creation of the world, no ſuch cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind, and that it was conſequently not only above the power of ſuch a hateful ſinner as they repreſented him, (ſince all ſuch are in the higheſt deteſtation with God) but even above the power of any but a true prophet ſent from above.

Cures a man that was born blind.

The ſanhedrin condemn him.

SUCH ſtrong reaſoning, accompanied with ſo much candor and honeſt boldneſs, might have wrought on any hearts, but thoſe of the Phariſaic mould; but theſe, exaſperated to hear themſelves ſo juſtly reproved by a man whom they accounted altogether born in ſin, after a ſevere and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the aſſembly [q] (X). But Jeſus, who found him ſoon after in the temple

[q] John ix. per tot.

(X) The text doth barely ſay, that they ordered him to be turned out; but ſome underſtand it of his being caſt out of the ſynagoue, or, in other words, that they excommunicated him. It is

temple, gave him a more gracious reception, and then turning to the audience, took occasion, from the late partial behaviour of the sanhedrin, to exclaim against those false and pernicious teachers, under the similitude of shepherds and their flocks, and to shew them, that many of those climbed up into the sheep-fold by private and unlawful ways, like thieves and robbers, only to kill and destroy the sheep. That others, who were only hirelings, and had neither property in, nor true concern for, their flocks, minded nothing but their fleece and their milk; so that when they saw them in danger from ravenous beasts, they left them to become a prey, instead of protecting and defending them. Hence he proved himself to be the true shepherd, because he came to give his life for his sheep, and to procure them wholesome and lasting pasture. He concluded with telling them, that he had other sheep, than those of the Jewish kind, to bring into his fold, which would prove more tractable and obedient to his voice, intimating thereby the conversion of the heathen world.

THIS discourse had likewise a different effect on his audience, some calling him a demoniac and blaming the rest for listening to him; others asking, when they had ever known a demoniac utter such excellent truths, or open the eyes of a man born blind [r]?

Year of the flood 4035. Of Christ 36. The last year of Christ's ministry.

WE pass now to the fourth and last year of his public ministry, an epoch full of the most surprizing and signal events that ever the world beheld; the redemption of mankind by the blood of the Son of God; his resurrection, ascension, mission of the Holy Spirit; miraculous change wrought on the apostles and first preachers of christianity; the church of Christ planted by the powerful preaching of a few plain and illiterate fishermen, confirmed by great and glorious miracles wrought by them, by many supernatural gifts bestowed on them

[r] John x. pass.

is true, they had passed that sentence on every one that should acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ (33), and his actually doing so before them all had made him liable to it; but it doth not appear from the evangelist, that they pronounced excommunication against him: if they did, he seems to have been the first confessor, as John the Baptist had been the first martyr, for the testimony of Christ.

(33) John ix. 22.

them, and by them on the firſt believers and preachers, and in a little time cemented by the blood of innumerable martyrs, and founded on ſo firm and immoveable a rock, that neither the powers of earth or hell have ſince been able to deſtroy it. We ſhall omit a great number of his excellent ſermons, parables, ſtrenuous ſtruggles with the incredulous Jews, and frequent perſecutions from the Phariſees and Sadducees; but eſpecially a much greater number and variety of miracles which he wrought within this ſhort interval, to come to that celebrated one, which determined the ſanhedrin at length at any rate to put him to death. We mean the raiſing of his friend Lazarus from death to life, after he had been four days buried and corrupting in his grave, and in the preſence of a great multitude of conſiderable Jews, who, by reaſon of the nearneſs of Bethany to Jeruſalem, were come thither from that metropolis to the burial, and were eye-witneſſes of this ſtupendous fact.

He raiſes Lazarus from the dead.

Jesus had deſignedly conveyed himſelf away at ſome diſtance from him, during the time of his ſickneſs, and had at laſt acquainted his diſciples with his death, adding to it, that he would now go and raiſe him up to life. Upon his approaching to Bethany, Martha, who was informed of his coming, went to meet him at ſome diſtance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that if he had been there, her brother would not have died. Jeſus comforted her with the promiſe of his riſing again, but ſhe underſtanding it of the laſt reſurrection, earneſtly entreated him, that he would now uſe his never-failing interceſſion with his heavenly Father to have him reſtored to life. Having obtained a gracious promiſe from him, ſhe went in haſte to call her ſiſter, who came accordingly accompanied with a great number of Jews, who were come to comfort her, and by her haſty departure ſuppoſed, that ſhe was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. As ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of Jeſus, ſhe fell on her knees, and expreſſed her grief in ſuch a pathetic manner, as drew ſome ſighs and tears from him, as well as from the reſt of the by-ſtanders. At length, ſeeing freſh multitudes coming towards him, he deſired the two ſiſters to conduct him to the grave, the ſight of which drew a freſh ſhower of tears from him, inſomuch, that the Jews wondered, that he, who could give ſight to a man born blind, ſhould not interpoſe the ſame miraculous power to have ſaved ſo dear a friend from death. Whilſt they held this diſcourſe, Jeſus ordered the grave-ſtone to be removed, at which Martha cried out, *Lord, by this time he ſtinketh!* But he, after a gentle reproof for

ſuffering her faith to fail ſo ſoon, addreſſing himſelf to heaven in a pathetic prayer, called out aloud, Lazarus, *come forth*. Upon which he that was dead came out, bound as he was, in his funeral dreſs (Y); from which he was at Jeſus's deſire immediately looſed [s].

It is eaſy to imagine either the joy of the two ſiſters, or the ſurprize of the reſt of the Jews, at the ſight of ſo ſtupendous a miracle; and indeed it wrought ſuch a conviction in the greateſt part of them, that they began *now* to confeſs him in good earneſt to be the Meſſiah. And not only thoſe who had been witneſſes of it, but vaſt multitudes of others, who,

[s] John xi. 1, & ſeq.

(Y) This circumſtance, expreſly mentioned by the evangeliſt, renders the miracle ſtill more authentic and unqueſtionable. We are told by him in another place (34), that the cuſtom of the Jews (thoſe at leaſt that could afford it) was to embalm the dead with an aromatic mixture of myrrh, aloes, and other gums, mixed with ſpices, with which they rubbed their bodies all over, more or leſs profuſely, according to their circumſtances, or regard to the dead perſon; after which they wrapped their heads all over with a napkin, and their whole body with a ſhroud or winding-ſheet, both which they afterwards ſweathed as tightly as they could with proper bandages (35).

We formerly obſerved alſo, that they buried their dead very ſoon †, ſeldom or never keeping them twenty-four hours above ground. Lazarus therefore, having been dead four days, muſt have lain at leaſt three of them in his grave, which was a cave cut into the rock and covered with a large ſtone; ſo that it was impoſſible for any cheat or impoſture to be tranſacted with all thoſe circumſtances, ſince if it could be even ſuppoſed, that a perſon could live ſo many days in ſuch a damp and airleſs cave, yet the linen ſweathed on his face and body, and over ſuch a gummy compoſition, muſt have ſmothered him in leſs than ſo many hours.

This was ſo plain and unqueſtionable, that neither any Jews there preſent, nor even any of the ſanhedrin, pretended to deny or doubt of the fact, but rather condemned him upon the notoriety of it, and as tending to give riſe to a new ſect, which would endanger their church and ſtate. Of the ſame nature afterwards was the apoſtle's cure of an old cripple; which though the whole ſanhedrin owned and acknowledged to be a miracle (36), yet they endeavoured by the like unjuſtifiable means to ſuppreſs, and upon the ſame account.

(34) xix. 39. (35) De his vid. Jo. Nicolas ſepult. Hebræor. Calmet. diſſert. in ead. Leo de Moden. cerem. Jud. part. 5. c. 8. Lamy apparat, & al. † Vid. Vol. iii. p. 393. (36) Vid. Acts iv. 14, & ſeq Conf. cum cap. iii. 1, & ſeq.

who, hearing of it from them, came flocking to Bethany to be further satisfied of it, believed also in him. The sanhedrin was soon acquainted with this transaction, and were in no small concern how to put an effectual stop to this dangerous encrease both of his fame and of the number of his disciples. For, as they rightly argued, if we let him alone and suffer him to work such signal miracles, all men will believe on him; the consequence of which will be that the jealous Romans will come and destroy both our place and nation. At length Caiaphas, the then high-priest stood up and spake to this effect: You seem to know nothing at all, nor to consider that it is expedient that one man should die to prevent the ruin of a nation [t]. Little did he or they think he was then inspired from above, and that he was delivering the will and decrees of heaven, that Jesus should suffer death, not for the Jewish nation only, but for the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him, from the four corners of the earth. For being high priest that year, it pleased God to give him the spirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby further manifest the accomplishment of the divine oracles, concerning the Messiah's dying for the sins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and after they had once resolved on his death, they were easily determined to cut off Lazarus also, the sight of whom daily encreased the number of believers.

The Jews consult to put him to death.

Caiphas prophesies.

But Jesus, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the result of their last consultation, withdrew himself into a small city, called Ephraim, in the neighbourhood of the wood or wilderness of that name [u], and there continued with his disciples till the approaching feast of the passover. He left the place six days before that feast to go to Jerusalem, and took Bethany in his way, where Lazarus and his sisters entertained him and his disciples at a sumptuous supper; it being a sabbath night, at which times they kept a more plenteous table. Whilst they were eating, Mary, to shew her extreme regard to their guest, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of spikenard, whose fragancy filled the whole house. Whilst the disciples were wondering at her profuseness, Judas, whom we observed to have been their knavish treasurer, could not conceal his indignation at it, and asking why the ointment was not rather sold and the money given to the poor; the rest of the twelve seemed also in some measure to

[t] Ibid. vers. 47, & seq. [u] Vid. 2 Sam. xviii. 6, & seq.

join with him in it [x], till Jeſus had ſeverely rebuked him, and excuſed her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial rite; adding moreover, that the memorial of it ſhould be preſerved to her honour, as far, and as long as, the preaching of his goſpel ſhould reach, or endure [y].

On the very next day (Z), Jeſus, knowing his time to be juſt at hand, marched now boldly towards Jeruſalem, whilſt his diſciples, to whom he had more than once or twice foretold all the circumſtances of his future ſufferings and death [z], accompanied him with heavy and trembling hearts. As for the traytor Judas, he conceived ſuch a grudge againſt him at the laſt night's action, that he reſolved to betray him into the hands of his enemies upon the very firſt opportunity. When they were come to Bethpage upon mount Olivet, within a ſmall mile of Jeruſalem, Jeſus directed two of his diſciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a ſhe aſs, with a young colt by her, that had never been backed; and if the owners aſked them any queſtions, they ſhould only anſwer, that the Lord had occaſion for them, and they would readily permit them to be brought to him. They brought the aſs and colt accordingly, and having ſpread a garment upon the latter, ſet Jeſus on it, and accompanied him to Jeruſalem, in a kind of triumph, attended by great multitudes; ſome of whom going before, ſtrewed the way with their garments and green boughs, crying out Hozanna (A); *bleſſed is the ſon of* David, *and bleſſed is the king of* Iſrael, *who cometh in the name of the Lord.* Thus was that famous prophecy of Zachary fulfilled;

[x] Conf. Math. xxvi. 8. Mark xiv. 4. & John xii. 4. [y] John ibid. vii. & ſeq. [z] Vid. Math. xx. 17, & ſeq. Mark x. 31, & ſeq. Luke xviii. 31.

(Z) This happened in this year on the tenth day of the month Niſan, anſwering to the twenty-ninth of our March, and was the day on which the paſſover lamb was taken up and preſented at Jeruſalem (37).

(A) Or rather, according the Hebrew, Hoſhah-na, *Save, we pray*; ſo that this was a kind of prayer or bleſſing uſed by the Jews, and taken from the hundred and eighteenth pſalm (38), and ſignified *Save, preſerve, and proſper, Lord, this Son of* David.

(37) Vid. Uſſer, & Echard, & ſup. Vol. iii. p. 185, & ſeq.
(38) verſ. 25.

filled; *Fear not, O daughter of* Sion, *behold thy king cometh to thee, juſt, humble, and meek, and riding on the foal of an aſs* [a]. The multitudes ſtill encreaſing as they went on, the Phariſees, which beheld the ſight and heard thoſe acclamations with no ſmall indignation, drew nearer to him, and earneſtly deſired him that he would command at leaſt his diſciples, if not the whole croud, to be ſilent. But Jeſus rather choſe to ſilence their own envy, by aſſuring them, that if thoſe ſhould hold their peace, the very ſtones would cry out, and proclaim the divine author of ſo many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to ſuppreſs the pomp and noiſe of that mock triumph, as well as the Hozannas of the multitude, which, he but to well knew, would in a few days be changed into the blaſphemous cry of, *Away with him, crucify him.* For as he drew nearer to Jeruſalem, the ſight of that rebellious and unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful proſpect of that approaching ruin, which was now haſtening on upon it, and which he himſelf had more than once foretold to his diſciples (B), it

Jeſus weeps over Jeruſalem.

[a] Conf. Zach ix. 9. Iſaiah lxii. 1. Matth. xxi. 1, & ſeq. Mark xi. 1, & ſeq. & alib.

(B) Particularly in that full, elegant, and pathetic deſcription he gave to them of it, when being near the ſame place, the twelve deſired him to look back, and behold the beauty and magnificence of the temple, the ſtrength and prodigious ſize of its ſtones; and the like (39); and where he foretold them, that before the preſent generation was dead and paſt, not only that ſtately and ſtupendous fabric, but the whole city, would be reduced into a heap of rubbiſh (40).

And on this occaſion it was, that from the likeneſs of the deſtruction of the Jewiſh polity, and that of the world, or, (as others perhaps more rightly underſtand it) the final end of idolatry, irreligion, and every wicked work, uſhering in the millennium, in which Chriſt and his doctrine ſhall be univerſally acknowledged and profeſſed throughout the world, during a thouſand years; from the near reſemblance, I ſay, of thoſe two dreadful cataſtrophes, of which the former ſeems to have been a lively type of the latter, whether as to its prognoſtics, ſuch as univerſal degeneracy and apoſtacy, a general deception by falſe prophets, lying wonders, abominable wickedneſs, cruelty, oppreſſion, wars, tumults on the earth, dreadful ſigns in the heavens, and the like; or, as to its diſmal conſequences, the horrid deſtruction of the Jews

(39) Vid. Matth. xxiv. 1, & ſeq. (40) Ibid. verſ. 34.

was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here it was, that the dismal scene having quite disarmed him of his anger and resentment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: "Oh that thou hadst but known, "at least in these thy latter days, the things that would have "conduced

Jews by war, pestilence, and famine, in the former, or of the sinful race of men in the latter, typified by that of Gog and Magog, and other figurative expressions preceding the millennium; Christ takes occasion to make such a natural, but almost unperceptible, transition, that the primitive christians could not easily distinguish them, but were led into a notion, that he spoke of one and the same catastrophe, which was consequently to happen before the extinction of the then living race.

For it was in this sense that they took the word "generation," according to which it was also meant, and really fulfilled with respect to the Jews; but the word דור, dor, was no less capable of a larger sense; the Hebrew, Syriac, &c. having none other or better to express a much longer series of time. Thus they indifferently speak of the generation of the antediluvians, of that under the judges, king's, priests, &c. and we have elsewhere more than once observed that they divided the world into three epochas, or in their style, into three generations, consisting each of two thousand years. The first before, the second under, the law, and the third under the messiah. It was therefore to the exit of this last, that the second part of his prophecy had an eye, when that thorough change was to be wrought in the world, elegantly expressed in the prophetic writings by a new heaven, and a new earth, a new Jerusalem, &c.

As long therefore as the mistake of the primitive christians, in cutting the epocha so very short, had no other tendency than to make them more fervent, zealous, and heavenly-minded, more patient and heroic under sufferings and persecutions, and more fervent and diligent in preaching the gospel; the inspired writers might have thought it a sufficient warrant for their overlooking it. But St. Peter, among others, seems to have taken particular care to rectify it, and to obviate the objection which might be raised from their non completion at the expected time, by reminding them that what they mistook for a delay, was not really such, since with God a thousand years are but as one day (41). A phrase well understood then by the Jews, to whom he wrote, and which alluded most probably to the notion of the six days of the creation, presignifying the six thousand years duration of the world, before the great and glorious change, which it was to receive at Christ's second coming.

(41) 2 Peter iii. 8. Conf. cum Revel. xx. 6.

" conduced to thy peace! but now are they hidden from thee;
" and now the ſad and appointed time draws near, when the
" enemy ſhall ſurround thee with trenches, and incloſe thee
" on every ſide, butcher thy children within thy boſom, and
" level thee with the ground, ſo that not a ſtone ſhall be left
" ſtanding upon another, becauſe thou would not know the
" time of thy viſitation [b] (C)". The people, however, more full of the preſent triumph, than mindful of his diſtant threatenings, went and entered the city with their uſual acclamations, and drew ſuch a vaſt concourſe after them, to know who this prophet was for whom they made all this buſtle, that the whole city was in an uproar; and well it might, when they heard them ſay, that it was Jeſus of Nazareth, the promiſed Meſſiah, and remembered at the ſame time what a ſevere ſentence the ſanhedrin had paſſed againſt not only him, but every one who ſhould acknowledge him to be the Chriſt.

[b] Conf. Luke xix. 37, & ſeq. & John xii. 12, & ſeq.

(C) Thoſe who maintain the doctrine of predeſtination, though even in the more moderate ſenſe of it, called by them the Sublapſarian ſyſtem, would do well to conſider, what a horrid ſcene of mockery and injuſtice they make the ſon of God, and redeemer of the world, to act here upon this melancholy occaſion. For if the Jews blindneſs and infidelity, their perſecuting and murdering of him, their obſtinacy in rejecting him and his doctrine, and thoſe dreadful puniſhments which were ſhortly to be the conſequence of it, were not only abſolutely unavoidable by them, but were owing to the want of that ſupernatural grace and power, which he only came to impart to ſome few elect, whilſt he wholly excluded the reſt of mankind from it; with what ſincerity could he ſay to them, even with tears, *Oh that thou hadſt known at leaſt*, &c. or with what juſtice cry out againſt them, *Oh Jeruſalem, that murdereſt the prophets, &c. how often would I have gathered thee and thy children, with the ſame care and tenderneſs, that a hen doth her chickens! and ye would not, therefore*, &c. (42); but there is ſomething ſo monſtrouſly ſhocking and impious both in that ſupooſition, and in the doctrine from which it flows of courſe that we may juſtly wonder, that neither this, nor all the learned treatiſes which have been written againſt it (43), have hitherto been able to explode it; but as the argument belongs no farther to our province, than as we are bound to vindicate the divine juſtice and mercy diſplayed in the goſpel, we ſhall gladly diſmiſs it.

(42) Matth. xxiii. 34, & ſeq. (43) Vid. int. al. Le Clerc, Pelling, Whitby.

Monday before his passion.

JESUS repaired immediately to the temple, and, as he had formerly done, expelled all the mercantile brood ftom that facred place, and convinced them of his authority for fo doing, by working feveral cures there, on the fick, lame, and blind, whilft the wondering multitude continued their loud accclamations of Hofannah to the fon of David [c]; to the great fcandal of the Pharifees, who did all they could to filence them. But Jefus, who knew the main fpring of all their pretended zeal, not only ftopped their invectives, by reminding them of that prophecy out of the pfalmift; *Out of the mouth of babes and fucklings thou haft perfected praife*; but expofed their malice and obftinacy by fuch ftrong arguments and pungent parables, that they would doubtlefs have laid hold on him, had not the fight of fo great a multitude overawed them [d]. There were at this time a number of Greeks (D), who were come to the feaft, and expreffed a defire to fee him. Jefus readily caufed them to be called in; and to take off the fcandal of the crofs, by which he was going to procure the falvation of both Jews and Gentiles, he entertained them with a difcourfe on his fufferings, and clofed it with affuring his audience, that thofe only, who, after his example, were ready to lay down their lives for the fake of heaven, would be intitled to it. Reflecting next on the glory which God would receive from his death, he broke out into this ejaculation, *Father, glorify thy name*; and was anfwered by a voice from heaven, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again*. This was probably meant of the plentiful effufion of the Holy Ghoft, and that converfion of the Gentile world, which was fhortly to follow his death; but the people, not rightly attending to it, miftook the voice, fome for that of an angel fpeaking to him, fome for what the called the bath-col (E), and others for a clap of thunder; till he affured

[c] Conf. Pf. viii. 2, & Matth. xxi. 16. [d] Matth. ibid 24. ad fin.

(D) Thefe were properly neither Jews nor Gentiles, but what the former called profelytes of the gate, of whom we have fpoken more fully in a former volume †.

(E) This word which literally fignifies the daughter voice, or daughter of the voice, is what the Jews have fubftituted to the gift of prophecy, after this laft had been extinct in Zachary and Malachi, the laft of the prophets. For though they allow, that feveral eminent men among them have been fince endowed with it,

† See Vol. iii. p. 318, 319.

assured them, that it was a real voice sent from heaven, not for his but their sakes; and to warn them to make a right use of

it, such as we have seen some of the Essenians; yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inspiration, whilst these had it chiefly by the help of the bath-col.

They are, however, divided in their notions concerning this last, having no other guide to go by than their pretended tradition, which they make no difficulty to understand, every one in his own way, and as it best serves their turn. Whilst therefore some pretended, that it was a plain, loud, and articulate voice, such as was heard by young Samuel (44); others looked upon it either as a kind of a soft whisper, and others again as a kind of internal voice speaking to the heart of the person.

Whether there is any foundation for the two former, is hard to affirm upon so tottering a testimony of the rabbies, who all own to have lived long after they had in some measure ceased to be so common. Of this nature was that which is affirmed to have been heard to pronounce rabbi Akiba happy in the next world, after he had been sent out of this by order of the emperor Hadrian; and another, which declared two famous doctors, Hillel and Samuel, to be worthy to receive the Holy Ghost; and some others (45), which if really heard, might be yet owing to some juggle of those who were concerned in it. As for the last, or inward one, though it were hard to disprove good men having such secret motions or impulses, yet they may be of two uncertain a nature to be always depended upon.

But if we examine the practice of the compilers of the talmud, or even of those that lived before them, we shall find them consulting this bath-col in a much different way, and not unlike that of the Romans in their sortes Virgilianæ, and other heathenish superstitious methods; of which the two or three following, taken out of the talmud (46), will be a sufficient proof. "Rabbi Jochanan and Rabbi Simeon, desirous of seeing the face of "Rabbi Samuel, a prince among the Babylonish doctors, said, "Let us follow the directions of the bath-col. As they were "passing by a school in their travel thither, they heard one of "the boys reading these words out of the book of Samuel; "And Samuel died; from which they inferred, that the person "they were in search after was dead, and so it actually proved."

Two other doctors going to see a friend of theirs, and hearing a woman speak the words, "The lamp is going out," and her next neighbour answer, "May the lamp of Israel never go "out,"

(44) 1 Sam. iii, 4, & seq. (45) Vid. de his Basnag. hist. des Juifs, tom. 3. ch. 5. sect. 8. & seq. (46) Tractat. Shabbath fol. 8. col. 3. Vid. Prid. connect. sub an. c. 29.

of that light, or irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, leſt they ſhould bring upon themſelves a judicial blindneſs. For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the croſs, I ſhall draw all men unto me [e], intimating thereby doubtleſs, that his laying down his life in confirmation of his doctrine, joined to all the other evidences, that had preceded and were to follow it, and to the excellency of his precepts and rewards, would be ſufficient to draw all ſincere and well-diſpoſed perſons to his goſpel and religion.

THIS heavenly diſcourſe made a deep impreſſion on many of his audience, and amongſt them upon ſome of their chief rulers, who yet did not dare own themſelves his converts, for fear of being thruſt out of the ſynagogue. When the evening came, Jeſus, to avoid the croud, withdrew himſelf and his diſciples for that night to Bethany; and on the next morning they returned to Jeruſalem. In his way he obſerved a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed, but upon his approaching nearer it, as expecting to have found ſome fruit upon it, according to the ſeaſon of the year (F), and finding himſelf

[e] John xii. 20, & ſeq.

"out," took this alſo for a warning from the bath-col (47). But the moſt ſurpriſing was, that one rabbi Aſher, who had been guilty of ſo many notorious crimes, that upon his being led through thirteen different ſynagogues, in each of which they examined the verſe which the readers were then upon, they were every one found to be reading a grievous ſentence againſt him, ſuch as in one, the words, *There is no peace to the wicked*; in another, thoſe of the pſalmiſt, *Unto the wicked God ſays, What haſt thou to do to preach my laws?* &c and ſo of the reſt (48).

The whimſical way likewiſe of prying into futurity by the caſual opening of a book, was not confined to Jews and Gentiles, but was even practiſed by the chriſtians in the times of ignorance and ſuperſtition, of which the reader may ſee ſome inſtances in dean Prideaux, in the place laſt quoted out of his connection.

(F) It is ſtrange, that all verſions, except the antient Saxon one, have made St. Mark there ſay, that the time of the figs was not yet come, when the very time of the year, the warmneſs of the climate there, as well as the tenor of the ſtory, the deſign and juſtice of the curſe (for who can think the judge of all the earth

(47) Otho, hiſt. doct. Miſhm. ap. Baſnag. ubi ſupra, ſect. 9.
(48) Vid. Hotting. excerpt. gemar, & Baſnag. ubi ſupra.

himſelf diſappointed, he curſed the tree, upon which it preſently withered down to the very root. On the next morning, which was the Tueſday, Peter caſting his eye upon it as they went to Jeruſalem, could not forbear wondering at the ſuddeneſs of the change; upon which Chriſt took occaſion to aſſure them, that if they had but a ſtedfaſt faith in God, they might work much greater wonders than this; which they did accordingly, when their faith was ſoon after miracuouſly ſtrenghthened by the ſupernatural effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. Being arrived at the temple, the Phariſees began to aſk him again for ſome ſurer tokens of his authority, than thoſe miracles he wrought before them. Jeſus, who knew that nothing could convince them, if theſe did not, appealed immediately to the teſtimony of the baptiſt, aſking them at the ſame time, whether or no they acknowledged it from heaven? Here they found themſelves ſadly entangled; if they anſwered in the affirmative, they condemned themſelves; and if negatively, they were in danger

Tueſday.

Confutes the Phariſees.

earth could pronounce an unjuſt one?) all ſhew, that the time of the figs was come (49).

The deſign of this ſentence on a fruitleſs tree, like that other, *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground*, was, to ſhew the Jews what they muſt expect to be their lot, if, after having received ſo many incentives to repentance, eſpecially of late from the preaching of the baptiſt, of Chriſt's apoſtles and his own, they continued ſtill, like the fig-tree, barren and fruitleſs. This ſhould therefore have made the interpreters ſee, that there was either ſome error crept into the text, or a manifeſt one in the verſion; and upon due conſideration, they would have found, that, without any violence in the former, the latter ſhould have been rendered, *For where he was, the time of the figs was come*, or *it was the time of the figs there*.

This verſion will likewiſe juſtify the act, ſince it could be no injuſtice to the owner to rid his ground of a plant which ſucked its nouriſhment from it, without making any return to him; and here we beg leave to obſerve, that except this withering of the fig-tree, and that of ſending the ſwine into the lake, of which we have ſpoken in another note, all the other miracles were of the beneficent and merciful kind; ſo that to complain of two miracles of ſevere juſtice, if they were really ſuch, againſt him, who, ſetting aſide his abſolute power, has given us ſo many thouſands of goodneſs and mercy, argues a mind ſo extremely perverſe and ungrateful, as ought to make them fear leſt ſomething worſe ſhould befal them.

(49) Vid. Heinſ. in loc. Le Scene Eſſay, part 2, c. 6.

ger of being condemned by the audience; ſo that they were forced, after ſome deliberation, to have recourſe to that pitiful ſhift of owning that they knew not whence it was, for which Jeſus juſtly pronounced them unworthy of any further evidence from him [f].

It was upon this occaſion, that he tried to awaken them to a ſenſe of their obſtinacy and dangers, by ſeveral familiar, but pungent, parables, ſuch as that of the unjuſt and murdering huſbandmen; of the wedding ſupper; and of the ingratitude and inhumanity of thoſe that were invited to it; and ſome others of the ſame nature. But theſe, though feelingly enough underſtood by that hypocritical tribe, wrought no other effect upon them, than to ſet them upon ſeeking for ſome more effectual means to cut him off; and ſince they found it dangerous, by reaſon of the admiring multitude, to make any attempt upon him, to expoſe him at leaſt to the reſentment of the civil power. It was with this view that they ſent their diſciples, with ſome of the Herodians, to intangle him with the grand queſtion about the lawfulneſs of paying tribute to Cæſar, of which we took notice in the laſt ſection; and which being eaſily perceived, Jeſus as eaſily defeated their malicious intent, by calling for a piece of Cæſar's coin, and expoſing their hypocriſy, in making uſe of his money and protection, and yet refuſing to pay tribute to him, as affirming it inconſiſtent with their duty to God [g]. Next to theſe came the Sadducees, armed, as they thought, with ſuch a puzzling queſtion againſt the reſurrection, as all his learning could not elude the force of. It was of a woman, who, having been married, according to the Moſaic law [h], to ſeven brethren, had died at length, without having any children by any of them. They aſked him therefore, if there was any reſurrection, whoſe wife ſhe muſt be, ſince they all had her to wife?

Jesus prefaced his anſwer to their ſtupid queſtion with this excellent one; *Do ye not therefore err, becauſe ye know not the ſcriptures, nor the power of God?* implying thereby, that their denial of the reſurrecton proceeded from their either not acknowledging (G), or, if they did, from their not rightly conſidering

[f] Matth. xxi 23, & ſeq. Mark xi. 27, & ſeq. Luke xx. 1. & ſeq. [g] Matth. xxii. 15, & ſeq. Luke & Mark. [h] Deuter. xxv. 5. [i] Mark xii 24.

(G) We think the words, *not knowing*, might be more properly rendered, according to the Hebrew idiom in other paral-

lel

conſidering the ſenſe of the ſcriptures and the extent of the divine power. For, ſaid he to them, the ſtate of the bleſſed after the reſurrection is not to be meaſured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is neceſſary to keep up the race of mankind; there they will like the angles in heaven, be free from ſuch carnal and ſuperfluous appetites, where their life will be wholly ſpiritual. He concluded with proving the truth of the reſurrection from thoſe of the ſacred books, which

Silences the Sadducees.

lel places, *not acknowledging the ſcriptures and the power of God.* Thus St. Paul, is introduced, as not knowing the high-prieſt, (50), who preſided at the judgment ſeat, before which he was brought to be tried; when it is plain every child could not but have known him, both by his garb and the place where he ſat. Thoſe who underſtand it, that the apoſtle, in the height of his reſentment, had forgot, or did not conſider that he was the high-prieſt, make him ſay ſomething unworthy of his great character and uſual behaviour on ſuch occaſions; beſides, that it puts ſome ſtrain upon the plain meaning of the word *know*, which cannot be properly uſed to imply to "conſider, call to mind."

But the ſenſe which with ſome critics we give here to that word is both more agreeable to the Hebrew idiom, and to the known zeal of the apoſtle; and he may juſtly ſay, "I do not acknowledge him to be high-prieſt;" ſince we have ſeen throughout the two laſt ſections, that that dignity was become ſo venable that the vileſt wretches might obtain it, provided they proved but the higheſt bidders. All which was contrary to the Jewiſh law. In this ſenſe then, the Sadducean error will be founded on their unbelief of, and not in their not underſtanding, the ſcriptures, or the power of God; and, indeed, conſidering their denial of the immortality of the ſoul and the rewards and puniſhments of another life, they can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have believed either ſcriptures or the divine power.

But if we take the word in the other ſenſe, and admit, that their error proceeded from the want of a right and due underſtanding of both, and not through a queſtioning or diſputing of either; yet as long as they took upon them to limit the ſenſe of the one and the extent of the other, by the ſhallow ſcan of their reaſon, they did but pretend to believe, or at leaſt fancied they did ſo, though in fact they denied, them. If we were to examine the ſource of that ſcepticiſm and infidelity which reigns now ſo much among us, and oppoſes all goſpel truths with ſuch ſeeming aſſurance, we ſhould find it flowing from this Sadducean leaven, which is ever ready to limit the divine power and will, as ſoon as their reaſon cannot keep pace with it.

(50) Acts xxiii. 5.

which they profeſſed to acknowledge; which not only put a final end to that diſpute, but forced even an approbation from the contrary ſect of the Phariſees [k]. He next received a ſingular applauſe from one of the ſcribes for his excellent anſwer concerning the grand and chief command in the law [l]; after which he ventured to propoſe a queſtion to them concerning the Meſſiah, namely, Whoſe ſon they thought he was to be? To which they anſwered with one acccord, the ſon of David; if ſo, ſaid he to them, how came David to call him Lord by the Spirit, ſaying, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my right hand?* How then think ye he could be at once his Lord and his ſon (H)? This laſt queſtion quite nonpluſſed his whole audience, inſomuch, that they never ventured to put any more puzzling queſtions to him from that time [m]. It was probably on this night, that being retired with his ſmall attendance to Bethany, he was there invited by Simon, ſurnamed The Leper, and where Mary came and anointed his head and feet with a freſh quantity of the ſame precious ointment, which ſhe had lately beſtowed on him on the like occaſion (I); and gave a new ſubject of murmuring, not to Judas

His queſtion about the Chriſt.

[k] Matth. xxii. 23, & ſeq. Vid. & parallel. [l] Ibid. verſ. 32, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. verſ. 42, & ſeq. Mark x. 35. Luke, &c.

(H) It doth not indeed appear that they had any notion of his divine nature, and therefore might be eaſily puzzled to anſwer this queſtion; though it ſeems from ſome expreſſions in the goſpel, that they had ſome higher idea of him, than that of his being the bare ſon of David, or deliverer of Iſrael. Thus Nathanael, being convinced of his being the Meſſiah, addreſſes him with theſe words, *Rabbi, Thou art the ſon of* God, *thou art the king of* Iſrael (1). Thus Peter, and Martha alſo, to name no more, affirmed him to be the Chriſt the ſon of God, and that was come into the world (2).

However, the Jews have ſince found out a more effectual way of evading the force of this queſtion, by affirming, that David did not there ſpeak of the Meſſiah, it never being the cuſtom any where for the anceſtors to give any of their ſucceſſors the pompous title of their lord; but the meaning of David, according to them is, *the Lord* (God) *ſaid unto my Lord* Abraham, *Sit thou on my right hand*, &c. (3), for Abraham being ſuperior to David in point of Geniture, might be properly called Lord by him.

(I) The circumſtances of theſe two actions are ſo alike in all parts, except the firſt being ſaid to have happened at the houſe of

(1) John i. 49. (2) Ibid. xi. 27. Matth. xvi. 16. (3) Vid. Munſt. verſ. Hebr. Matth. not. ult. in cap. 22.

Judas only, but to the reſt of the twelve. Jeſus excuſed her a ſecond time as he had done before, and perhaps to the ſatisfaction of the reſt; but Judas, who thought it an unreaſonable profuſion, reſolved that night to go and betray him to the ſanhedrin [n].

In the mean time Jeſus knowing his time to be juſt at hand, and recollecting how often the twelve had quarrelled among themſelves about precedency, and perhaps they had ſtarted the ſame diſpute on this very night [o]; to give therefore an effectual check to their unreaſonable ambition, ſo contrary to the ſpirit of his goſpel, and to leave them a laſting memorial of the contrary virtue, inſtead of rebuking them as he had done heretofore, he roſe up from the table, and having laid aſide his upper garment, and girded himſelf with a napkin in the guiſe of a waiting ſervant, came with a baſon of water, and began to waſh their feet, and wipe them with a towel which girded him. Peter, however, was ſo offended at this condeſcenſion, that he could not ſee the reaſon of it; whereupon Jeſus told him, that though he could not ſee the reaſon of it now, he ſhould be made ſenſible of it in time. But Peter, ſtill ſtiffly perſiſting in his refuſal, was commanded immediately to ſubmit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his right and title in him [p]; which terrible threatening frighted him at length into a ready compliance (K). After Jeſus

Waſhes his diſciples feet.

[n] Matth. xxvi. 6, & ſeq. Mark xiv. Luke, &c. [o] Vid. Luke, xxii. 24. [p] John xiii. 8.

of Lazarus, and this laſt at that of Simon, the leper, (ſo called perhaps, becauſe he had been lately cured of that diſtemper, either by Jeſus, or by ſome other means) that it is not eaſy to know whether they were really two, or one and the ſame. We ſhould be apter to ſuppoſe the laſt, were not the generality of commentators for the firſt. The houſe might belong to Simon, and go by his name, and Lazarus might be a tenant and the maſter of the feaſt, and ſo both evangeliſts be reconciled.

(K) If ever a non-compliance to a command was juſtifiable, or even, we had almoſt ſaid, commendable, it was certainly on this occaſion, where it apparently flowed from the deepeſt regard which that apoſtle had of his maſter, as well as from the humbleſt ſenſe of his own unworthineſs. Since therefore Jeſus was ſo far from admitting it as an excuſe, that, without giving him any further ſatisfaction, he bids him to obey under the moſt ſevere penalty; this whole circumſtance ſeems to be tranſmitted to us as a warning how we make our ſhort-ſighted reaſon the

Jeſus had gone round with his humble taſk, he took up his upper garment, and addreſſed himſelf to the twelve in words to his effect: Ye rightly call me lord and maſter, for ſuch I really am; if then you have ſeen me, for your example and encouragement, condeſcend ſo low as to waſh your feet (which among the Jews was reckoned the loweſt office a man could do to another), know and remember, that thoſe who pretend to be my diſciples, muſt never think themſelves above performing the loweſt office of charity to one another. It is by ſuch acts of mutual and ſincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge, you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to ſave you, ſo ye alſo love one another, and ſtop at no difficulty or diſcouragement, where the good of your fellow creatures, eſpecially fellow chriſtians, calls for your charitable aſſiſtance. Upon theſe conditions I leave you my peace, ſuch a peace as neither the world can beſtow on you, nor any thing make you capable of taſting the ſweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending to you [r].

Recommends charity to them.

AFTER theſe and ſome other heavenly diſcourſes, with which he choſe to entertain them, during the ſhort time he had to ſtay, that they might make the ſtronger impreſſion on them, he concluded the whole with an elegant and pathetick deſcription of the laſt day, when every man ſhould receive the rewards of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil. And becauſe he knew how apt men were to be more apprehenſive of the divine anger for the commiſſion of wilful crimes, than for the omiſſion of ſuch neceſſary duties, as he had been enforcing, and to find out a ſalvo to excuſe their neglect of them; he choſe to awaken them from that fatal miſtake, by deſcribing the general enquiry of that ſolemn day, as running chiefly on theſe laſt; that is, whether they had, or had not, fed the hungry, cloathed the naked, viſited the ſick, and the like; and the retribution of his rewards or puniſhments, as chiefly diſpenſed

Deſcribes the day of judgment.

[q] De hoc vid. 1 Sam. xxv. [r] John, ibid. & ſeq.

the ſtandard of our faith or obedience, in things plainly revealed or expreſsly commanded. Since God is not obliged to give us, nor we indeed capable of comprehending his all-wiſe ends and purpoſes, whoſe ways and reaſons muſt be allowed to be infinitely above our comprehenſions.

penſed according to their performance or neglect of thoſe eſſential duties [s].

WHILST he was inſtructing his diſciples in theſe and many other excellent truths [t], the ſanhedrin were holding their conſultations how to lay hands upon him, at ſome proper ſeaſon, when the multitude were out of the way. As they therefore feared doing it during the approaching feſtival, leſt they ſhould cauſe ſome inſurrection among the people, Judas came to their relief; and offered to betray him unto them for a certain reward, which they gladly agreed to, and paid him out of hand. The ſum covenanted had been long ago foretold by one of the prophets, and we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of it in the ſequel. The feaſt of unleavened bread or paſſover being then juſt at hand, the Jews ſet about removing all the leaven from their houſes, according to the Moſaic law, and preparing themſelves for the celebration of that grand feſtival. Wedneſday. Judas betrays him.

THURSDAY being come, in which Jeſus was to celebrate his laſt, and moſt ſolemn, paſſover, he directed two of his diſciples by a ſpecial token to a houſe in Jeruſalem, where they ſhould prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither with the reſt of the twelve towards the evening. When they were ſet down on their couches, according to the cuſtom of thoſe countries, he drank a glaſs of wine, with which the maſter of the family always began the ſolemnity of the paſchal lamb; after which, whilſt they were eating, he told them with ſome concern, that one of them ſhould betray him, pointing to Judas; that Peter, who had always appeared the moſt zealous, ſhould thrice deny him; and that the reſt ſhould all forſake him on that very night; and reminded them of ſome prophecies, in which theſe things were written concerning him. At the concluſion of the ſupper, Jeſus took the bread, and, having broke and bleſſed it, diſtrbuted it among them, ſaying, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.* Then taking and bleſſing the cup of wine alſo, he ſaid, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the* New Teſtament, *which is ſhed for you, and for many, for the remiſſion of ſin* (L). He ended Thurſday. Chriſt's laſt ſupper.

[s] Matth. xxvi 31. ad fin. [t] John xiv, xv., xvi, xvii. paſſ.

(L) We have contented ourſelves with repeating the bare words of the divine inſtitution, without venturing to give them any

ended this ſolemn rite, with aſſuring them, that this was the laſt wine he ſhould drink; for the traytor's hand, which was ſhortly to betray him, was juſt ready to deliver him up to death; when all things, that were written of his being numbered with the tranſgreſſors, would have their full accompliſhment[u]. The whole ceremony was cloſed as uſual, with a proper hymn (M); after which, Jeſus having exhorted his diſciples to continue ſtedfaſt in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, by a moſt fervent and pathetic prayer, he ordered them to follow him over the brook Kedron[w].

WHILST

[u] Matth. xxvi. 20, & ſeq. Mark. xiv. 18, & ſeq. Luke xxii. 1, & ſeq. &c. [w] John xvi, & xvii. paſſ.

any gloſs that ſhould ſeem to lean towards any of thoſe various ſyſtems, which every church and ſect has ſeverally formed from them; and which, being not only endleſs, but out of our province, we gladly forbear entering further into, to avoid giving any offence.

The oppoſition which a conſiderable writer has of late met with from ſeveral quarters, upon his venturing to give the world his own particular one on that ſacred ſubject, ſhews, how dangerous it is to revive a controverſy of this high nature, in which every ſide is ſo jealous of any word that glances even the leaſt contradiction to their received doctrine

And yet we cannot but own, that too tenacious a zeal ſeems in this laſt inſtance to have carried his opponents cenſures farther than is, perhaps, conſiſtent with chriſtian candor and charity. The ſmall regard that is paid to that ſacred inſtitute by very great numbers, or on the one hand, and the viſible neglect of it in others, from ſome miſtaken dreadful apprehenſions about it, might incline that writer to think his book and ſyſtem excellently well calculated to obviate thoſe two grand obſtacles to a more frequent uſe of it.

As for thoſe men, who from a firm and ſincere perſuaſion, that God diſplays ſome further miracles of grace and mercy in that ſacrament, find themſelves inſpired with greater love to God, and charity to men; with a greater propenſity to virtue, and abhorrence to vice; and, in a word, feel their minds and hearts more effectually attracted from earth to heaven; that author muſt be ſuppoſed too ſagacious to have wrote his book for ſuch men, ſince they could not come down to his notions of it, without being conſiderable loſers by the change.

(M) Or rather what the Jews call the Hallal, conſiſting of ſix euchariſtical pſalms, beginning at the hundred and thirteenth, and

Whilst they were going to the mount of olives, to a place called Gethſemane (N), Judas ſlipped from them, and went to the high-prieſt's palace to get a ſufficient number of hands to come and ſurpriſe Jeſus in his retirement. Jeſus, on the other hand, being entered into the garden, where he uſually reſorted, bid ſome of his diſciples to ſtay and watch near the entrance of it, whilſt he took Peter, James, and John further into the garden; that as they had been the witneſſes of his glorious transfiguration, they might now be ſo of his preſent ſorrows and dreadful agonies. Having therefore earneſtly enjoined them to be watchful, he parted from them about a ſtone's caſt; where his human nature feeling the moſt violent ſtruggles between fleſh and ſpirit, at the apprehenſion of his future ſufferings, he threw himſelf proſtrate on his face, and with utmoſt fervency, mixed with the moſt ſubmiſſive reſignation to the heavenly will, he prayed, that, if it were poſſible, the dreadful cup might paſs from him. He repeated the ſame prayer twice more, but with ſuch fervency and reſignation, that the vehemency of the ſtruggle between thoſe two paſſions, joined to the proſpect of what he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody ſweat, inſomuch, that there was an angel ſent on purpoſe to comfort and ſtrengthen him under it (O) [x]. By this time the traytor Judas, at the head of his

Enters the doleful garden.

His agony and prayers.

[x] Luke xxii. 40, & ſeq.

and ending with the hundred and eighteenth, and with which they uſed to cloſe all thoſe ſolemnities (4).

(N) So called probably from the Hebrew גת השמן, gathaſhemen, "the oyl-preſs." For as the mount had its name from the quantity of olive-trees that grew upon it, it is probable, that this garden, which was at the foot of it, had a preſs in it; and this reconciles the evangeliſts, two of whom mention only the mount (5), another the garden (6), and the fourth the gethſemane or oyl preſs (7).

(O) This dreadful ſcene muſt be confeſſed to contain ſome myſteries far enough above our utmoſt capacities; but which, we think, may be much more reaſonably and ſafely believed on the authority of the ſacred writers, than the latter diſputed on the account of the former. The whole œconomy of man's redemption

(4) Vide הגדה של פסח & al. ritual. Jud. (5) Matth. xxvi. 30. Luke xxii. 39. (6) John xviii. 1. (7) Mark xiv. 32.

armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilſt the diſciples were fallen into a ſound ſleep. Jeſus therefore, having awakened them with the news of his enemies being at hand, went forward to meet them, whilſt Judas, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiſs, which was to be the ſignal to the reſt; who thereupon ſurrounded and made ſure of him. In the interim, Peter drew his ſword, and ſtruck off the ear of one of the high-prieſt's ſervants, but was ſeverely rebuked for it by his maſter, who, by a miraculous touch, healed the wonded perſon, and then ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led away as a malefactor, without any other mark of reſentment, than his obſerving to them, that it was now their hour, in which the power of darkneſs was let looſe againſt him. When the eleven heard this ſaying, they immediately forſook him and fled, according to his prediction (P), and the ſoldiers conveyed their priſoner firſt to Annas, the late high-prieſt and father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was

Is betrayed and apprehended.

now

tion is every-where repreſented to us as an unſearchable myſtery of divine wiſdom and goodneſs, and as the object of our belief, and not of our comprehenſion.

For this reaſon therefore it is, that God has taken ſuch care to confirm it to us by the moſt irrefragable evidence, by types and prophecies from the beginning, and by innumerable miracles and ſupernatural gifts accompanying the preaching of theſe ſaving truths. It was on that divine authority, that the primitive chriſtians received them, and ſealed their faith in them with their lives; and it is on the ſame grounds, that they have been conveyed to us through a ſucceſſion of near ſeventeen centuries; and it will be time enough for us to give up the one, when infidelity has overthrown the other. Till when the imperfect notion we have of the mutual action of our ſouls and bodies will be an effectual check, how we preſume to call in queſtion, or to reconcile, thoſe oppoſite paſſions in the human to the divine nature of Chriſt.

(P) Which he quoted to them out of the prophet (8); *I will ſmite the ſhepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered.* In the like manner the whole ſcene of his ſufferings is moſt lively deſcribed by another prophet (9), who is therefore called evangelical, becauſe his prophecy ſeems rather a rehearſal of things paſt, than a prophecy of what was to happen ſo many centuries off; as the ſequel will preſently ſhew.

(8) Zechariah xiii. 7. (9) Iſai. liii. paſſ. & alib.

now in poſſeſſion of that dignity, as we hinted a little higher out of the Jewiſh hiſtorian [y].

Tried before the ſanhedrin.

HERE they found the ſanhedrin ſitting, though at that late time of night, and waiting for Jeſus to be brought before them, as he was accordingly; upon which the high-prieſt began to aſk him ſeveral queſtions concerning his doctrine and diſciples, in hopes to find either ſome hereſy in the one, or rebellion in the other. Jeſus contented himſelf with referring him to theſe laſt, whom he told them he had always taught in the moſt publick manner, and who were therefore fitted to bear witneſs againſt him, if he had taught them any thing amiſs. For this anſwer, juſt and modeſt as it was, an officer ſtruck him a violent blow on the face; and Jeſus, having given him a gentle reproof for his raſhneſs, ſtood before them wich aſtoniſhing patience and humble ſilence, whilſt the inſtruments of the ſanhedrin were buſy in ſeeking out freſh evidence to put him to death. After much ado, they brought a couple of fellows, who depoſed, that they had heard him brag, that he would deſtroy the temple and rebuild it in three days; but even their evidence jarring in ſome particulars, as the expreſſion of Jeſus was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourſe to another expedient, which was to make him turn his own accuſer. Caiaphas therefore riſing up, adjured him by the living God, to anſwer directly to the ſupreme court, whether he was Chriſt the ſon of God or not (Q); and, upon his readily anſwering in the affirmative, and adding, that they ſhould hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him ſitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; fell a rending his cloaths, which was not lawful for an high-prieſt to do [z], and pronounced him guilty of blaſphemy. The reſt of the court did readily join with him, and having pronounced him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early on the next morning to receive his ſentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the cruel diverſion of that night to uſe him with the vileſt indignities and blaſphemies [a],

Condemned.

[y] Antiq l. xviii, c. 3. Vid. & Luke ubi ſupra, v. 54. Matth. xxvi. 57. John xviii. 12, & ſeq. [z] Vid Levit. xxi. 10, & alib. [a] Matth. xxvi. 57 ad fin. Mark xiv. 53 ad fin. Luke & John. Vid. & Iſai. l. 6.

(Q) Nothing could be more cunningly excogitated than this queſtion, to which if he anſwered in the affirmative, they were ready to condemn him as a blaſphemer, and if in the negative, as an impoſtor and deceiver of the people.

WHILST this melancholy ſcene was acting, Peter and John, the latter of whom was known to ſome of the family, having recovered themſelves from their laſt fright, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their maſter. Their courage, however, was ſoon cooled again, when they ſaw what treatment he underwent from an inraged and inſulting rabble; ſo that Peter, being thrice challenged for one of his diſciples, as often ſtifly denied it, and, rather than not be believed, bound it the laſt time with an oath. The cock crowing now the third time, put him in mind of Jeſus's prediction; but that which gave him a more lively ſenſe of his cowardice and perfidy was, a pitying look which he received at that inſtant from that gracious and forgiving Saviour; upon which the tears guſhing plentifully out of his eyes, he was forced to leave the hall to go and hide his grief and ſhame [b].

Denied by Peter.

EARLY on the next morning, the chief-prieſts and ſanhedrin, being convened at their uſual place, ſent for Jeſus to have him further examined, and to pronounce their final ſentence upon him, in order to have it ratified by the Roman governor (R). In the mean time, Judas, being ſurpriſed at what

Friday.

[b] John xvi. i. 15, & ſeq. Matth. Luke, &c.

(R) Not as ſome have imagined, becauſe the Romans had ſome years ago deprived that court of the power of life and death; for we ſhall meet with ſeveral inſtances of the contrary in the ſequel; in particular that of the protomartyr Stephen, who was regularly tried, condemned, and ſtoned, by their ſingle authority (10), about a year after. But they ſeem to have had a double end in it; the one to throw the odium of his death, as much as poſſible, upon Pilate and the Romans, as if he had condemned him for raiſing ſome rebellion againſt them; and the other, to make him undergo a more ſevere and ignominious puniſhment, and ſuch a one as they could not inflict upon him by their own power, becauſe it was not one of thoſe that were preſcribed by their law; concerning which the reader may, if he pleaſe, turn to our third volume †. So that their pretence of its not being lawful for them to put any man to death was no farther true, than in caſes where the crime was againſt the ſtate; of which the governor was the proper judge. But as to blaſphemy, or any other crime againſt the Jewiſh religion, the inſtance above related

(10) Acts vi. 8, & ſeq. vii. per tot. † Page 338, & ſeq.

what had paſſed within the ſanhedrin, was ſtung with ſuch lively remorſe, that he came and threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owing himſelf the vileſt of wretches, for having betrayed on innocent perſon to them; but they, regardleſs of his ſorrow and deſpair, bid him to look to it; upon which he went, and, as moſt verſions render it, hanged himſelf (S) [c]. But thoſe hypocritical judges

Judas's remorſe.

[c] Matth. xxvii. 5.

lated of St. Stephen plainly ſhews, that they made no ſcruple to put the guilty perſon to death without the governor's conſent.

Yet nothing of this was done without the direction of providence, ſince crucifixion was the death which it had been foretold by David he ſhould undergo (11), and which he himſelf had likewiſe often hinted, both to the apoſtles and to the reſt of the Jews (12). Accordingly therefore, the accuſation, which they intended againſt him before Pilate, was of a civil nature: We have found, ſaid they, this turbulent fellow raiſing up ſeditions, and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæſar (13).

It is true, indeed, when they found that this accuſation could not determine that governor, who ſaw through their malice and injuſtice, to condemn him; they tacked the other of blaſphemy to it, and inſiſted, that their law made it capital; but this was only added to give more weight to their other accuſation; upon which they wanted him to be condemned, as the ſequel will ſhew.

However, it was neceſſary to obſerve theſe circumſtances thus far here, againſt thoſe, who, from the notion of the whole power of life and death being taken away before this time, have inferred, that the ſcepter ſpoken of by Jacob (14) was alſo departed from Judah. The contrary of which will be ſeen in its due place.

(S) The difficulty which interpreters have found to reconcile what is ſaid of his hanging himſelf here with what St. Peter ſays in another place (15), *That he fell headlong, and burſt aſunder, and his bowels guſhed out*, has made them fall into ſeveral conjectures, ſuch as the breaking of the rope before he was quite dead, and his throwing himſelf down ſome precipice, which brought on the laſt diſmal circumſtances, of his death, and the like *; all which is ſaid without foundation.

What the ſame apoſtle ſays a little lower, and which the verſions have, as we obſerved in a former note, miſrendered, *that he might go into his own place* (16), had led others to look upon his

(11) Pſ xxii. 16. (12) Vide John iii. 14. xii. 32, 33. (13) Luke xxiii. 2. (14) Gen. xlix 10. Vid. & vol. ii p. 486, (G). (15) Acts i 18. * Vid Theophylact. Maldonat. & al. in loc. (16) Act. ibid. verſ, 25.

were ſoon after taken with a quite different qualm of conſcience, thinking it now unlawful to refund thoſe thirty pieces of ſilver into the treaſury, becauſe it was the price of blood, though they had made no ſcruple to take them out of it, to purchaſe that very blood. After ſome deliberation therefore, they agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for ſtrangers; and in ſo doing fulfilled an old prophecy, in which the number of pieces, the deſign for which they were given, the purchaſe made with them, and the potter, to whoſe ſhare they came at laſt, were expreſly foretold [d]. The field was accordingly bought ſoon after the feaſt was over, and from thence was called in their tongue, Haccelda-ma, or the field of blood [e]. It ſtood on the ſouth ſide of mount Sion, within a ſtone-caſt of the pool of Siloam.

Jeſus brought before Pilate.

As ſoon as the ſanhedrin had ended their proceſs againſt Jeſus, he was hurried before the Roman tribunal, and there accuſed of perverting the people, raiſing ſeditions, ſetting up for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to Cæſar. They would not, however, venture into the prætorium, or judgment-hall, for fear of polluting themſelves, and becoming unfit

[d] Conf. Zechar. xi. 12, 13. [e] Vide Matth. ubi ſupra, verſ. 7, & ſeq. Acts i. 18.

his fall, burſting, &c. as a further judgment on that unhappy wretch (17), who did yet ſhew the moſt lively tokens of a ſincere repentance, viz. the moſt public acknowledgment of his crime, reſtitution of the ill-gotten money, reparation to the beſt of his power to the injured perſon, and an open condemnation of their unjuſt proceedings againſt him Now all theſe difficulties might be eaſily removed, if they had rendered the words of St. Matthew, according to Le Scene, *that he was ſuffocated*, namely with grief, ſhame, and remorſe, or, which is the ſame thing, died of a ſquinancy occaſioned by it (18).

His fall on his face, which, as the ſame critic obſerves, is all that is implied by what we render, he fell, and others, he thruſt himſelf headlong, and burſt aſunder, is, it ſeems, no more than what is common to people in that diſtemper; who fall down on their faces for want of breath, and commonly burſt after it (19). This ſenſe therefore will eaſily reconcile the two ſacred hiſtorians, without either doing violence to the text, having recourſe to improbable conjectures, or introducing the divine vengeance purſuing even his breathleſs carcaſe.

(17) Vid. int al Taylor's life of Chriſt, in loc. Echard eccleſ. hiſt. Tremell. Beza, & al. (18) Le Scene's Eſſay, part 2. c. 7. ſect. 3, (19) Vid. eund. & auct. ab eo citat.

unfit for the approaching solemnity; but desired the governor to come out to them, whilst they stood in the open place before his palace-gate. When Pilate heard the accusation, and found that it was cognizable by himself alone, he caused Jesus to be brought before his tribunal, where he asked him, whether he was really a king? Jesus readily answered him in the affirmative (T); but added at the same time, that his kingdom was not of this world; for if it had, his servants would have fought in his defence, and saved him from falling into the hands of his persecutors. This was enough to convince the governor of the injustice of his accusation, which he already knew was the effect of some private malice they had against him. However, that he might know something more concerning his imaginary kingdom, for such and no other he seems to have supposed it, he asked him again, Art thou really a king? To which he replied, I am indeed. For this cause was I born, that I might bear witness to the truth; and none are my subjects, but such as obey the voice of truth. Pilate, being still more out of conceit with this new kind of kingdom, contented himself with asking, what he meant by truth? and, without staying for an answer, went out to the people, and told them, that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal. When the Jewish rulers heard this, they were still more vehement in their accusations. Pilate therefore urged him to give some kind of answer to them; but he, who knew how vain it was to attempt it, made them no other defence, than that of a surprising and invincible silence.

Sent to Herod.

THE Jews took this opportunity to be more vehement in their invectives, in order to exasperate the fluctuating governor against him, by assuring him, that he had filled not only Jerusalem and all Judæa, but even all his own country of Galilee, with his seditious doctrine. As soon therefore as Pilate heard that he was of that country, and belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he ordered him to be immediately sent to him, in hopes at once to lay an obligation on that tetrarch, with whom he had been at some variance, and to throw the whole burden of this intricate and dangerous trial upon him; he being then come to Jerusalem to the feast. Herod was no less

(T) Our and some versions make his answer somewhat ambiguous, as if he dared not to speak out, "Thou sayest it," or "thou sayest that I am a king; whereas, according to the Hebrew idiom, it should properly be rendered, "It is as thou "sayest, I am indeed a king."

leſs glad to ſee a perſon, of whom he had heard ſuch wonders, and from whom he expected to have ſeen ſome ſignal miracles; but Jeſus, ready and liberal as he was of them to the poor and afflicted, diſdained to work them, either to gratify the curioſity of ſuch a tyrant, or to ſilence the malice of his enemies; ſo that, in ſpight of all their vehement accuſations and of Herod's ſcornful treatment of him, he would not ſo much as vouchſafe him an anſwer to any of his queſtions. Herod, affronted at his obſtinate ſilence and his own diſappointment, began to treat him as a deſpicable perſon, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to ſend him back to Pilate; and theſe, after ſeveral rude indignities, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe of mockery, and brought him back to the hall of judgment. From this time, however, Pilate and Herod laid aſide all their reſentment, and were perfectly reconciled to each other.

WHILST this was doing, Pilate's wife had ſent to warn him againſt having any hand in condemning that juſt perſon, on whoſe account ſhe had been terrified with ſome dreadful dreams that night. The Romans were very obſerving of theſe kinds of ſuperſtitions; ſo that this meſſage made him ſtill more afraid to yield to the preſſing inſtances of the tumultuous Jews. As ſoon therefore as Jeſus was brought back to him, he came out to them, and plainly told them, that he could not condemn a perſon, in whom, after the ſtricteſt examination, he had not been able to find the leaſt capital crime; nor even Herod himſelf, who, though much better acquainted with their laws, had ſent him back to him abſolved. I will therefore, added he, inflict ſome lighter puniſhment on him, and let him go. This propoſal, inſtead of mollifying them, made them more inſtant to have him crucified. He bethought himſelf at length of another expedient, which he expected would have both ſaved him, and aſſuaged their fury. You know, ſaid he to them, that it is a cuſtom for your governors to releaſe to you ſome one criminal on theſe feſtivals, whom you ſhall name. Tell me therefore, ſhall I deliver you this man, or Barabbas, who lies in priſon for an inſurrection and murder? He judged indeed, and reaſonably too, that they would not carry their reſentment or boldneſs ſo far, as to prefer a rebel and a murderer before an innocent perſon; and therefore it was, that he gave them only the choice of theſe two. But, to his great ſurprize, the people, inſtigated by the prieſts and rulers, demanded Barabbas to be releaſed, and Jeſus to be crucified, in ſpight of all he could ſay in his behalf.

Brought back to Pilate:

Barabbas preferred to him.

SINCE

Since therefore he could not work on their reason and conscience, he resolved to try what he could do on their pity, and ordered Jesus to be sent to the pillar, and to be severely scourged (U); which was accordingly done, and (as we may suppose, from the natural barbarity of the Roman soldiers, as well as from the additional indignities which they offered to him presently after) was executed with utmost severity. After they had untied him, the whole cohort gathered about him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, set a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand; and whilst some bowed the knee to him in mockery, and saluted him king of the Jews, others did buffet him, spit upon him, and use him with utmost insolence and inhumanity. Pilate thought this a proper time to bring him forth to them in this sad and deplorable guise, not doubting, but the sight of so dismal an object would have melted them into pity and remorse. But he little knew the temper of the Jews, and that the more abject and miserable the person appeared, on whom they had fixed such great hopes and expectation, the more they would detest and abhor him. And so he found it happened on this occasion, though to his greatest surprize; and the very people, who, but six days before, followed him with their loud Hosannah's, could not now behold him in that abject state, without crying out with greater vehemence,

Jesus scourged and mocked.

Away

(U) This punishment was not like that used among the Jews, of which we have given an account in a former volume †, and did neither exceed forty stripes, nor was reckoned dishonourable, since even their monarchs were subjected to it But among the Romans, it was very severe and shameful. The person being stripped naked, at least down to the girdle, and his hands tied to a ring fastened to a stone pillar, not above a foot and half high, if so much, so that his body was bent forward almost double, which gave such an advantage to the executioners, that the blows came down, as it were, with double force.

This particular part of our Saviour's suffering is rightly supposed to be foretold by the psalmist (20), in these words; *The plowers plowed upon my back, and made long furrows.* As likewise that of his being buffeted, and scornfully spit upon in the halls of the high-priest, and of the governor, by the prophet Isaiah (21) in these terms; *I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; neither did I hide, or defend, my face from being shamefully spit upon.*

† vol. iii. p. 338, & (A) (20) Ps. cxxix. 3. (21) Ch. l. 6, & seq.

Away with him, crucify him. Pilate, ſurprized at this horrid cruelty, refuſed again to comply, alledging, that he found no fault in him; upon which the prieſts and elders, finding it impoſſible to get him condemned for ſedition, began to accuſe him of blaſphemy: We have a law, ſaid they to him, which condemns him to death for calling himſelf the Son of God. At theſe laſt words, Pilate, ſtill more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and aſked him ſeveral queſtions, to which Jeſus diſdaining to anſwer, he tried again to provoke him to it, by reminding him, that it was in his power to condemn or releaſe him. Jeſus gave no other anſwer to it, than by reminding him in his turn, that all his boaſted power came to him from above, and that he ſhould therefore be accountable for his abuſe of it, though the greater guilt did fall on thoſe who had delivered him up unto him. Theſe laſt words made ſuch an impreſſion on the governor, that he went out to the people, fully determined, as he thought, at any rate to releaſe him. But during this interval the prieſts and rulers, who knew but too well the temper of the Roman prætor, bethought themſelves of an expedient which would quickly bring him into a compliance; ſo that, before he could well diſcover his reſolution to them, they began to cry out, with one accord and in a threatening tone, Thou are not Cæſar's friend, if thou letteſt a man go, who, by aſſuming the royal title and forbidding to pay the uſual tribute, has declared himſelf his open enemy. This argument proved more powerful than all the reſt, and Pilate now no longer daring to refuſe their unjuſt demands, for fear of bringing his loyalty to Cæſar into queſtion, having firſt waſhed his hands (W) before them all, and declared himſelf innocent of the blood of that innocent perſon, delivered him up to be crucified, and releaſed the ſeditious murderer, according to their deſire [f].

Accuſed of blaſphemy.

Condemned to the croſs.

As ſoon as Pilate had pronounced that moſt unjuſt ſentence againſt the moſt innocent of men, the Roman ſoldiers led him back

[f] Vid. Matth per. tot. Mark xv. paſſ. Luke xxiii. per tot. John xviii. & xix. paſſ.

(W) This mock ceremony ſeems to have been a kind of form uſed by judges in caſes of this unjuſtifiable nature. Elſe Pilate could not but be conſcious, that all the water of the ſea could not wash away the guilt of his unrighteous ſentence; no! not, though the impious Jews did then pray, that the ſin and puniſhment of it might fall on them and their unhappy poſterity (22).

(22) Matth. xxvii. 25.

back to the hall, where they ſtripped him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments; and having laid his croſs on him, they led him with two other criminals out of the city (X), to a place called in Hebrew, Golgotha, and in Latin, Calvary, to be crucified. His tender body, quite ſpent with watching and ſufferings, beginning to ſink under its weight, they compelled a Cyrenean Jew †, named Simon, to help to bear his croſs after him. In this doleful march he beheld ſome women melting into tears at the ſight of his deplorable condition; but it ſeems, as if the more dreadful fate, which waited the unhappy Jews, had made him quite inſenſible of his own miſery; for turning to them with uſual compaſſion, he bid them rather weep at the more diſmal proſpect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them wiſh their wombs had been barren, and their breaſts incapable of yielding any nouriſhment to a generation, whoſe fidelity would ſhortly render them the ſad object of the divine vengeance, and the ſcorn and hatred of the world ᵍ.

It was now about the ſixth hour of the day, anſwering to our mid-day (Y), when they came to the place, where they offered

† De his vid. ſup. pag. 69. & (D). ᵍ Luke xxiii. 27, & ſeq.

(X) The Jews ſuffered no criminals to be put to death in any of their cities, much leſs in the metropolis; and this was done in imitation of what had been practiſed in their camps in the wilderneſs (23), and was typified by the red heifer and ſcape-goat, of which we have ſpoken in a former volume *; ſo that Chriſt, the grand propitiatory victim, was led, loaden with the ſins of mankind †, to be offered up without the gates of Jeruſalem.

Golgotha or Calvary was a rocky hill on the weſt ſide of the city (24), and was a kind of charnel ſtore-houſe, from which it had thoſe names, which ſignify the place of a ſcull, probably from its reſemblance to it; and was alſo made uſe of for a place of execution.

It is ſuppoſed by the antient fathers to have been the mountain where Abraham went to ſacrifice his ſon. Some of them add, on the authority of a Jewiſh tradition, that the ſcull of Adam had been there buried by Shem, to whom his father gave it in charge after the flood, as it was he who was to people that holy land (25).

(Y) The difference between St. Mark, who calls it the third hour

(23) De hoc vid. int. al vol iii. p. 13, & p. 78, & note. *Ibid. 222, (V) 228, & (Z). †Ibid in fin. not. (Z). (24) See the map of the city. (25) Hieron. Euſeb. Tertul. Orig. & al. mult.

offered him ſome wine mixed with myrrh (Z), which, when he had taſted, he refuſed to drink. They then ſtripped

hour (26), and the other two evangeliſts, who call it the ſixth (27), is eaſily reconciled by their different ways of dividing the day, namely, either into twelve hours, beginning at the ſun-riſe (28), which the two laſt follow, and into four parts, called alſo hours; but which they diſtinguiſhed only by three, ſix, nine, and twelve; and theſe were the uſual hours to repair to the temple or ſynagogues, &c. to pray (29); and to this laſt way of reckoning the former ſeems to allude, calling it the third hour, probably becauſe the ſixth was not quite begun. Perhaps alſo is he there ſpeaking, not of his real crucifixion, but of the Jews obtaining Pilate's ſentence of it againſt him, which was certainly near the third hour, or our nine of the clock in the morning.

(Z) This mixture was probably given to intoxicate the ſufferers, that they might be leſs ſenſible of their torment; and Jeſus might refuſe it upon that very account, becauſe it became him, who was then going to offer himſelf a free and voluntary ſacrifice to God for the ſins of men, and was to ſhew them a pattern how to bear afflictions with due reſignation to the divine will; to avoid a thing which might too far diſcompoſe his thoughts, and ſhew too ill a precedent to his followers.

One of the evangeliſts makes this mixture to conſiſt of myrrh and wine (30), and another of vinegar and gall (31). Hence ſome ſuppoſe, that though the former was uſually given on ſuch occaſions, yet the ſoldiers out of ſpight and contempt gave him the latter, which would have a contrary effect. But we much doubt, whether the Romans, naturally delighting in being cruel to perſons in miſery, could be capable of ſo much compaſſion towards criminals. Their barbarous ſports and ſpectacles argue rather the reverſe. Beſides, the vinum myrrhatum, we are told (32), was highly eſteemed by them, inſomuch, that one of the laws of the twelve tables forbad their dead to be waſhed or ſprinkled with it. And who can imagine, that they would beſtow it on ſuch criminals as they condemned to this kind of death, which was held in the greateſt ignominy and reproach among them?

It is more likely, that the evangeliſt, who wrote in the Hebrew or Syriac, made uſe of the word מֹר, mar, which ſignifies bitterneſs, or any bitter ingredient, and that his tranſlator miſtook it for מוֹר, mor, myrrh; and thus the two evangeliſts will be reconciled, and the prophecy fulfilled, *They gave me gall to eat, and*

(26) Ch. xv. 34. (27) Luke xxiii. 44. John xix. 14. (28) Vid. Matth. xxi. 3, & ſeq. John xi. 9. (29) Ut Act iii. 1. x. 9. Dehis vid. & Druſ. in loc. Goodwin, Moſes & Aar. l. iii. c. 1. ſect. 6. 7. & ſeq. (30) Mark xv. 23. (31) xxvii. 34. (32) Vid. Plin. l. xiv. c. 13.

ped him of his cloaths, and extended his body on the croſs, faſtened him to it, with nails driven through his hands and feet, whilſt he was earneſtly praying to his father to forgive them a deed, which they committed through ignorance. After which they reared up the croſs, and fixed it on the ground, ſo that his body hanged on four wounds, made on the moſt tender and ſenſible parts of the body. With him they crucified two malefactors (A), one on each ſide, according to that oracle, which foretold his being numbred with tranſgreſſors [h]. Pilate had likewiſe ordered the title of his accuſation to be fixed to the croſs; it was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the three moſt known tongues at that time, and in theſe words; *Jeſus of Nazareth king of the Jews*. The chiefs were therefore highly affronted at it, and came to beg of Pilate to have it altered, and, inſtead of calling him king of the Jews, to have it inſerted that he aſſumed that title to him. But he as ſtifly refuſed it, and ſent them away with this haughty anſwer, *What I have written, I have written*. Here, whilſt the ſoldiers, who were ſet to watch him, fulfilled another prophecy of him, in the diviſion they made of his garments and caſting lots on his robe, becauſe it was without ſeam and woven from top throughout [i]; the prieſts and elders were verifying another, in the ſcornful taunts and injurious reflections they caſt upon him, in the height of his anguiſh and dying pangs. *He ſaved others*, ſaid they, in a deriding tone; *but cannot ſave himſelf: he pretended to truſt in God, let him now deliver him, if he had ſuch delight in him* [k]. Their example was followed by all the multitudes that were gathered to ſee the diſmal ſight. The very criminals, who were crucified on each ſide, could not forbear

Jeſus crucified between two thieves.

Reviled by the prieſts &c.

[h] Conf. Iſai. liii. ult. & Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37, xxiii. 33. [i] Conf. Pſ. xxii. 18. & Luke xxiii. 34. John xix. 24. [k] Conf. Pſ. xxii. 7, 8, & Matth. xxvii. 41, & ſeq.

and in my thirſt, vinegar to drink (33). For the whole tenor of this pſalm ſeems to be a continued prophecy of Chriſt's ſufferings, as well as of that judicial blindneſs, ruin, and diſperſion, which fell on the impenitent Jews (34).

(A) Theſe are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been two of the gang of thoſe free-booters, whom the Jews called לסטים, liſteſſin, and the Romans prædones; ſuch as, we have obſerved in a former ſection, uſed to infeſt thoſe countries, and had given Herod ſo much trouble to ſuppreſs.

(33) Pſ. lxix. 21. (34) Vid. a verſ. 22. ad. fin.

forbear reviling him, till one of them, ſtung at laſt with ſome lively remorſe, gave his fellow-ſufferer a ſevere rebuke for his impiety, then addreſſing himſelf to the ſuffering Jeſus, who was then, more than ever, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and ſympathizing with his torments and agonies; in the humbleſt terms confeſſed his own guilt; and in that pathetic and glorious confeſſion he made of him, whilſt under the ſame ſhameful ſentence and puniſhment, gave ſuch a ſignal inſtance of his faith and piety, as no age of the chriſtian church ſince that time could ever parallel (B); and for which he received this comfortable aſſurance, from him that had the keys of life and death, *This day ſhalt thou be with me in paradiſe* [l].

The penitent thief forgiven.

WHILST Jeſus hanged on the croſs, he beheld his ſorrowful virgin mother ſtanding by, on whom was now verified the ſaying of old Simeon, that *a ſword ſhould pierce her very ſoul*; and with her ſtood his beloved diſciple, with Mary Magdalen, and ſome other women, The ſight of her grief, which muſt be ſuppoſed to be beyond expreſſion at this diſmal juncture, revived his tenderneſs for her; ſo that, being now come to the laſt period of his life, he recommended her to the care of that favourite diſciple, entreating them to ſhew to each other from thenceforward the endearing duties of mother and ſon; and from that time John took her to his own houſe [m]. In the mean tlme, a horrid darkneſs overſpread the face of the earth; the ſun hid, as it were, himſelf from ſo diſmal

[l] Luke ibid. 39. & ſeq. [m] John xix. 25, & ſeq.

(B) This remarkable circumſtance is the more worthy being obſerved in all its parts, becauſe many a wicked perſon have flattered themſelves with a dangerous notion, that ſome ſuch ſhort ejaculation at their laſt agonies will meet with the like ſucceſs, though in every other particular quite oppoſite to him.

He ſees Jeſus rejected and condemned by his whole nation, who had been witneſſes of his ſtupendous works; ſentenced by the Romans; reviled by the Jewiſh prieſts and elders; forſaken by his own diſciples; undergoing a moſt ignominious and excruciating death; and yet, under all thoſe diſadvantageous circumſtances, acknowledges him a King, a Saviour, and a Lord. He proclaims the unrighteouſneſs of his ſentence, and the juſtice of his own: he declares his faith and hope in him; his belief of another life; and ſo ſubmiſſive is he under his torments, that, inſtead of praying to be delivered from them, either by ſome miracle, or by a ſpeedy death, his extreme humility will not ſuffer him to aſk for more than a bare remembrance of him, when he came into his kingdom.

dismal a sight (C); all the spectators were seized with a sudden terror and amazement. Some returned to Jerusalem, smiting their breasts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilst the rest, more hardened, stood in a kind of mournful silence, expecting the event. This unnatural darkness and disorder, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, that is, from noon to three of the clock after it, was followed by a greater, when Jesus, quite spent with pain and anguish, cried out, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani* (D); and having tasted

(C) This darkness was the more miraculous, because it happened in the time of the opposition of the two luminaries, when consequently there could be no eclipse of the sun. For we have formerly observed, that the passover began in the full moon *; besides, the total darkness of the sun's eclipses last but at most twelve or fifteen minutes; whereas this is recorded to have lasted three full hours (35). Whether it reached the whole hemisphere, or only the land of Judæa, is not easily determined, the antient fathers being divided about it. Origen and some others confined it to the latter (36), whilst others (37) extend it over the former. These quote the famous astronomer Phlegon, the freed-man of the emperor Adrian, who affirms, that in the fourth year of the CCII olympiad, which is supposed to be that of the death of Christ, there was such a total eclipse of the sun at noon-day, that the stars were plainly to be seen. It has indeed been disputed, whether this year of Christ's crucifixion answered to that of the olympiad above mentioned; and what is there of this nature that some bold critics will not dispute? but we shall refer our readers for a fuller view of the controversy to the learned doctor Dawson's dissertation on that subject. Tertullian, in his usual elegant way, refers the heathens to their public records for this supriſing phœnomenon, wherein midnight happened at noon-day (38). And Suidas introduces Dionysius the Areopagite, then at Heliopolis in Egypt, expressing himself to his friend Apollophanes concerning this unnatural eclipse; that either the Author of nature suffered, or was sympathising with the sufferer.

(D) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-second psalm, of which those are the title, or first words, and in which there are the most lively strokes of all the remarkable particulars of his passion; some of which we have already quoted, others we have elsewhere explained in a manner wholly new, and yet satisfactory, as we have found, to many of our readers †. The word

* Vol. ii. p. 572. & vol. iii. p. 185. & seq. (35) Vid. Matth. xxvii. 45. (36) In Matth. ubi supra. & alii. (37) Jul. African. ap. Syncel. Euseb. in chronic. Hieron. & al. (38) Apolog. c. 21 † Vid vol. iii. p. 228. in fin. (Z).

ed the mingled vinegar, which was offered to imbitter his laſt gaſp, recommended his ſpirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghoſt.

For

word שבקתני, ſabachtani, here uſed, inſtead of the Hebrew, עזבתני, hazabthani, ſhews, that it was quoted out of the Chaldee paraphraſe, which was then the moſt in uſe, and in which alone that word is to be found (39). So that he ſeems here to have, as it were, reminded his heavenly Father, how he was now fulfilling all thoſe prophecies contained in that pſalm, which is a kind of epitome or ſummary of all the other oracles relating to his ſufferings and death. In conſequence of which, he was praying to him that he would make good to him and to his ſpiritual poſterity, that is, to his church; all thoſe gracious promiſes, which are contained in the lattet part of the ſame pſalm, from the twenty-ſecond verſe to the end.

The Jews therefore, who knew that there was no other way then, to quote either a pſalm, or any other ſection of the holy writ, but from the firſt words of it, as we have elſewhere ſhewn, might have ſaved their invectives againſt Chriſt, as if he had been then ſeized with a kind of deſpair (40), and objecting to him the words of the pſalmiſt, *I never ſaw the righteous forſaken*, &c. (41) Our commentators might likewiſe have ſaved themſelves the trouble of accounting for this ſeemingly deſpairing expoſtulation, from this ſuppoſition, that the Deity had wholly withdrawn every ſpark of comfort and hope from him, whilſt he was thus undergoing the puniſhment due to ſin; ſome of whom have carried it to ſuch a height, as cannot be read without horror (42). Whereas the ſuppoſition above-mentioned, that he was then repeating this noble pſalm, which, after the capitulation of his unparallelled ſufferings, concludes with the moſt comfortable promiſes both to him and his followers; ſhews him to have been ſo far from either doubt or deſpair, that he comforted himſelf under the terrible weight of the former by the aſſured proſpect of the latter. And that he really died in this godlike temper of mind, all the other circumſtances of his paſſion and death, as well as his laſt dying ejaculations, and the noble teſtimony which the centurion gave of it, do plainly ſhew.

And here we beg leave to make one remark more on the elaborate metrical verſion, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, wherein that learned prelate, ſpeaking of the pſalm we are now upon, thinks to have found in it ſuch difference of ſtyle, matter, &c. that he cannot forbear ſuppoſing they are two different

pſalms,

(39) Vid. Munſt. in Pſ. xxii. note b. Prid. connect. part. 2. l. 8. ſub an. A. C. 27. (40) שוחר טוב & al. comment. in Pſal. (41) Pſal. xxxvii. 24, 25, & alib. (42) Vid. inter al. Calvin. in loc. & inſtitut.

The ſtrange prodigies which happened at his death.

For immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell as it were, into convulſions: the earth quaked, the rocks were

pſalms, abſurdly tacked together by the Jews, and which ought to be divided at the twenty-ſecond verſe above-mentioned, where a kind of new theme ſeems to begin,

But, with due ſubmiſſion to his lordſhip's great judgment, we think this difference of ſtyle, &c. highly conſiſtent with the two-fold deſign of it, the one to foretel the great humiliation of Chriſt, and the other to ſhew his glorious exaltation immediately following it (43). The ſubject of thoſe two prophecies being vaſtly different, it could hardly be otherwiſe, but the ſtyle muſt be ſo likewiſe. We may add, that the fifty-third chapter of Iſaiah, which runs almoſt parallel in both theſe caſes, and is allowed by all chriſtians, as it was once by the antient Jews, to relate to the Meſſiah (44), might be as properly divided into two, as this pſalm; which yet never came into any man's head, on account of that difference, or any other. No not even into that of the Jews, though ſo cloſely pinched by it, that they have even ventured to ſplit the perſon here ſpoken of into two.

Before we diſmiſs this noble pſalm, we beg leave to anſwer an objection which the latter raiſe againſt our reading in the ſixteenth verſe, כארי caru, they pierced my hands, &c, inſtead of כאריו caare, which they pretend is the true reading, and ſignifies like a lion, as if the meaning had been, my hands and feet, like thoſe of a lion; (to which they were forced to add to make it ſenſe,) were watched or obſerved. And this exchange of the latter for the former they do not ſcruple to charge us with, as done deſignedly by the ſacred hiſtorian (45).

As we have no manuſcript of ſo old a date as to be able to decide the matter on either ſide, it might be a ſufficient anſwer to obſerve to them the unlikelihood, that St. Matthew, who was a converted Jew, and wrote in a language ſo well underſtood by the whole nation, ſhould dare to quote a paſſage ſo contrary to its received reading and ſenſe, if theirs had really been the right one.

We might tell them farther, that by their own confeſſion the ſeptuagint verſion had altered the ſenſe of ſeveral texts of ſcripture, which they thought looked derogatory of either their lawgiver, or of the Meſſiah. Of this laſt nature was the changing of the words of the text, *Mine ears haſt thou bore, for a body haſt thou prepared for me.* Concerning which we have ſpoken more fully in our third volume ‡; to which we might add, that Juſtin Martyr

(43) De hoc vid. Philip. ii. 8, & 9. (44) Vid. int. al. Mori Diatrib. in Iſai. liii. præf. & not. paſſ. & paralleliſm. int. loc. & nov. teſt. ſcript. (45) Vid. int. al. Auct. lib. Nitzachon. ‡ Pag. 210. not. (N).

were cleft asunder, the graves opened, the dead raised; and the veil, which covered the most holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby those mysteries of the Mosaic dispensation, which had now in his death their full accomplishment; in token of which he broke out in his last agonies with those signal words, *It is finished.* Here the centurion and infidel soldiers, observing his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumstances which attended it, were struck with such admiration and dread, that they confessed him to be the son of God [n]. Not so did the Jewish priest and elders, who remained inflexible in spite of all

[n] Matth. xxvii. 50, & seq.

Martyr charges them (46) with having made many other more considerable alterations, and in particular with having expunged the words ἀπο τȣ ξυλȣ out of the tenth verse of the ninety-sixth psalm, when both that version and the antient Latin one made from it, called Vetus Itala, read, Dicite in gentibus, Dominus regnavit á ligno; which last words are likewise to be seen in some other versions in the same tongue (47); and is it not more reasonable to think, that when the old Mazorites came to find what use was made of this text against them, they might at first slide the word כארי in the margin, or keri, and by degrees change that into ketib; than to suppose an evangelist to be guilty of such a manifest and wilful corruption. Those who are unacquainted with the terms of keri and ketib; may see what we have said of them at the beginning of this chapter *.

But let the words have slipped in or out of the text as they will, as long as they own that כארי is the true reading, it will be sufficient to answer them with the learned Hottinger, in his dissertation on that word, that it may as well be the participle כרי, and so signify as properly piercing, the א being there euphonical or heemantic; in which case the sense will run still more elegant and agreeable to the Hebrew idiom, which often uses the participle for the verb, piercing my hands and my feet; whereas, take the caari in the Jewish signification, the sense is imperfect, and must be supplied with a far-fetched verb, to make it intelligible.

However, we are far enough from allowing this last to be the true antient reading; the contrary has been fully proved from the septuagint version, which read it as we do, Caru; and from the confession of several rabbis, as the reader may see, among many more, in the two learned authors quoted in the margin (48).

(46) Dialog. cont. Tryph. (47) Vid. Orig. hexapl. in loc. Psalter. pentaglot. August. in Ps. in loc. * Pag. 31. (Z). (48) Bochart. hieroz. p. 1. l. iii. c. 6. Hare in Ps. xxii. note 35.

all theſe prodigies, and purſued their malice to the utmoſt, and without the leaſt relenting. It was now paſt three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up; and this was the eve of their ſabbath, and of one of their grand feſtivals; that the ſolemnity of it therefore might not be ſullied or diſturbed by the hanging of the three bodies on the croſs [o], they went to beg of Pilate, that he would order their legs to be broke, and that they might be taken down, and carried off. This was immediately executed on the two criminals; but when they came to Jeſus, and found him already dead, they broke not his legs, but one of the ſoldiers, ſeemingly out of wantonneſs, ſtruck his lance into his ſide, which immediately iſſued forth water and blood. Theſe laſt circumſtances happened, not without a peculiar direction of providence, not only as they fully aſſured us of his being really dead, but as they verified two ſignal prophecies concerning him; the one, that *not a bone of his ſhould be broken* [p]; and the other, that *they, the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, ſhould behold him whom they had pierced* [q].

WHILST theſe things were tranſacting on mount Calvary, Joſeph of Arimathea (E), a wealthy and honourable Jewiſh ruler, and a ſecret diſciple of Jeſus, but yet of ſuch courage and integrity, as to proteſt againſt their violent and unjuſt proceedings againſt him, went boldly to Pilate, and begged leave to take down and bury his ſacred remains. Pilate at firſt could ſcarcely believe that he could be ſo ſoon dead, but being aſſured of it by the centurion, he readily granted his requeſt. Joſeph had

Chriſt embalmed and buried.

[o] De hoc vid. Deut. xxi. 22, & ſeq. & Vol. iii. p. 338, & ſeq.
[p] Vid. Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12, & alib. [q] Zechar. xii. 10. Conf. cum John xix. 36, & ſeq.

(E) The ſame which is called in the ſacred Hebrew books Ramah, and Ramathah, and ſignifies a high place; and this is the reaſon why we meet with ſeveral of the ſame name, which have been confounded one with another. This therefore here ſpoken of by the evangeliſts, and which St. Jerom places between Joppa and Lydda (49), and ſome modern travellers on an eminence between the former and Jeruſalem, being conſequently on the weſt of that metropolis, was very different from Ramathaim Zophim, Samuel's native place which was ſituate on the north of it. As the reader may ſee by comparing Saul's journey, in ſearch of his father's aſſes (50), with the map of Paleſtine (1.)

(49) Epitaph. in Paul. (50) 1 Sam. ix. 4, & ſeq. (1) Vid. Rel. Palæſt.

had a garden adjoining to the place, in which he had hewn a new tomb in the rock, which he designed for himself, but was now by a particular providence better disposed of, and was made the repository of his masters body. We have formerly observed in what manner criminals that died by the hands of justice were to be buried apart †; but, in reconding him in this maiden grave, they seem to have fulfilled another signal prophecy in the same chapter of Isaiah, where the history of his sufferings is so lively represented, that where this remarkable circumstance is foretold, *that though he was numbered* (in his death) *with the transgressors, yet he should have his grave among the great or wealthy* [r]. Nicodemus, another of his private disciples, assisted at the doleful rite; and these two having hastily embalmed the body with a large quantity of myrrh and aloes, and wrapped it in a new winding sheet, deposited it into this new sepulchre, wherein no corps had as yet been laid; and covered the mouth of it with a large stone, not to be removed but by a good number of hands; after which they went to prepare themselves for the celebration of the ensuing solemnity [s]. In the mean while, the jealous Jews went to Pilate, and acquainted him, that Jesus, whom they there style *this deceiver*, had formerly boasted, that he would rise again on the third day; and that it was therefore highly necessary to have his tomb well guarded till then, lest his disciples should privately steal him away, and then give out, that he was really risen, which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. Pilate easily agreed to what they asked, and, to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, Ye have a guard (F); go ye therefore and make every thing as sure as you can. So they went and set a guard at the door of the sepulchre

His tomb sealed and guarded.

† See Vol. iii. p. 341, & seq.

[r] Isaiah liii 9. Vid. Mor. diatrib. in loc. & parallel. in fin.

[s] Matth. xxvii. 57, & seq. Mark xv. 42, &c. Luke xxiii 50, &c. John xix. 38, & seq.

(F) We think there is here a material circumstance, which has hitherto past unobserved, and which still more secures the truth of Christ's resurrection. viz. his tomb being guarded, not by a Roman, but a Jewish watch. The former might have been liable to suspicion, and these Pagan soldiers, little minding whether the Jews or Christ's disciples were most in the right, might have been bribed by the latter to countenance an attempt to impose on a whole nation, which they hated and despised. But a Jewish guard, or as they are elsewhere called, the officers and band of the

ſepulchre, and ſet their ſeal upon the ſtone [t]; and, by their extraordinary care to prevent any private attempt, made the truth of his reſurrection appear in the ſtronger light, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

[t] Matth. xxvii. 62. ad fin.

the high-prieſts (2), and were perhaps the ſame who had ſo lately brought him from the garden into that pontiff's palace, where they had made him ſuffer ſo many indignities, theſe, we ſay, could not be ſuppoſed to join in ſuch a cheat.

Now this ſeems to be the reaſon why Pilate, who by his late behaviour ſeems to have entertained a much higher notion of Chriſt, might now be ſo apprehenſive of his keeping his promiſe, that to prevent all ſuſpicion from him or his ſoldiers, he tells the Jewiſh chiefs, You have a guard of your own; make the beſt uſe you can of it. We do not, however, pretend to inſinuate, that they were permitted by the Romans to keep any troops of militia of their own; but only, that ſince the high-prieſthood had been joined to the royalty in the time of the Maccabees, they uſed to have a conſiderable body of life-guards, it is more than probable, that, after theſe two dignities were parted, the pontiffs were ſtill allowed the ſame, though perhaps in a leſs number, or elſe it will be difficult to gueſs what to make of thoſe ſoldiers and officers of the high prieſt, which are ſo often met with in the goſpels and in the acts.

(2) Vid. John xviii. 3. Conf. cum. vii. 32, 45. Matth. xxvi. 47. Mark xv. 43. Acts iv. 1, & alib.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the Jews, from Chriſt's reſurrection to the total deſtruction of their city and temple, and diſperſion of that people.

WE have hitherto ſeen Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God in his loweſt humiliation, deſpiſed, rejected, and abhorred; perſecuted, tried, and condemned to a death of utmoſt ſhame and ignominy; expiring on a croſs and laid in a grave, and in all theſe reſpects in the loweſt and moſt abject condition of a man. The third day after his death, being the firſt day of the week, or our Sunday, and the fifth of April [a], offers him to our view in his glorified ſtate, and riſen again from

Chriſt riſes from the dead.

[a] Vid. Uſſer. ann. ſub A. M. 4036, p. 843.

from the dead, according to his own promiſes, and the oracles written of old concerning him [b]. By the earlieſt dawn of this day, thoſe pious women, who had accompanied him through his laſt three years travels, and had prepared a coſtly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming at leaſt of his ſo ſudden reſurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had ſeen him depoſited two days before. They do not ſeem to have known any thing of a guard being ſet over it, their great concern was only how to get the ponderous ſtone rolled from the entrance. But that obſtacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewiſe put the guards to flight, ſo that at their arrival they found the ſtone rolled on one ſide, and an angel cloathed in a refulgent array ſitting upon it. Their ſurprize was ſtill greater, when they heard the heavenly meſſenger reprove their officious, but untimely, piety, in words to this effect: Why ſeek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to ſuffer death, and to riſe again on the third day? Behold the place where he was laid, and from which he is riſen, and go and acquaint his diſciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in Galilee according to his promiſe. They did ſo accordingly, and, with the greateſt joy and wonder, went and told them what they had ſeen and heard; but thoſe, ſtill backward to believe, looked upon it as the effects of fancy and deluſion [c].

The angel's ſpeech to the women.

Two of them, however, had the curioſity to run to the ſepulchre: John, who was the youngeſt of the two, came firſt; and ſtooping down found, that the body was really gone; but when Peter came next, he went into the place along with that beloved diſciple, and to their ſurprize found the grave-cloaths and the napkin, not haſtily and confuſedly thrown by, but neatly folded up ſeparately; upon which they began to entertain ſome hopes, and returned to acquaint the reſt with the news [d]. Whilſt they were thus together, and the women with them, Mary Magdalen, who had ſtayed in the garden, prying about to find whether the body had not been removed to ſome other place; came haſtily to them, and aſſured them, that the Lord had appeared to her there [e]. But neither could this further confirmation diſpell either their ſorrow or unbelief; till Jeſus at length came and ſhewed himſelf

[b] Conf. Pſalm xvi. 10. & Act. ii. 31. & alib. [c] Matth. xxviii 1, & ſeq. Mark xvi. 1, & ſeq Luke xxiv. 1, & ſeq. John xx. 1, & ſeq. [d] John ibid. verſ 3, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. verſ. 15, & ſeq.

ſelf to them, gave them a gracious All hail, and bid them be of good comfort, for he was alive again, and, according to his promiſe, would ſhortly meet them in Galilee. In the mean time, the frighted guards, leaving the garden with utmoſt ſpeed and confuſion, went to acquaint the chief-prieſts and rulers with what had happened; upon which a council was immediately called. Here one might have reaſonably expected, they would either have yielded to ſo much evidence, or at leaſt ſuſpend all further reſolutions, till they had made a full enquiry into the fact. But inſtead of that, they rather choſe at any rate to ſuppreſs a truth, which was ſure to caſt the deepeſt guilt on their late unjuſt ſentence againſt Chriſt [f]; and accordingly bribed the watch with a good round ſum, to give out, that his diſciples had ſtolen him away whilſt they were aſleep, promiſing them at the ſame time, that if the matter came to the governor's ears, they would find means to pacify him, and bear them harmleſs. Upon which they went and ſpread abroad that report, which was readily ſwallowed by the greateſt part of the Jews, and went ſtill current among them for many years [g] (A).

On that evening, two of the diſciples going to a village called Emmaus, diſtant about ſixty furlongs, or eight miles north-weſt of Jeruſalem, were diſcourſing with each other about the ſtrange tranſactions of the day, when Jeſus overtook them, and without making himſelf known, aſked them the cauſe of their melancholy entertainment. Cleophas, one of the two, in a kind of ſurprize, that he ſhould ſeem ſo great a ſtranger to the tranſactions of the laſt week, began to give him an account both of them and of thoſe of that day; particularly

[f] Vid. int. al. Acts v. 28. [g] Matth. xxviii. 9. & ſeq.

(A) So ſays the evangeliſt (1). But the Jews have ſince found out another way to oppoſe this ſignal truth, by denying that of his crucifixion, under pretence, that it was a puniſhment unuſual and unwarranted among them. We have had frequent occaſion to mention this and ſome others of their poor and ſhameful evaſions, and ſhall not repeat them here.

Much leſs ſhall we take upon us to anſwer all the cavils which our modern ſceptics have raiſed againſt this important article, which has been ſo ſtrenuouſly defended by ſo many abler hands, and more particularly of late by a very learned pen, and in a manner wholly new, but ſo convincing, that nothing need be added to it (2), as indeed nothing has, or can be, replied to it.

(1) Matth. xxviii. 15. (2) Trial of the witneſſes, paſſ.

particularly their ſurprize at the viſion, which the women had ſeen at the ſepulchre, concluding the whole with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon Jeſus as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation; yet it being now three days ſince they had ſeen him expire on a ſhameful croſs, their hopes were almoſt at an end, in ſpite of the women's report of his reſurrection, and its being in ſome meaſure confirmed by ſome of the apoſtles, who had been that morning at the ſepulchre. Here Jeſus took occaſion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the ſcriptures, where both his ſufferings and death, reſurrection and glory, were ſo plainly foretold, and to give them a thorough expoſition of them from the firſt to the laſt. By this time they were got to the village, where Jeſus made a ſhew as if he deſigned to go farther; but they had been ſo comforted by his diſcourſe, that they entreated him to ſpend that night with them; the evening been then juſt upon cloſing. He went in with them accordingly, and, being ſat down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been wont to do; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vaniſhed. This ſurprizing diſcovery, added to the warmth which their hearts had felt, whilſt he expounded the ſcriptures to them on the road, would not ſuffer them to tarry longer there; but they went to communicate their joy that very night to the reſt, that were then gathered together at Jeruſalem, and who acquainted them at the ſame time with his having appeared unto them [h].

Appears to the twelve at ſupper.

All theſe circumſtances had been ſo far from convincing them hitherto, that they rather concluded, from his ſo ſudden diſappearing, that they had only ſeen ſome ſpirit in his likeneſs. They ſeemed ſtill more confirmed in it, when being ſat down to ſupper, with the gates faſt for fear of the Jews, he ſurprized them with his preſence, and gave them his uſual ſalutation, *Peace be to you.* To convince them therefore of their miſtake, he commanded them to draw near, and conſider his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and ſatisfy themſelves by all proper means, that he was no ſpirit, or phantaſm, but their real riſen lord and maſter. Whilſt they were ſtill fluctuating between joy and doubt, he reminded them of his former promiſes, explained thoſe oracles to them, in which theſe things were preſignified of him, renewed his former commiſſion and power to them to preach and confirm his goſpel, and left them for that night with his uſual bleſſing, full

[h] Luke xxiv. 13, & ſeq.

full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the ſeveral tranſactions of that glorious and ſignal day [i] (B).

THOMAS, one of the eleven apoſtles, called Didymus, chanced to be abſent when this happened; ſo that when the reſt informed him of it, he plainly told them, that he ſhould never believe it, till he had thruſt his fingers into the print of the nails, and his hand into his wounded ſide. Eight days after, being the twelfth of April, Jeſus appeared again unto them, when Thomas was there, and invited him to come and take that full demonſtration, which he had ſo ſtifly inſiſted on; but the incredulous ſervant, being now fully aſſured without it, fell at his gracious feet, and, with an humble ecſtaſy of joy, confeſſed him to be his Lord and his God; upon which he was diſmiſſed with this gentle reproof; *Thou believeſt*, Thomas, *becauſe thou haſt ſeen; but bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet believe* [k]. Some days after, they all left Jeruſalem, and went according to his appointment into Galilee; where he appeared again unto them, and, after his uſual ſalutation, ſaid unto them, *All power is given me in heaven and earth. Go therefore and preach to all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, &c. [l] Seven of them being ſoon after gone to the ſea-ſide to fiſh, namely Peter, John, James, Thomas, Bartholomew, or Nathanael, and two others not named, and having toiled all night in vain, Jeſus manifeſted himſelf again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle; and, after they had dragged their loaded net to the ſhore, condeſcended to eat and drink with them. After breakfaſt, Jeſus addreſſing himſelf to Peter, aſked, whether he loved him more than the reſt? and being anſwered in the affirmative, commanded him to feed his flock. He repeated the ſame queſtion twice more to him, inſomuch, that Peter, being grieved at it, broke out into this expreſſion; *Lord, thou, who knoweſt all things, muſt know that I love thee.* After this

Appears to Thomas.

To ſeven others.

[i] Luke xxiv. 34, & ſeq. John xx. 19, & ſeq. & alib. [k] John ibid, verſ. 24, & ſeq. [l] Matth. xxviii. 16, & ſeq.

(B) This laſt was the fifth appearance he made of himſelf on this one day, viz. 1. to Mary Magdalen; 2. to the other woman; 3. to Peter, in ſome manner not plainly recorded, but mentioned tranſitorily by St. Luke and St. Paul (3); 4. to the two diſciples; and 5. to the whole college at ſupper.

(3) Luke xxiv. 34. 1 Corinth. xv. 5.

His commiſſion to Peter.

this treble confeſſion of his unfeigned love, deſigned probably as a kind of expiation for his treble denial of him, Jeſus plainly told him, that the time would come, when he ſhould make a much more authentic acknowledgment of him, when he ſuffered himſelf to be bound and led to a glorious martyrdom for his ſake, and in imitation of him, intimating thereby, as the evangeliſt hints, his crucifixion, by which he was to glorify God, as he did accordingly many years after, with a conſtancy becoming a chief apoſtle (C), This was the

(C) The ſufferings and martyrdom of the primitive preachers of the goſpel being not only an irrefragable teſtimony of their ſincerity, as well as aſſurance of the facts and truths delivered by them, but moreover one of the higheſt inſtances of the divine wiſdom and power, which was to be diſplayed in the propagation of it (4); it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a little more fully of them, in this place, and upon this occaſion; ſince the thread of this chapter will not permit us to follow them into thoſe foreign countries, where they ſealed it with their blood.

Whoever conſiders what a ſtrenuous oppoſition the degenerate world has always made to chriſtianity, muſt own, that whatever fate had attended the preachers of it, was ſure to be turned into an objection againſt it. Were they encouraged, admired, and careſſed, or did their charitable labour meet with ſuitable returns; no wonder, would it have been ſaid, they are ſo zealous and indefatigable to propagate a goſpel, which turns ſo much to their credit and advantage. Were they deſpiſed, abhorred, perſecuted, and liable to the moſt ſhocking diſcouragements, how inconſiſtent would it have been thought with the divine goodneſs and juſtice, to ſuffer ſuch faithful, zealous, and charitable ſervants to be thus treated by thoſe, whom their chief ſtudy and deſign was to render the moſt happy perſons both here and hereafter; or to permit men of ſuch excellent and godlike diſpoſitions to be expoſed to the barbarous fury of the very vileſt of human race!

What medium the moſt conſummate human forecaſt could have found out between theſe two caſes, we may well be at a loſs to imagine. But here it was, that infinite wiſdom and power triumphed in ſuch a manner, as was once more to confound the moſt wiſe and prudent of the world. And this was done, by creating, as it were, ſuch a new nature in thoſe primitive profeſſors of the goſpel, as ſhould not only render them inſenſible of, but even capable of receiving the moſt ecſtatic comforts in the moſt excruciating torments, to which they were going to be expoſed. By this, the objections of worldly gain on their part, or of

(4) Conf. Iſai. xxix. 14. 1 Cor. i. 19, & ſeq.

the third time of his appearing to the full body of his diſciples after his reſurrection. After that prediction, Jeſus bid Peter come after him; who turning about and ſeeing the beloved diſciple, asked his maſter, whether he would have him alſo follow him? But Jeſus rebuked his untimely curioſity, with telling him, *if I will have him tarry till I come, what have you to do with it?* hence aroſe a ſtrange notion among the reſt, that that diſciple ſhould not die [m]; though, in all probability, Chriſt meant no more than his tarrying on earth, till his coming to take vengeance on the Jewiſh nation, which St. John actually lived to ſee totally diſperſed.

THUS

[m] John xx. per tot.

of injuſtice on God's, were fully obviated; whilſt the amazed world beheld them moſt calm, ſerene, and joyful, when, to all human appearance, they laboured under the heavieſt loads of pain, and miſery.

This miraculous change once wrought in them, they are no more the cowards that forſook their maſter, or ſhut their doors for fear of the Jews; but in the ſynagogues, the ſtreets, and even to the face of death, freely confeſs and preach him (5). Peter, who through fear of the danger of being his, had thrice denied and forſworn him, can now ſleep as calmly and ſoundly in a dungeon, with his hands and feet loaded with irons, and on the eve, as he thought, and Herod deſigned, of his martyrdom, as if he had been in his own bed, and out of all danger (6). Paul and Silas, after having been unmercifully ſcourged, are thruſt down into the loweſt hold of a common gaol, and are heard by all the priſoners to ſing pſalms and hymns in the middle of the night (7).

In a word, this ſurprizing change was not confined to the apoſtles, diſciples and preachers of the goſpel, much leſs to the infancy of it, but extended itſelf to their proſelytes of all ranks, ages, ſexes, conditions, and countries, during near three hundred years, if not much beyond. All which is a ſubject ſo well known and atteſted, not only by the primitive fathers and apologiſts; the former of whom, ſealing the truth with their blood, and the latter, moreover, appealing to the records of their enemies and the notoriety of the facts, muſt conſequently be allowed unexceptionable witneſſes; but likewiſe the very heathen authors themſelves, who ſeemed as much to deſpiſe them for their folly, as they were aſtoniſhed at their univerſal conſtancy; ſo that it would be ſuperfluous to inſiſt longer upon it.

We

(5) Vid. Act. ii, iii; & ſeq. paſſ. (6) Ibid. xii. 3. & ſeq.
(7) Ibid. xvi. 23, & ſeq.

THUS did our risen Saviour manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, in all-convincing proofs; instructing them still further in his heavenly doctrine, discoursing more familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the glorious prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length, the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together, to the number, as St. Paul tells us, of above five hundred [n]. He led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care, and protection, to the end of the world, renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with the promise of a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work, the conversion of the world [o].

HAVING

[n] 1 Corinth. xv. 6. [o] Mark xvi. 17. ad fin.

We are not insensible indeed, how much the innumerable instances of this kind, which we meet with in the later histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and others, have been thought exaggerated, and what little credit those writers have of late among us. The story of a Laurence throwing his sarcastical jests on his judges and executioners, whilst broiling on a gridiron, has been thought so monstrously absurd and unnatural, that it has almost discredited all the rest. We would therefore beg leave to ask these doubtful gentlemen, whether they would have believed that story, had it been transmitted down to us by any, but christian writers; or, which is still more, by men professed enemies to christianity, and at the same time of avowed sense, learning, and integrity? If they would, we hope we may be permitted to subjoin one here of altogether as surprizing a nature, and upon the authority of a person of the unquestionable character last mentioned.

Libanius, the famous orator of Antioch, a person greatly esteemed by all for his learning and humanity, but especially by the emperor Julian, as appears by their mutual literary intercourse, is the author we are speaking of (8). The story he relates is of one Mark, a venerable old bishop of Arethusa, a city in

(8) De Liban. & ejus epistol. Vid. int. al. Eunap. vita Liban. Johan Christ. Volf. præfat. in cent. epist, Liban. sophist. cum not. Leipsik, 1711.

HAVING finiſhed his diſcourſe, he bid them return to Jeruſalem, where he would meet them before his aſcenſion, as he accordingly did; and ordered them to remain till they had received the promiſed Comforter, by whom they ſhould ſhortly after be endowed with power from above, anſwerable to their high commiſſion. Great need they ſtill ſtood in of ſuch divine director, ſince theſe laſt words filled them again with hopes, that their maſter was now going indeed to reſtore the kingdom of Iſrael. Jeſus was here again obliged to check their untimely curioſity, but referred the further diſplay of this important point to that promiſed heavenly inſtructor. And now, having finiſhed his glorious work, he led them forth towards Bethany, to the mount of Olives; where being arrived, he tenderly gathered them about him, and, in their full

in Syria between Emeſa and Epiphania; who endured the moſt exquiſite torments, under the above-mentioned emperor, not only with utmoſt conſtancy, but braved his enemies with ſuch biting ſarcaſms in the midſt of his torments, that, being at laſt overcome by his heroic behaviour, they were forced to let him down, and go off with his life, to prevent the heathen ſpectators falling down and worſhipping him. The deſign of this ſtory, as well as of the orator's letter, was, to ſtop a perſecution newly raiſed under that apoſtate monarch againſt the chriſtians, for the havock they had made of the Pagan temples under his predeceſſor's reign; and the judge to whom he writes it, had then a zealous chriſtian priſoner, named Orion, who, it was apprehended, would prove a ſecond Mark, if the ſame ſeverities ſhould be uſed againſt him, and much more, leſt the known conſtancy of the reſt ſhould cauſe an univerſal defection from paganiſm. For which reaſon Libanius, though a bitter enemy to chriſtianity, is for putting an immediate ſtop to all further perſecution.

His letters, to the number of above ſixteen hundred though preſerved in manuſcript, in ſeveral public as well as private libraries, and a good number of them printed and tranſlated into Latin (9), are yet ſo little known by our Engliſh readers, that we hope it will not be thought impertinent, if we ſubjoin here the ſubſtance both of the letter and of this ſignal ſtory; though, for the better underſtanding of it, we ſhall be forced to have recourſe to Theodoret's (10) aſſiſtance. For the ſtyle of the former is ſo intricate and laconic every-where, eſpecially where he ſpeaks

(9) Fr. Zambicar. Johan. Sommerfeld. Morel. & al. ap. Volf. ubi ſupra. (10) Hiſt. Eccl. iii. c. 7. Vid. & Sozomen. l. v. c. 10.

Aſcends into Heaven.

full ſight, went up to heaven, leaving his gracious bleſſing upon them, and the comfortable aſſurance, that he was going

ſpeaks of things and facts of a recent nature and univerſally known, that without the guide of ſome other hiſtorian, one would never gueſs what he means or alludes to, becauſe he contents himſelf with the bare hint of them, as the reader may ſee by the lettter itſelf (11). We hope the curiouſneſs of the ſubject, as well as the character of the author, will excuſe the length of this note; though, to ſhorten it as much as we can, we ſhall join the account out of theſe two authors together, leaving it to our readers to compare them with each other at their own leiſure.

" Mark, the heroic biſhop in queſtion, having in the reign " of Conſtans built a chriſtian church by and on the ruins of " a Pagan temple, and being like to ſuffer for it under Julian, " endeavoured at firſt to avoid it by flight; where being inform- " ed that ſome of his dioceſe were going to be taken up for it, " he came back and ſurrendered himſelf to the heathen officers, " as the only perſon accountable for that fact. But theſe, with- " out regard to his learning, dignity, or great age, ordered him " to be ſtripped naked, and ſcourged from head to foot. From " thence he was flung into a ſtinking common-ſhore; and be- " ing taken out again, was expoſed in that condition to the " mercy of a great number of ſchool-boys, who made it their " cruel ſport to pink his fleſh with their writing inſtruments.

" All this was done to oblige him to refund the damages of " the demoliſhed temple, which when he conſtanly refuſed to " do, they beſmeared him all over with honey and a kind of " ſweet ſauce, called "garon," and hoiſted him up into the air in " a kind of net, or open basket; where, it being then the heat " of ſummer, the bees, waſps, &c. did eat him up alive. Whilſt " he hung in this dreadful condition, they offered to abate him " half of the ſtipulated ſum, thinking his refuſal owing to his " inability of paying the whole. But to their ſurpriſe, he an- " ſwered, that he ſhould think it as impious to refund a doit, as " the whole ſum. But what encreaſed their wonder beyond ex- " preſſion is, he was all this time ſo far from uttering a groan, " or ſhewing the leaſt ſenſe of pain, that he even ſeemed to " make himſelf merry with his Pagan tormentors, telling them, " that " they were from beneath, but he from above;" allud- " ing to his ſuſpenſion. The conſequence of the whole was, " that, being at length overcome by his ſupernatural conſtancy, " they let him down, and releaſed him full of the deepeſt vene- " ration and reſpect".

Now,

(11) In epiſt. lxx.

ing to prepare a place for them in his own kingdom; whilſt they, in an adoring poſture, followed him with their wiſhful eyes, till a bright cloud received him out of their ſight (D). Whilſt their eyes were thus fixed ſtill towards him, two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and ſaid unto them, *Ye men of* Galilee, *why ſtand ye gazing up to heaven? The ſame*

Now, when a ſtory comes to us confirmed by a perſon of Libanius's character, and who was not only cotemporary to it, but ſpeaks of it with the ſame aſſurance, as if he had been an eye-witneſs of it; we know not well how that of Laurence, or any other, can be queſtioned in thoſe hiſtorians. The ſame ſophiſt adds to what Theodoret ſays, that the people were ſo aſtoniſhed at the old biſhop's conſtancy, that they worſhipped him as a god; and that when Julian heard of it, though he was vexed at the demolition of the temple, he yet choſe rather to forgive him, than to make further trial of his patience.

He concludes his letter with deſiring his friend the judge not to make of Orion his priſoner a ſecond Mark, or a ſecond Marſyas (who had been lately flayed alive.) If, ſays he, you think Orion has a golden mine in his skin, you would do well to get it out; if not, by Jupiter, you had better let him go; or if you muſt puniſh him, do it in ſuch a manner, that he may have no opportunity to make a public ſhew of his patience and conſtancy. Some have thought, that all this moderation of our orator might be owing to an apprehenſion of Julian's being ſucceeded by a chriſtian (12); but, be that how it will, it cannot invalidate the teſtimony which he gives to thoſe heroic ſufferers. However, many of his letters appear full of the ſame moderate ſpirit, in other inſtances; and the tenor of the letter above-mentioned ſhews him to have been rather afraid of the effects of the chriſtian conſtancy, which under ſuch grievous perſecutions always drew, as well it might, a great number of converts, and threatened a total dereliction of their heathen temples and worſhip.

(D) This happened, according to our learned Uſher's computation, hinted a little higher, on a Thurſday, the fourteenth of May, which is the ninth month of the Jewiſh year, and in the thirty-ſixth, or according to others, the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of Tiberius's reign. There is an antient tradition, which adds, that it was about the time of noon when he was taken up, and aſcended from one of the ſummits of mount Olivet, where the print of his feet, where he laſt ſtood, was ſtill to be ſeen, and on that account has been had in great veneration ever ſince. The reader may ſee what we have ſaid of it in a former volume †.

(12) Le Clerc. bibl. A. M. 1715. part 2. ſect. 4. † See before, vol. iii. p. 113. & ſeq.

ſame Jeſus, *whom ye have now beheld aſcending thither, ſhall in the like manner come down again from thence* [p]; meaning, doubtleſs, at the laſt day to judge the world; till when he will there remain, and reign at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footſtool [q] (E).

THE

[p] Ibid. ver. ult. Luke xxiv. 46. ad fin. Act. i. 6, & ſeq. [q] Conf. Pſ. cx. 1. Matth. xxii. 44. Act. ii. 35. Hebr. i. 13, x. 12, 13.

(E) It will not be amiſs to cloſe this hiſtory of the Saviour of the world with thoſe other teſtimonies which we find concerning him, both in Joſephus and in ſome eminent heathen authors. We begin with the former, becauſe we have elſewhere promiſed to ſay ſomething further concerning that known and much controverted paſſage of his, which runs to this effect (13):

" At the ſame time there was one Jeſus, a wiſe man, if at
" leaſt he may be called a man, who was a great worker of mi-
" racles, and a teacher of truth, to all that were deſirous to
" learn it, and had a great number of diſciples, both of Jews
" and Gentiles. This was (or, as St. Jerom read it, credeba-
" tur, was believed to be) the Chriſt, whom Pilate through the
" envy of the heads of our nation, cauſed to be crucified; but
" this did not hinder his diſciples from cleaving ſtedfaſtly unto
" him. He was ſeen by them three days after his death, ac-
" cording to the prophecies concerning him. The chriſtian
" ſect ſubſiſt to this day, call themſelves by his name, and ac-
" knowledge him for their head."

This paſſage being not only found in all the manuſcrips of that hiſtorian, but quoted by St. Jerom, Euſebius (14), and other antients, the main objection againſt it is, how Joſephus could expreſs himſelf in ſuch a manner concerning Chriſt, and yet live and die a Jew. To which may be added another difficulty, viz. how he could acknowledge him the promiſed Meſſiah, after he had once complimented the Roman emperor with that title (14). But thoſe who believe it to have been foiſted in by ſome pious chriſtians, will find it ſtill much more difficult to account how they could get it inſerted in all future copies, and ſuppreſs all the old and genuine ones.

Thoſe who know how much has been already writ for and againſt it, will eaſily excuſe our not entering further into that controverſy, than referring our readers to the authors themſelves, whom he will find quoted in the margin (15).

All

(13) Antiq. l. xviii. c. 4. (14) Lib. de ſcriptor. Vid. & Euſeb. eccl. hiſt. l. i. cap. 11. iii. c. 9. (15) Vid. int. al. Huet. demonſtr. evang. prop. ſect. 11. & Arnold. diſſert. de loc. ſup. an. 1661.

THE disciples, thus warned, returned immediately to Jerusalem, where they spent their time in prayers, fastings, and

All that we shall add by way of lessening the two difficulties raised against the genuineness of the text is, 1st, That Josephus was no less a courtier, than a Jew and a Pharisee; he might, as an historian, who made great shew of sincerity, be forced to publish a truth, the suppression of which would have brought his character in question, and yet not have resolution enough to sacrifice his temporal interest to his conviction. The cruel treatment which the disciples of Christ met with from Jews and Gentiles might be a sufficient obstacle, to a man of his mould, listing himself into their number. He might, and had in all probability conversed with several learned christians; who might have inspired him with a great veneration for their divine master, and, from the many prophecies concerning him; have convinced him of his being the Messiah, and at the same time, his brethren of the Pharisaic leaven might trump up their notion of a double Messiah, viz. a suffering one, and the other a great and glorious conqueror.

For no time could be more likely to produce such a wild distinction, than that about which he wrote his history, when all their hopes were wholly quashed, the sceptre long ago departed from Judah, the second temple destroyed, the nation ruined, the utmost length of their computation of Daniel's weeks long since ended, and the christians every-where beating them out of all other retrenchments, and forcing them at length to thrust themselves to this broken plank; and was not a man of Josephus's character as likely to prefer this soothing notion, to the manifest danger of becoming a professed christian, as any of his fraternity?

But, lastly, who can tell, how far the ill treatment which he met with from these last, at the siege of Jerusalem, their invincible obstinacy and ingratitude, their cruelty, hypocrisy, and irreconcileable hatred to him, may have provoked him to lay this heavy charge upon them, of crucifying the Messiah, and to aggravate it with those other testimonials concerning him, without being himself thoroughly satisfied with them, through prejudice and interest; If we join his resentment against them, and their notion of two Messiahs, with his fawning action of complimenting Vespasian with the title of Messiah, we shall find, that he acted nothing but what became such a consummate politician; and the passage above-quoted concerning Christ, and that concerning the Roman emperor, though set at that great distance from each other, to conceal his design, when brought nearer together, may amount to no more than this: Since the heads of our nation did unjustly reject and crucify the first Messiah, who

ſuch-like other duties, as were likelieſt to qualify them for the reception of the promiſed Comforter. They were about a hundred and twenty perſons, probably excluſive of the women, who did not uſe to be reckoned in the number, though they kept ſtill with them, and among the reſt the virgin Mary, who is here particularly mentioned, and for the laſt time

came to them in the ſpirit of meekneſs and charity, and in all reſpects anſwered the deſcription given of him by the antient prophets, it is but juſt that the ſecond, who is to be the glorious conquering one, ſhould ſignalize the premiſes of his reign, with the extirpation of thoſe unworthy wretches, and thereby fulfil the prophecies concerning himſelf, and his glorious and univerſal kingdom. All which was in a great meaſure already done before the hiſtorian wrote his two hiſtories, in the laſt of which he ſpeaks of his conference with that prince (16), and may have dreſſed it in the moſt advantageous manner to gain the applauſe of the Romans.

If therefore this text ever ſuffered any alteration, it ſeems to have been only in the omiſſion of the word "was believed," which we find was in St. Jerom's copy, though not in that of Euſebius, Rufinus, and others, where it was left out; but whether through careleſſneſs, or wilfully, muſt be left to the readers candor. And, after all, we may as well ſuſpect the great character which the Jewiſh hiſtorian gives to John the Baptiſt, and to St. James, whom he calls the brother of Chriſt (17), which yet caſt no ſmall honour to this laſt, whoſe martyrs they were.

Concerning the teſtimony of heathen writers, we have already mentioned thoſe which confirm the ſupernatural eclipſe which happened at Chriſt's paſſion and the appeal which the apologiſt fathers made to the heathen records for that and other facts. Tacitus confirms alſo Chriſt's having been put to death by Pilate governor of Judæa under the emperor Tiberius (18) We might add ſome others, were we not afraid of ſwelling this note too much. The readers may ſee them in the apologies above-mentioned, and the authors quoted in the margin (19).

For the ſame reaſon we ſhall forbear mentioning that of the Mohammedans, and all further debate on the apocryphal goſpels, epiſtles, and other writings concerning him, and all uſeleſs enquiries after his perſon, ſhape, mien, and other ſuch particularities of neither importance, nor the leaſt certainty. As for his pretended correſpondence with the king of Edeſſa, we ſhall refer our readers to what has been ſaid in a former volume †.

(16) Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 14. v. c. 12. (17) Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. (18) Annal. l. xv. c. 44 (19) Vid. int. al. Minut. Felix. H. Grot. de verit. Le Clerc. in eund. Abadie & al. † vol. ix p. 632.

time [r], The place they uſed to aſſemble in, was a large upper room (F), where a few days after their maſter's aſcenſion, Peter addreſſed himſelf to the reſt, and reminded them how neceſſary it was, before they entered into their grand commiſſion, to chuſe a new member into the apoſtolic college, from among thoſe who had been converſant with Jeſus from John's baptiſm to that preſent time, to fill the vacancy which the traytor Judas had made to their number. The propoſal being approved, two candidates were offered to them, namely Joſeph, ſurnamed Juſtus and Barſabas (who is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the brother of James the Leſs, and by others the ſame with Barnabas), and Matthias, who was one of the ſeventy diſciples (G). After a ſhort prayer to the diſcerner of all hearts, to direct them to the perſon whom he had made choice of, they caſt their lots, and Matthias was choſen into the appoſtolical miniſtry, and their number completed again [s].

WHEN fifty days from Chriſt's reſurrection were finiſhed, which uſhered in the grand feaſt of pentecoſt, whilſt the diſciples were all aſſembled at their uſual place, ſuddenly there was hard a mighty ſound from heaven; a vehement wind filled the room they were in, when there appeared a kind of cloven tongues of fire ſitting upon each of their heads; upon The Holy Ghoſt deſcends on the apoſtles.

[r] Act i. 14. [s] Act. ibid. 15. ad fin.

(F) The words εἰς το ὑπερῶον (20), do certainly imply ſome upper room of a houſe, and not of the temple, as ſome have imagined. This might be therefore that large one in which Jeſus had celebrated the laſt paſſover with his diſciples (21); and is ſuppoſed to have belonged to one of them, namely to John, ſurnamed Mark, and is ſaid to have been turned, in proceſs of time, into a ſtately church.

(G) The tradition concerning theſe two, and others of their collegues, are ſo uncertain, that there is no relying on them, otherwiſe this Joſeph ſhould be the ſame with that often mentioned in the goſpel among the relations of our Saviour; and by his ſurname of Barſabas, he ſhould be the ſame with Barnabas, who is yet ſaid to be a Cyprian levite (22). Matthias ſhould likewiſe be the ſame with Zaccheus (23), though this laſt became a diſciple but a few weeks before Chriſt's death, and the apoſtles choſe only thoſe for candidates, who had been with him from the beginning of his miniſtry.

(20) Acts xiii. (21) Mark xiv. 14, 15. (22) Acts iv. 36. (23) De his vid. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. N. De Lyra, Corn. a Lap. & al.

upon which they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt, illuminated with his heavenly light, inflamed with his divine heat, inſpired with the knowledge of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other ſupernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious taſk, the converſion of the world. They ſet themſelves immediately about it, Jeruſalem being then filled with people, who came from all parts of the world, both Jews and proſelytes, who flocked thither, as uſual, to that grand ſolemnity. Theſe, hearing of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond meaſure ſurprized to hear ſuch poor illiterate Galileans, who never knew any but their own mother tongue, and that no better than as ſimple fiſhermen, expreſs themſelves with ſuch unheard-of readineſs and energy, and diſplay in all their different tongues and dialects the moſt ſublime myſteries of the goſpel. The ſacred hiſtorian mentions fifteen different countries, out of which this aſſembly conſiſted [t]. Whilſt therefore ſome, ſtruck with amazement at what they ſaw and heard, were queſtioning what the iſſue of ſuch a prodigy would be, others abſurdly attributed it to ſome exceſs of new wine, which they ſuppoſed the apoſtles had been guilty of that morning. Which when Peter underſtood, he firſt exploded the ſuppoſition, by reminding them, that is was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning; and then proved to them from the ſcriptures, that there was nothing happened in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold and elegantly deſcribed by one of the prophets [u]. From that he proceeded to thoſe other oracles, which had preſignified the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, the true Meſſiah; all which he ſhewed to them, with ſuch powerful and convincing eloquence, that three thouſand of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine, and continued ſtrict and zealous profeſſors of it [w] (H).

They convert three thouſand ſouls.

Some

[t] Ibid. c. ii. 8, & ſeq. [u] Joel ii. 28, & ſeq. conf. cum Iſai. xxix. 19, & ſeq xliv. 3, & ſeq. cum Act. xi. 15, & ſeq. [w] Act, ibid. verſ. 37. ad fin

(H) Thoſe that will not acknowledge the truth of this miraculous tranſaction, muſt ſuppoſe that ſurpriſing change in the apoſtles to have been wrought by ſome ſuch method as this which follows; we leave them to their choice They muſt ſuppoſe the hen-hearted college to have been all at once ſeized with a deſperate phrentic courage, or inſpired with it by ſome one of the boldeſt

Some time after Peter and John, repairing to the temple at the uſual evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple,

boldeſt of them, ſuppoſe the pretended champion Peter, by ſome ſuch ſpeech as this:

Men and brethren, The natural conſequence of our having been ſo egregiouſly cheated by our late maſter, and made to wait ſo long in vain for his pretended reſurrection, ſhould according to human prudence be this; that we ſhould for the future deteſt the very memory and mention of him; that we ſhould become ſo much the more tenacious of the expoſitions and traditions of our betters, ſince it was our departing from them, to follow him, that has brought us into this dilemma; and laſtly, that we ſhould go and beg for abſolution of the ſanhedrin, which they'll hardly make a difficulty to grant; for what wonder is it, that ſuch poor illiterate fiſhermen as we are ſhould be ſo eaſily deceived, when ſo many of their learned bench were caught in the ſame ſnare?

But for my own part poor and ſimple as I am, I think I could undergo the moſt dreadful hazards in life, rather than to ſtoop to ſuch a baſe ſubmiſſion, and my project, if I can but bring you into it, is to do the very reverſe; to cry our late maſter up ſtill for the true Meſſiah, to profeſs a greater love and veneration for him than ever, to affirm that we have ſeen him riſen from the dead, converſed with him full forty days, in all convincing proofs, and at length ſeen him go up to heaven; and to propagate the cheat, not only among our nation, but alſo among the Gentiles, as far and wide as we can; and, to make it the better go down with the world, we will pretend to a new and miraculous commiſſion from heaven to the ſupernatural gifts of prophecy, tongues, miracles, and every thing that is great and ſtupendous, or apt to raiſe our maſter's glory and our own.

Methinks, I hear you already making ten thouſand objections and difficulties againſt my project, which I doubt not but you look upon as the moſt romantic that ever came into a crazy brain; and I who have duly weighed them, do give you leave to think ſo ſtill, if I do not remove every one of them, and convince you that my ſcheme is no leſs practicable, than it is heroic and glorious.

You will object in the firſt place, that ſuch a deſign will expoſe us to the higheſt oppoſition and reſentment from Jews and Gentiles, to impriſonments, ſcourges, tortures, and death; I own it, and that is the reaſon of my being ſo zealous for it; and I promiſe myſelf an unconceivable pleaſure in carrying it on under all theſe difficulties and dangers. But our pretence you'll ſay, to miracles, tongues, and other ſupernatural gifts, will be a moſt effectual means to betray us, becauſe we ſhall at every turn be

who ſat begging at the gate. This drew immediately a great concourſe of people about them, to the place called Solomon's

ready to diſcover our want of them. Suppoſe it happen ſo; can we not ſtill face them down that we have them, though they cannot ſee them? Can't we find means to impoſe, not only upon the eyes and ears of the world, but upon the very underſtandings of the greateſt philoſophers that now reign either at Rome or Athens? Let us but reſolutely undertake, and I promiſe you, you will meet with a thouſand unexpected accidents, that will force, as it were, a ſucceſs into your very laps.

But the greateſt objection perhaps to you is, that we ſhall bring the hatred of even God himſelf, as well as of the world, upon us; we ſhall not only deprive ourſelves of all the hopes of the true promiſed Meſſiah, but of all other comforts of this or of the next life; and what a dreadful thing muſt it be to be thrown into a dungeon, or led to ſome cruel execution; abhorred by God and man, tortured by the ſting of a conſcience as black as the very hell we are haſtening to, without one poor glympſe of hope or comfort, either from within, or from without us?

There is indeed ſomething in this thought which may appear terrible to mean ſouls; but mine is above ſhrinking at ſuch bugbears, when the glorious proſpect of impoſing one of the vileſt cheats is put in the ſcale againſt it. For let our guilt be of never ſo deep a dye, and the generality of the world judge never ſo juſtly of it, yet as long as we make the greateſt boaſts to ſanctity, piety, charity, and every real virtue, and take care that our life, at leaſt outwardly, doth not bely our pretence; we ſhall ſtill meet with admirers enough to keep up our ſpirits from flagging in this noble undertaking; and who could grudge to run any dangers, or even to die, for ſuch a cauſe?

And now, methinks, I ſee you all, like me, impatient to ſally out in this heroic race; but there is ſtill one danger, againſt which I muſt warn you all. It is likely, that when we come to be diſperſed at a vaſt diſtance from each other, as we muſt be of courſe to carry on the work, ſome one of us may through fear of torments, or of ſome cruel death, be cowardly enough to diſcover the whole impoſture, in which caſe we ſhall all loſe the fruit of our labours. Our late puſillanimous behaviour, and mine in particular, to our late maſter in the garden, might indeed incline one to fear, leſt there ſhould turn out another Judas from among us. But there is ſomething within me that gives me a quite contrary notion of you all, and that you will reſolutely perſiſt in carrying on the common cauſe, and not, through any baſe fear or terror, torture or death, make ſhipwreck of that glorious deſign, to which we are going to ſacrifice all that is dear and valuable in this and the next world.

And

lomon's porch; where Peter, having reproved their ſtupidity in gazing at them, as the authors of ſo ſignal a miracle, aſ-
ſured

And therefore let me only add a few neceſſary directions to you, and then let us go and proſper: 1. It is cuſtomary for perſons of our character to be elated at every ſucceſs or applauſe, and ſunk down at every foil. We muſt act the reverſe. Never appear more joyful, lofty, and undaunted, than when you meet with the greateſt oppoſition, ſcorn, and ill treatment; nor ever more humble and abaſed, than when men are ready to fall down and worſhip you. This you know was our maſter's caſe, and we muſt, whatever we do, profeſs an utter contempt of every thing that this world is fond of, and ſeem to court nothing but poverty and miſery, croſſes and perſecutions. We may in all likelihood fare the better for it; but if we don't, we ſhall at leaſt ſave our credit, if we ſave nothing elſe.

2. It is not only natural, but ſweet, to ſuch men as we, to retaliate ill uſage, though never ſo juſtly deſerved, with ill language and ill offices, to complain of injuſtice and cruelty, and even to call for vengeance from heaven on our pretended oppreſſors. But I adviſe you, whatever betide us, to let your behaviour breathe nothing but the moſt ſurpriſing patience, meekneſs, reſignation, and charity to your worſt enemies, and, in the midſt of the moſt exquiſite racks and tortures, and even with your laſt breath, to pray to heaven for them. You'll perhaps aſk how human nature can be capable of ſuch heroic courage? But remember only your character and reputation, as apoſtles, will riſe or ſink, according as you follow this rule; and then I doubt not, but that will enable you to go through all this, and much more.

Many other ſuch-like directions will occur in the courſe of our race, which I ſhall take care to communicate to you as often as opportunity offers. But one main one I muſt not omit before we ſet about the work: for without this, you will be apt, in your preaching or writing the hiſtory of our late maſter, to aggravate every word and action of the Jews againſt him, to exclaim againſt the pretended injuſtice and impiety of the ſanhedrin for condemning him; on the baſeneſs and cowardice of Pilate in ratifying their bloody ſentence; on the cruelty of the Roman ſoldiers for their inhuman treatment of him; and on the obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of the Jews for not believing our report concerning him. And you may think yourſelves intitled to do ſo from the example of the antient prophets, of the baptiſt, and even of our maſter, who made no ſcruple to reprove our nation in the ſevereſt terms.

But I abſolutely forbid all ſuch invectives and aggravations, as derogatory to our honour, and to that hitherto unexampled plainneſs and ſimplicity, to which, I inſiſt, every one of you ſhall confine himſelf in the relation of thoſe facts without betraying the
leaſt

ſured them, that they had wrought it by no other power than that of Jeſus Chriſt, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the croſs. He concluded with ſuch a powerful diſcourſe on the danger of an obſtinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unſpeakable benefits of a ſpeedy faith and repentance that five thouſand more were added to them. Thus did the new church of Chriſt daily improve, not in the number only, but in the zeal, and fervour, holineſs and charity, of its members, beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon earth, diſclaiming all property, ſelling all they had, and chearfully laying it at the apoſtles feet, to be diſtributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their wordly goods, as well as in their hearts and affections, ſo perfectly united, that they became the wonder of the world, even

A new miracle adds five thouſand more.

leaſt reſentment, or indeed any other emotion, but what ſhall ſeem to flow from the deepeſt concern, pity, and charity to all the actors in that ſcene. You may perhaps at firſt not be aware of the uſefulneſs and excellency of this caution; but a little experience will ſoon convince you, that nothing will preſerve or raiſe your character more. And now men and brethren, &c.

We ſhall go no further with this ſuppoſed ſcene, becauſe we think it clearly appears by this time that a man muſt be capable of believing any thing, that can think it poſſible for one, or all, of theſe twelve fiſhermen to concert, much leſs to execute with ſuch ſurprizing ſucceſs and efficacy, a plot and impoſture of ſo black and helliſh a nature, under all thoſe difficulties and diſadvantages.

But here it will perhaps be pretended, that the whole ſtory of the goſpel, acts, &c. was made a long time after, and the characters, facts, and other advantageous circumſtances feigned at leiſure. But then the queſtion will be, by what miracle, inchantment, or faſcination, they could be introduced into the world, be univerſally received, believed, and atteſted by the ſeries of men of all ranks and qualities, by men of learning and probity, who ſealed thoſe truths with their blood? How and in what age or generation, after Chriſt or his apoſtles, theſe things were introduced? a ſucceſſion of prelates, preachers, and martyrs, together with a great number of their pretended writings, the decrees of councils, and other records, each quoting their predeceſſors up to the ſacred writers, foiſted in with the whole concomitant chain of evidence, which has hitherto illuded the attempts of the ſubtileſt enemies of chriſtianity? When, we ſay, the bare poſſibility of ſuch an univerſal impoſition, with all theſe circumſtances, can once be ſhewed, it will be then time enough to turn ſceptics; and if ever that ſhould prove the caſe, where we ſhall ſtop, God alone can tell.

even of their very enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promiſes of Chriſt performed, and his church miraculouſly planted and propagated by that heavenly ſpirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all oppoſitions of Jews and Gentiles [x].

BUT the malice of the prieſts and rulers did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and ſignal miracle on the impotent man; the number of converts it drew after; the zeal, boldneſs, and eloquence of the apoſtles all contributed to awaken their fears with their wonder, and to put them upon freſh means to ſuppreſs what they called this new and dangerous ſect. The apoſtles and the cripple were brought before them, and Peter in an elegant ſpeech aſſured them, that it was by the name and power of their great maſter, now glorioufly inthroned in heaven, that they had wrought this miraculous cure; demonſtrated to them from the ſcriptures, that he was that chief corner ſtone, which was long ſince foretold to be rejected by the builders [y], and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, ſince there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be ſaved, but that of Jeſus Chriſt, crucified indeed by them, but raiſed again by his own victorious power. The ſanhedrin, having nothing to oppoſe to theſe pregnant proofs, and yet aſhamed to be convinced, and afraid to uſe violent means, by reaſon of the admiring multitude, contented themſelves for the preſent with forbidding them to preach any more in that name; to which Peter replied, We have received a contrary command from God, and you may eaſily judge which of the two ought to be obeyed [z].

Peter's ſpeech to the ſanhedrin.

PETER, upon his return to his collegues, acquainted them with what had paſt, and the orders they had received from the Jewiſh chiefs; upon which they joined unanimouſly in prayer to God, to ſtrengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, that they might boldly go on in their miniſtry, and preach his crucified Son in ſpite of all oppoſition and diſcouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently ſhaken, and their hearts inſpired with ſuch zeal, that neither threatenings nor perſecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths, could put a ſtop, either to their preaching, or to its miraculous ſucceſs: for ſuch it really was, being ſtill attended with ſome

H's ſecond defence.

[x] Act. iii. 1, & ſeq. iv. paſſ.

[y] Pſ. cxviii. 22.

[z] Act. iii. & iv.

ſome freſh miracle (I), which at once confirmed the believers, and ſtill added freſh-ones to their number. In the mean while the ſanhedrin, which conſiſted chiefly of Sadducees, finding their endeavours ineffectual, began to think it high time to try ſome ſeverer means; and to that end ordered them to be ſeized, and caſt into a common gaol. But, before the next morning, an angel had opened the priſon gates to them, and bid them return to their preaching, which they did accordingly. By that time the council was ſet to determine ſomething concerning them, word was brought to them, that the priſoners were eſcaped by ſome miracle; for that on that morning not one of them was to be met with, though the priſon gates were found cloſely ſhut. Whilſt they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came, that they were preaching as uſual at the temple. Their fears now encreaſing, with their ſurprize, they ſent for them, yet without violence; and Caiaphas having expoſtulated with them, how they dared tranſgreſs their command, they boldly anſwered for themſelves, that as obedience ceaſed to be due to magiſtrates, as ſoon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had ſtrictly followed their duty in preaching the reſurrection of Chriſt, and the remiſſion of ſins through him, and giving the ſame irrefragable proofs of thoſe ſaving truths, which they themſelves had of them [a].

Gamaliel's advice to the ſanhedrin.

THIS noble anſwer, which gave them to underſtand, that they were not to be frighted into a baſe compliance, did raiſe their indignation to ſuch a degree, that they were juſt ready to vent it in ſome ſeverer manner, when Gamaliel (K), one of their

[a] Ibid. & ch. v. 17, & ſeq.

(I) Theſe miracles, we are told (24), became ſo frequent and known by this time, that they drew multitudes of people from all the neighbouring cities and countries to Jeruſalem, who brought their ſick friends, paralytics, lunatics, demoniacs, &c. to be healed by the apoſtles. Inſomuch, that the very ſhadow of Peter paſſing by cured many of them, who, by reaſon of the throngs that followed him, could not by any other means get acceſs to him.

(K) This was the perſon at whoſe feet St. Paul had been brought up (25); ſome add alſo Stephen and Barnabas (26); he is affirmed by an antient writer to have been already converted to

(24) Acts. v. 15, & ſeq. (25) Ibid. xxii. 3. (26) Vid. Lucian. Rev. de. S. Steph. Baſnag. hiſt. des Juifs, Tom. 2. l. iv. c. 3.

their members, a perſon of greater coolneſs, and a learned Phariſee, ſtood up, and moderated their reſentment for the preſent, by reminding them, that if this counſel was merely human, it would ſoon be cruſhed, as many others of the like nature, which he named, and they knew, had lately been; but if it was of God, it was vain, as well as impious, in them to oppoſe it. Wherefore, concluded he, my opinion is, that we let theſe men alone, and wait the event, leſt we ſhould be found at length to contend with an almighty power. His counſel was readily agreed to, and the apoſtles being called in, after having received a ſevere correction and rebuke for their contumacy, were diſmiſſed, and they joyfully rejoined their collegues [b]. About this time the tetrarch Philip, the brother of Herod, died at Julias, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, from the death of Herod the Great. He was buried in a magnificent tomb, which he had erected during his life; and, as he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was reſumed by Tiberius, and annexed to the province of Syria, then under the government of Flaccus Pomponius; but with this reſtriction, that the revenues of that country ſhould ſtill be kept within the limits of it. Joſephus tells us, that Philip was of ſo oppoſite a diſpoſition to his father or brother, that his government was mild and quiet; that he went always attended with a ſmall number of ſervants, ſome of whom carried a chair after him, which ſerved him as his tribunal, to be ready to receive every petition or complaint, and to do juſtice every-where upon the ſpot [c].

Year of the flood 4037. Of Chriſt $38\frac{3}{4}$

ABOUT the ſame time, the apoſtles, at the complaint of ſome Grecian proſelytes, ordained ſeven deacons from among the number of believers, to be overſeers of the miniſtry in the relief of the neceſſitous members. We know little of five of them, beſides their names, which the reader will find in the margin (L). But Stephen, who is mentioned at the head

Seven deacons choſen.

[b] Acts, ibid. ver. 33. ad fin. [c] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

to chriſtianity (27); others pretend, that he was not till after the martyrdom of Stephen. But we have no certainty of any of theſe facts, nor of ſeveral others that are ſaid of him, concerning which the reader may conſult Baſnage in the place laſt quoted.

(L) Theſe were, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas; this laſt is there called a proſelyte

(27) Recogn. c. 65, & ſeq.

head of the reſt, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, who wrought ſuch wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the Jews. He had confuted ſeveral of the heads of them in their reſpective ſynagogues [d], concerning their notion of the perpetuity of the Moſaic law, for which he was accuſed before the ſanhedrin. Here the high-prieſt having given him leave to ſpeak for himſelf, he began his defence, with an hiſtorical deduction of the true worſhip of God, excluſive of the Moſaic rites; which laſt he ſhewed by authentick proofs were to be done away, to make room for a more ſpiritual religion under the promiſed Meſſiah. This ſpeech was accompanied with ſuch powerful eloquence, angelick majeſty, and with ſuch a ſevere reproof for their conſtant reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt, and perſecuted thoſe who delivered his divine oracles to them, that not being longer able to bear what they called his blaſphemy, they condemned him to death, and hurried him, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, out of the city; where the witneſſes, who were to throw the firſt ſtones, laid their upper garments at the feet of young Saul, then a zealous Phariſee and enemy to chriſtianity, but ſince the great apoſtle of the Gentiles; and having, according to the Moſaic law, laid their hands on the condemned perſon, overwhelmed him with ſtones, whilſt he called on God to forgive them his death, and on Jeſus to receive his departing ſoul [e]. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death,

Stephen ſtoned.

[d] Acts vi. 9, & ſeq. [e] Ibid. vii. per tot.

lyte of Antioch. The reſt being alſo all Greek names, ſhews them to have been Helleniſts, and that this new order was made in favour of the converts from them.

Some have affirmed this laſt to have been the author of the beaſtly Nicolaitan ſect, that ſprung up in the earlieſt age of the church (28); others have ſtrenuouſly vindicated him from it (29). We can gather nothing certain concerning it. Philip is probably the ſame who converted the Samaritans (30), baptized the eunuch of queen Candace (31), and had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy (32). As for the other five, we know no more of them, than what has been mentioned above.

(28) Vid. Epiphan. hæreſ. 25, & not. Cotcler. (29) Clem. Alexandr. ſtromat. l. iii. Euſeb. Theodoret. Auguſt. & al. (30) Acts viii. 5, & ſeq. (31) Ibid. ver. 26. ad fin. (32) Ibid. xxi. 9, & ſeq.

death, but moſt of them, after Uſher, Pearſon, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine maſter.

The chriſtians perſecuted.

THE death of this glorious protomartyr was ſoon followed by a more grievous perſecution againſt the chriſtian converts, which yet the divine providence turned into a means of propagating the goſpel far and wide, by the diſperſion of a great number of them, who, after Stephen's death, left Jeruſalem and Judæa, according to our Saviour's advice, *When you are perſecuted in one city, flee into another* [f]. So that few but the apoſtles ſtayed at Jeruſalem, whilſt the reſt went and preached, ſome at Samaria, ſome at Cyprus, and others elſewhere; but ſtill among the Jews, for the time for the converſation of the Gentiles was not yet come. One of the chief inſtruments of this new perſecution was, the young Saul, mentioned a little higher, who obſerving with what zeal the ſanhedrin endeavoured to cruſh the growing church, got a commiſſion from them to ſeize, bind, and impriſon all its members where-ever he met them; purſuant to which, he made a terrible havock among them, without regard to quality, age, or ſex, till being himſelf miraculouſly converted in the midſt of his bloody career, as he was going to Damaſcus, he became as zealous a promoter of it [g]. During this perſecution, Samaria having received the goſpel by the preaching of Philip, and Simon Magus, who had formerly bewildered them with his ſorceries, being himſelf become a convert, the apoſtolic college at Jeruſalem deputed thither Peter and John, who being come, imparted the Holy Ghoſt unto them by their prayer and impoſition of hands. Simon, obſerving the wonderful efficacy of this laſt ceremony, would have purchaſed the ſame power of the apoſtles at a large ſum; for which profane propoſal Peter ſharply rebuked him [h], and after-ages have branded his memory, by giving that new and unheard-of ſin the name of Simony.

The Samaritans converted.

ABOUT the beginning of the next year, L. Vitellius, being ſent by Tiberius proconſul of Syria, came to Jeruſalem about the feaſt of the paſſover, where he was honourably received by the magiſtrates of that metropolis, in requital of which he remitted to its inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were ſet to ſale. He likewiſe put all the pontifical habits, which uſed to be kept in the fortreſs of Antonia under the cuſtody of a Roman officer, into the poſſeſſion of the Jewiſh

Vitellius's kindneſs to the Jews.

[f] Matth. x 23. [g] Vid. Act. viii, ix, & ſeq. [h] Ibid. viii. 24, & ſeq.

Jewiſh high-prieſt, to be thenceforth kept and diſpoſed of at their pleaſure; after which, having depoſed Caiaphas from the pontifical chair, and raiſed Jonathan the ſon of Annas or Ananus to that dignity, he departed for Antioch, his capital [i]. Soon after this a tumult happened at Samaria, in which Pilate acted with ſuch arbitrarineſs and cruelty, that it proved a main ſtep to his ruin. There had appeared there a certain impoſtor, ſome think the Simon lately mentioned, who perſuaded the Samaritans, that if they would repair to their ſacred mount Garizzim, for ſuch they held it above all mountains, as we have often ſeen in this chapter, he would direct them to the ſacred veſſels, which Moſes had formerly buried there. The credulous people came in ſhoals armed to him and encamped before a village called Tirathaba, waiting for others to join them there, till they could make a ſufficient body to go up and take poſſeſſion of the pretended holy treaſure. Pilate, who had timely notice of it, ſent a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, who attacked them with ſuch fury, that they killed a great number of thoſe deluded wretches, took many of them priſoners, and diſperſed the reſt; after which he ordered thoſe of the beſt rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay. The Samaritans had immediately recourſe to Vitellius, and complained of the maſſacre done among them, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that their aſſembling in arms was not with a ſeditious view, but to ſecure themſelves from the intolerable oppreſſions of the Jewiſh governor. Vitellius, who was well acquainted with his cruel and rapacious character, upon this complaint, diſpatched his friend Marcellus to take the government of Judæa upon him, and ſent orders to Pilate to repair immediately to Rome, there to anſwer the Samaritans accuſation before Cæſar's tribunal. Pilate was forced to obey, but, being detained by contrary winds, Tiberius was dead before he could reach Rome. This depoſition, which was but the the fore-runner of much greater evils to that cruel oppreſſor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic government [k] (M).

During

[i] Conf. Joſeph. antiq. l. xv. 14. & xviii. 6. [k] Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(M) The acts of Pilate have made ſo much noiſe among the learned, that it will doubtleſs be expected we ſhould give our Engliſh

DURING theſe tranſactions in Judæa, Herod had been carrying on his unſucceſsful war againſt Aretas, of which we have

Engliſh readers ſome idea of them, ſince they are ſo confidently quoted by a great number of antient fathers (33), and have been as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed or defended by learned moderns (34). It ſeems indeed very probable, that every governor of a province of the Roman empire was obliged to ſend an account, at leaſt, of the moſt material tranſactions that happened in his time; and if ſo, the crucifixion of a perſon of the Meſſiah's character, through the tumultuous malice of the Jews, and contrary to Pilate's own inclination, was of too ſignal a nature not to be tranſmitted to Rome by him, though but to diſculpate himſelf of that unjuſt deed, and to throw all the odium of it on the ſanhedrin.

It is true, thoſe acts that have been tranſmitted to us vary in many particulars, according to the ſeveral hands they have paſſed through; and ſome of them carry ſuch a face of forgery, that they cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed the ſame with thoſe which thoſe antient writers ſpeak ſo poſitively of, and have given us ſuch ſeemingly authentic fragments of. So that to conclude them all to be forged by ſome pious zealots, is to carry ſcepticiſm beyond its due bounds. For who can think that men of ſuch ſenſe, learning, and integrity, as the apologiſts were, ſhould dare to appeal to thoſe records in favour of the perſecuted chriſtians, which, if once found to be forged, muſt have done their cauſe the greateſt prejudice? How could they ſpeak of them, not only as of things commonly known and acknowledged, but with the ſame confidence, and ſeeming exactneſs, as if they had ſeen them, conſulted, and copied them out of their archives? Is it not more reaſonable to believe, that there were ſuch records, though ſadly blended and corrupted in thoſe after-ages, which, through the baſeneſs of arch-heretics and the blind zeal of others, produced ſuch numbers of other apocryphal writings? Euſebius tells us, that even the Pagans did, in the beginning of the fourth century, trump up a new account of the acta Pilati (35), doubtleſs to oppoſe to thoſe cited by Juſtin and Tertullian in the foregoing one: Another mongrel ſect, called Quatuordecimans, had likewiſe a ſet of them quite different from the reſt, and from which, Epiphanius tells us (36), they defended ſome of their tenets: And where is the wonder that records of ſuch important nature

(33) De his vid. Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. Tertul Apolog. 5. Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. ii. c. ii. Oroſ. l. vii. c. 4. Chryſoſt. Epiphan. hær. 50. Greg. Turon. & al. mult. (34) Vid int. al. Caſaub. Exercit. 16. Baron. annal. Fabric. apocryph. N. T. & al. ab eo citat. (35) ubi ſupra, l. ix. c. 4. (36) Hæreſ. 50.

have already ſpoken; and Tiberius, vexed at the ſucceſs of the latter, had ſent expreſs orders to Vitellius to invade his country,

nature ſhould be corrupted and altered, by deſigning men, ſo long after? Is it not rather a greater one, that thoſe of the two apologiſts above-mentioned, who wrote as if they had had the authentic copies of the true ones before their eyes, ſhould have been preſerved to us? We ſhall now give our readers the ſubſtance of them in as few words as we can,

Pilate to Tiberius,

"I have been forced to conſent at length to the crucifixion of "Jeſus Chriſt, to prevent a tumult from the Jews; though it "was very much againſt my will. For the world never ſaw, "nor probably will, a man of ſuch extraordinary piety and "uprightneſs. But the high-prieſt and ſanhedrin fulfilled in it "the oracles of their prophets, and of our ſibyls. Whilſt he "hung on the croſs, a horrid darkneſs, which covered the "earth, ſeemed to threaten its final end. His diſciples, who "pretend to have ſeen him riſe from the dead, and aſcend into "heaven, and acknowledge him for their God (37), do ſtill "ſubſiſt; and by their excellent lives ſhew themſelves the wor-"thy diſciples of ſo extraordinary a maſter. I did what I could "to ſave him from the malice of the Jews; but the fear of a "total inſurrection made me ſacrifice him to the intereſt and "peace of your empire, &c.

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconſiſtent with the character of ſuch a governor as Pilate was, if we except his ſaying there, that Chriſt's death had been foretold by the prophets and ſibyls; and Joſephus of Arimathea, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know, or be told by ſome of his own people. As for the reſt, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjuſt ſentence, might make him the more diligent in ſending ſuch a favourable relation of the tranſaction, as might beſt prejudice that tickliſh emperor in his favour. Some apocryphal writings tell us, that he was forced to do it in his juſtification; and that Tiberius, who had long lingered under a decay, which eluded the ſkill of his phyſicians, had been adviſed to ſend for Jeſus from Judæa, to cure him by his miraculous power. They add, that when he received this account from Pilate, he not only highly reſented it from him, but much more from the Jewiſh ſanhedrin, whoſe court he ordered the former to demoliſh, that, being the only place where they were allowed to ſit in council, they might never more pronounce another ſentence from it. But this ſtory we would be far from putting on the level with the acts of Pilate in point of evidence. As for that prætor, there is no record what became of him after his being ſent

(37) Theſe laſt particulars are only in Tertullian and Euſebius ubi ſupra.

country, and either to take him priſoner, or ſend his head to Rome. Vitellius, in his march into Arabia, deſigned to have paſſed through Judæa, but was happily diverted from it by the Jewiſh heads, on account of the Roman ſtandards. Upon this condeſcenſion Herod and he came to Jeruſalem, where they were highly honoured, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, and removed Jonathan from the prieſthood to give it to his brother Theophilus [l]. Here they received the news of Tiberius's death, and of the inſtallation of the emperor Caius, of which a fuller account ſhall be given in its proper place; and Vitellius ſtayed to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor. Jeruſalem was the firſt eaſtern city, it ſeems, that heard the news of his ſucceſſion, and offered up ſacrifices for him [m]. By this time Artabanes having ſucceeded Aretas in Arabia, Vitellius went and made an alliance with him near the Euphrates, where Herod gave them a magnificent entertainment under a ſtately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpoſe near the banks of that river. The Roman general ſent immediately an account of this tranſaction to the emperor, and was ſurprized to find by his anſwer, that Herod had been before-hand with him, and had acquainted him with all the particulars of it; for which he bore him a mortal grudge ever after [n].

ALL this while the chriſtian church encreaſed to a ſurprizing degree, not only in Judæa, but in all other parts of the world; to which the apoſtles themſelves, after having left James the Leſs biſhop of that of Jeruſalem (N), diſperſed

[l] Antiq. ibid. c. 8. Vid. & Dio. l. lix.. [m] Vid. Philo. legat. ad Caium. [n] Joſeph. & Dio, ubi ſupra.

ſent to Rome. Only an antient tradition, ſupported by ſome ſeeming authentic monuments, ſays, that he was baniſhed to Vienne in Dauphine, where his miſery forced him to kill himſelf with his own ſword.

(N) When this choice or inſtallation was made, whether immediately after the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, or after the death of the protomartyr, or in any intermediate ſpace between, is not eaſy to gueſs; and that he was made biſhop of Jeruſalem, and that this metropolis was made the firſt chriſtian ſee, we have not from any ſacred writers, but from the fathers (38) and antient tradition; and both add, that he wore a golden plate on his forehead, probably in imitation of the Jewiſh high-prieſt †. Is

is

(38) Clem. Alexand. Hegeſip. ap. Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. l. ii. c. 1. Epiphan. hæreſ. 29, & 78. † De quo vid. vol. iii. p. 258, & ſeq.

ed themſelves, either about, or ſoon after, this time. It is out of our province, not only to follow them out of Judæa, but

is ſuppoſed, that both St. Peter and the two ſons of Zebedee gave him the preference of being the firſt biſhop, on account of his being ſo nearly related to Chriſt. For he was the ſon of Cleophas or Alpheus, the brother of the bleſſed virgin, from whom he was therefore his firſt couſin, and hence called his brother, according to the Hebrew cuſtom (39).

This his preference is further confirmed by his being mentioned by the apoſtle before Peter and John, who are there called the two other pillars of the church (40), and eſpecially by his ſitting as preſident at the firſt council at Jeruſalem, when the queſtion about the circumciſion of the heathen converts was condemned (41). For there Peter having opened the point to the aſſembly, and Paul and Barnabas related the main particular of their converſion, James ſtood up and ſummed up the whole debate; and having delivered his own opinion, and backed it with ſcripture authority, he gave the definitive ſentence, which was aſſented to by the reſt (42).

The fathers above-mentioned ſpeak very much of his great ſanctity, mortified life, miracles, &c. for which he was ſurnamed by Jews as well as chriſtians, The Juſt. They add, that he had alſo that of Obliah or Ophliah given him, which ſignifies the fortreſs of God; and that he was even allowed to enter into that part of the temple which was only permitted to the prieſts, though he was not of that order, and that the people crouded about him to kiſs the hem of his garment (43).

Baronius quotes a ſtory out of the Talmud (44), that a Jew, named Eleazar, having been bit by a venomous ſerpent, James was ſent for to cure him in the name of Jeſus the ſon of the carpenter, which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by a Jewiſh rabbi there preſent; and that whilſt they were debating about the lawfulneſs of the cure, the venom grew to ſuch a head, that the patient died; upon which the ſtiff-necked rabbi congratulated him for dying without breaking the rules of the Jewiſh doctors.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to St. James, but were condemned by the church, which receives none but the epiſtle that bears his name, and which he is ſuppoſed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Chriſt 62; when his great ſanctity having rendered him obnoxious to Ananus, the ſon of Annas the high-prieſt mentioned in the goſpel, he drew him into the following ſnare. He ſent for him

(39) Vide Galat i. 19. Joſeph. antiq l. xx. c. 8. (40) Galat. ii. 9. (41) Acts xv. 4, & ſeq. (42) Ibid ver. 13, & ſeq. Vid. & Leſley's caſe ſtated. (43) Vid. Hieron. in Galat. i. (44) Annal an 63.

but even to enter into many of their transactions within it, which have no concern with the Jewish history we are upon. Such as their councils held at Jerusalem, their converts, miracles, ordination of bishops, and many more of that kind; which regarding only the first propagation and planting of the christian church, we shall refer our readers for them to those christian annalists, historians, and other authors, who have wrote on the subject, and which are too numerous and too well known to need being mentioned in the margin.

THAT we may therefore resume and finish our history without any further digression, we shall conclude what relates to the christian church with the miraculous conversion of Cornelius, the Roman centurion, the first-fruits of that of the gentile world; because it is there, that we formerly fixed the final departure of the poor remains of the Jewish sceptre or power †. We there observed, after the learned Mr. Mede, that the words of Jacob might, and by the event ought to, be read, *The sceptre shall not depart, &c. till Shiloh come, and to him the nations be gathered*; which could not therefore be totally removed, till this promised conversion of the Gentiles was in some measure accomplished. It had indeed began to dwindle long before, but there were still some remains left; they were still governed by their own laws, their sanhedrin had still a great power, even of life and death, as we observed in the case of St. Stephen. The

† See before, vol. ii. p. 468, note (G).

him to declare unto the mistaken people what they ought to think of Jesus, concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived some wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in some gallery, or high balcony, of the temple, where the people from below enquired of him concerning the crucified Jesus, to which the good old bishop answered, "That Jesus, whom you crucified, sits now at the right hand of "God."

As the populace below were of the Jewish leaven, the priests and Pharisees that headed them expected them to have broke out into invectives and blasphemies, instead of which they all broke out into Hozannah's to him; upon which the chiefs cried out, The Just, alluding to his surname, is also in the delusion, and ordered him to be thrown headlong down. His fall not having made an end of him, they fell a covering him with stones, whilst he prayed to God for them, for which one of them came and knocked his brains out with a club (45).

(45) Euseb. ubi supra. l. ii. c. 23.

reader may ſee ſome further tokens of it in the margin (O). But from this time it was ſo curtailed and reduced, that no footſtep

(O) We have a pregnant inſtance of this in the aſſault which was made on St. Paul in the temple (36), where he was ſeized, and was going to be carried before the high-prieſt, but was reſcued by Claudius Lyſias, the commanding officer of that place. This is the firſt inſtance we meet with of the Romans interfering in a caſe of this nature; and accordingly, when the priſoner was brought before the governor, Tertullus, the Jewiſh orator, complained of the violence done to them, in theſe words (37); We found this peſtilent fellow, meaning Paul, raiſing ſedition through the world, a ring-leader of the Nazarite ſect, who went alſo to profane our temple: whom we therefore laid hold on, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain Lyſias came, and by main violence reſcued him from our hands, &c.

What judgment they deſigned to have paſſed upon him, is eaſy to know, both by what the people cried out when he made his defence (38), and by the accuſation they brought againſt him, ſedition and ſacrilege; for ſuch they deemed the profanation of the temple, which was made capital by their law. Accordingly, we have taken notice in a former ſection of certain inſcriptions faſtened to certain pillars of the building, forbidding all ſtrangers, and polluted Iſraelites, to enter beyond the court of the Gentiles, under pain of death †. It may be likewiſe gathered from the judgment which Feſtus, Agrippa, and others made of him, that he had done nothing worthy of death (39); by the reaſon which Feſtus gave for not delivering him into their hands; It is not the cuſtom, ſaid he, for the Romans to deliver a man to die, before, &c. (40) and by the Jews laying in wait to kill him by ſtratagem, ſince they could not get it done in a judicial way.

All this ſeems further confirmed to us by his appeal to Cæſar. He knew the crime alledged againſt him to be capital, and chiefly of a religious nature; and yet refuſes to be tried by the ſanhedrin, and affirms that he ought not to be judged by any other tribunal than that of Cæſar. Doth not this imply that the power of life and death, even in religious caſes, was by this time taken away? Doth not the defence he made there before Feſtus (41) ſeem to amount to this? Though the new governor, out of a deſire to ingratiate himſelf to the Jews, offers to make them judges of my cauſe; and if they ſhould condemn me, has ſtill the power to put a negative upon their ſentence; yet, for as much as all capital caſes are now to be tried only before Cæſar's tribunal, I appeal

(36) Acts xxi. 27, & ſeq. (37) Ibid. xxiv. 5. & ſeq. (38) Ibid. xxii. 22, 23. † Vid. ſup. p. 310, ſub not. (B). (39) xxvi. 31. (40) Ibid. xxv. 16. (41) Acts xxv. 9, & ſeq.

footſtep was to be ſeen of it, even before the laſt ſiege of Jeruſalem, which was to give the finiſhing ſtroke to that and ſeveral noble prophecies. As this converſion of the Roman centurion was to uſher in a new and ſingular epoch, it is no wonder, it was accompanied with ſuch remarkable and miraculous circumſtances. Of this ſort were the extraordinary piety and charity in that new proſelyte, and the viſion that appeared to him, and directed him where to ſend for Peter, who was to preach Chriſt to him; the ſurprizing viſion, which that apoſtle had about the ſame time; the explanation and the command which he received from the Spirit; the great readineſs with which Cornelius and his company received the word preached; and their being endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, even before their baptiſm. All which are ſo well known, that we ſhall not dwell longer upon them; but only obſerve, that there was a further neceſſity of ſome ſuch extraordinary and miraculous circumſtances, to determine Peter and ſatisfy the reſt of the apoſtles and Jewiſh converts; ſince it plainly appears, that notwithſtanding Chriſt's repeated commiſion to them to convert all nations, yet they ſo little dreamed of the heathen being to be brought into his fold, that the former would never have gone to proſelyte this or any other heathen, nor the reſt have been pacified for his ſo doing, if theſe remarkable occurrences had

appeal to that, and proteſt againſt his complaiſance to them as contrary to the preſent law.

Upon the whole we have an inſtance of the ſanhedrin's trying, condemning, aud executing Stephen by their own authority about a year after Chriſt. Twenty-ſix years after they endeavoured to do the ſame by St. Paul, and were prevented by the Roman captain. Being hindered from doing it by their own authority, they endeavoured to prevail firſt upon the old, next upon the new governor, to conſent to his being put to death, and are refuſed by both, unleſs after a fair tryal and conviction at the Roman tribunal. At length they found means to perſuade the new one to recede in ſome meaſure from his prerogative, and let them try the pretended criminal themſelves; and this laſt proteſts againſt it, and appeals to Cæſar as the only tribunal where he can be lawfully tried. What can this argue, but that, between the death of St. Stephen and the trial of St. Paul, the Jews had loſt all their power of trying criminal cauſes; and ſince this inſtance of the latter is the firſt we meet with, of their being diveſted of that power, about twenty years after the converſion of Cornelius; ſeems it not to follow, that the Jewiſh ſceptre was not totally departed, till after the Gentiles had been gathered to that of the Shiloh there propheſied?

not reminded them, that a happy entrance was to be thereby opened to the reſt of the gentile world °.

We return now to the Jews, who, ſoon after the death of Tiberius, received a new governor from Rome, named Marullus, inſtead of Pontius Pilate, or rather of Marcellus, to whom the care of Judæa had been committed after his depoſition. At the ſame time Caius Caligula gave his old friend Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, and grandſon of Herod the Great, of whom we have formerly ſpoken *, the tetrarchy of his late uncle Philip, and added to it that of Abylene in Syria, which had formerly belonged to Lyſanias. Agrippa, whom St. Luke calls by the common name of Herod [P], had been brought up at Rome with Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, and by his extreme generoſity, or rather profuſeneſs, had gained himſelf many friends at court; but they were of the courtly mould. For after Druſus's death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, leſt they ſhould revive the memory of his ſon, Agrippa found himſelf reduced to the greateſt extremities, indebted over head and ears, pennyleſs, and almoſt friendleſs. In this condition he came into Judæa, and ſhut himſelf up in a caſtle in Idumæa, reſolved through ſhame, vexation, and miſery, to ſtarve himſelf to death. His wife Cyprus, the daughter of Phaſael, did what ſhe could to aſſiſt him, writ to his ſiſter in his behalf; and theſe two furniſhed him with ſome preſent ſubſiſtance, but all too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this Herod, Herodias's huſband, added ſome further favours to him, made him a magiſtrate of Tiberias, and aſſiſted him with ſome ſmall ſums. But this kindneſs was ſoon at an end, and Herod having one day upbraided him with it at ſome banquet, Agrippa, who could not brook the affront, retired to Flaccus, governor of Syria, where he had not ſtayed long before he diſobliged him, and was forced to retire again into Italy. After many other rubs and misfortunes, which the reader may ſee in Joſephus [q], he was at length, through the ill offices of one of his freedmen, thrown into priſon, and loaded with chains, by Tiberius. He continued in this miſerable condition till that prince's death, when Caius, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendſhip, ſent for him from his priſon to his own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain for one

Agrippa priſoned by Caius. Year of the flood 3037. Of Chriſt $\frac{42}{39}$

° De hoc vid. Act. x, & xi. paſſ. & alib. * See before, ſect. v. p. 323. in fin. not. P Act. xii. 1, & ſeq. q Antiq. l. xviii c. 7.

one of gold of the ſame weight, put a diadem on his head, and gave him the two tetrarchies above-mentioned, with the title of king. Agrippa did not, however, come immediately into his new dominions, but continued about a year longer at Rome with the new emperor. He obtained at length leave of him to come and viſit his Jewiſh territories, and to ſet things in the beſt order, and took Egypt in his way. He embarqued at Puteoli at the end of July, and came a few days after in ſight of Alexandria. The magnificence of his entry into that city, though he choſe to make it in the night to avoid its being too much obſerved, drew the envy of the Alexandrians, who could not behold this new upſtart Jewiſh king in ſuch ſplendor, without offering ſeveral indignities to him, though at a diſtance (P); and Flaccus their governor, who was no lover of the Jews, not only winked at it, but beheld it with a ſecret pleaſure. He was likewiſe there informed of the indirect means which Flaccus had taken to render the Jewiſh nation odious to the emperor. All which made him willing to leave the place as ſoon as poſſible. The great oppreſſions, perſecutions, and horrid butcheries which the Alexandrian Jews ſuffered from this baſe governornor, for refuſing to worſhip the new mad emperor, and his behaviour to the ambaſſadors ſent to him to repreſent their loyalty in all other caſes that were conſiſtent with their law, are out of our province; the reader may ſee a full account of it in Philo above-mentioned[r]; and we ſhall ſee by-and-by, that thoſe of Judæa were like to have ſuffered as much from him, though they had ſuch a powerful advocate as king Agrippa to intercede for them, had not Caius's death put a happy period to his impious project of being acknowledged as a deity.

Jews perſecuted at Alexandria.

WHILST theſe horrid cruelties were acting at Alexandria, Agrippa, who had left that city to get into his new kingdom, took

Flaccus's cruelties puniſhed.

[r] In Flaccum.

(P) One of them was the ſetting up a poor fooliſh fellow that uſed to go naked about the ſtreets, dreſſing him in a kind of mock royalty, and making him ride through the great places of the city, with a tattered life-guard like himſelf, and huzzaing of him with the word Maris, which means the ſame as, God bleſs the king; whilſt others came to preſent their petitions, demanded juſtice, &c. and expoſed his royalty to the moſt audacious redicule (42).

(42) Philo in Flaccum Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

took care to acquaint the emperor with them, who dispatched Bassus immediately to seize that bloody governor, and bring him to Rome, where he was stripped of all his riches, banished into an island of the Archipelago, and at length put to death there.

Herod Antipas's ambition.

In the mean time Herod Antipas, who had formerly treated Agrippa with such contempt, could not now behold his glory and his being in such favour with Caligula, without the deepest envy. His wife, a haughty woman, could not brook that he should be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilst her brother was now raised to that of a king; and did not cease teazing him, till she made him take a journey to Rome to obtain the same title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her presence would greatly influence that monarch; but Agrippa, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious designs, had taken care to send thither one of his freedmen, named Fortunatus, to accuse Herod with having had a hand in Sejanus's late conspiracy, and as a proof of it, to mention the arsenals which he had filled with arms sufficient to furnish seventy thousand men. As soon therefore as Herod was entered into the presence, and had paid his respects to the emperor, Fortunatus presented him with Agrippa's letter. Caius having read it, asked Herod whether he had really such a great reserve of arms? He was forced to confess it; upon which he was stripped of his tetrarchy, and sent into banishment to Lions in France. Caius understanding, however, that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the sums she had lent her brother; but she refused his generosity, and since she had been the cause of her husband's disgrace, she chose to accompany him, and to share the same fate with him (Q); upon which Caius gave both his tetrarchy and all his treasure to Agrippa, after Herod had enjoyed the former forty-three years [s].

Armed to Caius.

Banished.

In

[s] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 9. Vid. & Dio, lib. lix. Philo, ubi supra.

(Q) Josephus tells us elsewhere, that he was banished into Spain (43), and that he died there; so that he must either have fled thither afterwards, or, which is more likely, he was sent thither from Lyons, when Caius and Agrippa came to this last place, and made some stay in it. This was the Herod before whom Christ was brought before his death.

(43) Bell. Jud l. ii. c. 16.

A new ſtorm raiſed againſt the Jews. Year of the flood 3038. Of Chriſt 43 40.

In the mean time, Caius, having taken it into his head to cauſe his ſtatue to be ſet up in the very ſanctuary of the temple, ſent orders to Petronius, then governor of Syria, to ſee it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obſtruction from the Jews. Petronius, who knew the zeal of theſe, as well as the impetuoſity of his maſter, could not ſet about ſuch a command without ſome dread; and to gain time, ſent for the beſt ſtatuaries and materials from diſtant parts, whilſt he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. This laſt action having alarmed the nation, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received; upon which he was addreſſed by all the heads of the Jews, who in the humbleſt manner aſſured him, that they would ſooner hazard the loſs of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than ſuffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor ſtrove to bring them into a compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their oppoſing, or of his not obeying, the emperor's command, and that their reſiſtance would be interpreted as a downright rebellion. They anſwered him, that the prayers and ſacrifices they offered daily for the emperor were a ſufficient token of their loyalty. However, added they, we are ſo far from deſigning to riſe up in arms upon this occaſion, that we will ſuffer ourſelves to be butchered in the moſt cruel manner; and this will be all the reſiſtance you will meet with from us, if you go on with your deſign.

Agrippa intercedes for them.

Soon after this, Ariſtobulus the brother of Agrippa, accompanied with ſome of the royal family, came to Petronius, and begged, that they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor by an embaſſy, and that he would ſecond it with a letter to that monarch in their behalf. Petronius at length conſented to write to the emperor, but forbad them to ſend any embaſſy, or let their reluctance be ſo much as ſuſpected at the Roman court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the ſtatue, which he deſigned ſhould be a maſter-piece of its kind, was not yet reared, becauſe he feared leſt the taking ſo many men from their other labours, ſhould bring a ſcarcity in the land, lower the tribute, and ſuch other reaſons, which, inſtead of appeaſing, greatly exaſperated the emperor. He was juſt reading the letter, and in the height of his reſentment, when king Agrippa, who was then at Rome, came into his preſence. He was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch a mixture of paſſions in his looks and geſtures, and began to

fear

fear he had either offended, or been in ſome way miſrepreſented to him; when Caius, who eaſily obſerved his diſorder, broke the ſecret to him in words to this effect: Your Jewiſh ſubjects are ſtrange creatures to refuſe to acknowledge me for a god, and to provoke my reſentment againſt them; I had commanded the ſtatue of Jupiter to be ſet up in their temple, and they have, it ſeems, oppoſed it, and raiſed a kind of univerſal inſurrection.

Obtains his ſuit.

AT theſe words Agrippa, like one thunder-ſtruck, after having in vain tried to keep himſelf up, fell into a ſwoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when having taken a little ſuſtenance, he ſet himſelf about writing to the emperor the letter which the reader may ſee at full length in Joſephus [t], and the ſubſtance of it in the margin (R). Caius, inſtead of being

[t] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 11. Vid. & legat. ad Caium.

(R) He began with juſtifying the love he had expreſſed for his own country in their laſt interview, and to which he was bound, not only by the law of nature, but even by thoſe of his own religion, he being deſcended from a race of ſuch noble anceſtors, as had during a long ſeries of ſucceſſions enjoyed the regal and pontifical dignity; for ſo he really was by his grandmother Mariamne, the beloved wife of Herod the Great who was of the race of the Aſhmonean princes, as we have often hinted in ſome former ſections.

He went on with acquainting him, that he choſe to intercede for his own nation in writing, rather than by word of mouth, as he thought it the moſt reſpectful way of the two; and that the many ſignal favours he had received from him, gave him grounds to hope, that he ſhould now obtain a favour, which would coſt him nothing, but would be eſteemed by the Jews as the greateſt he could beſtow on them: That Jeruſalem could not but be thought worthy of his regard, ſince it was the firſt city of the eaſt, which had proclaimed him emperor, and offered up ſacrifices for him: That as to the temple of that metropolis, it had been highly reverenced by Auguſtus, Tiberius, and many others of his anceſtors, for whoſe memory he profeſſed a ſingular honour, and whoſe pious conduct, he hoped, he would imitate upon this occaſion: That as to himſelf, the greateſt favours he had heaped upon him would only encreaſe his unhappineſs, if he did not think fit to grant him this laſt: That it was impoſſible for him to outlive the profanation of that ſacred place, and the diſgrace and ruin of his nation.

He concluded with reminding him, that he ſhould be juſtly eſteemed a traytor to both, if he ſhould be wanting in uſing his utmoſt

being moved at the king's concern, was rather the more exasperated against the Jews, and against him, for his concern for such an ungrateful race, as he called them, whom all his favours could not work into a compliance to his will. However, he began to relent when he read the letter, and Agrippa, who drew a good omen even from his not answering it, took the liberty to invite him to a sumptuous entertainment, which Caius, who really loved him, easily accepted. Here the Jewish king, having well warmed his guest with wine, began to extol the great and signal favours he had heaped upon him; and, by his large encomiums and expressions of gratitude, found means to get a fresh promise of whatever he should ask. To this Agrippa answered, Since it is your pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such a one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your head; and that is, that you will set aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of Jerusalem. This petition, which shewed not only the greatest disinterestedness, but also the most unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that if his statue was not already set up, he should forbear doing it; adding, that he had altered his design out of friendship to Agrippa. However, the lightness of his temper soon made him repent of his complaisance to him; so that he designed to have made a second attempt, unknown to him. At the same time his resentment against Petronius being kindled afresh, he sent him an order to dispatch himself; but Caius was assassinated time enough to prevent either mischief taking effect [u] (S).

AGRIPPA

[u] Antiq. ubi supra. Sueton. in Caligul.

utmost interest at this juncture, and that the world would not fail to think him discarded of his imperial favour, if he did not succeed in a petition of this nature. This long and pathetic letter was immediately sealed, and sent to the emperor; and Agrippa waited with the utmost impatience for an answer, but in vain; Caius, though mollified by it, not vouchsafing to take the least notice of it to him.

(S) During this interval, besides the raging persecution in Alexandria, there happened some others in other places, and upon

Agrippa's policy at Rome.

AGRIPPA, who was ſtill at Rome, did not a little contribute to the ſucceſſion of Claudius (T); in conſideration of which, this laſt confirmed to him all Caligula's grants, gave him Judæa, Samaria, and the ſouthern parts of Idumea, entered into a ſolemn alliance with him, and made ſeveral edicts in favour of the Jews. At his requeſt, he gave likewiſe the kingdom of Chalcis to his brother Herod, who was alſo his ſon-in-law; Agrippa had the honours of the conſulſhip, and Herod thoſe of the prætorſhip, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the ſenate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in Greek, which was uſually done in Latin [w]. All theſe grants were engraven on copper, and ſet up in the capitol; thus was Agrippa raiſed to the height of glory, his territories extended to the furtheſt limits of his grandfather Herod the Great, and his power and credit with the ſenate even much greater than his, when at the higheſt pitch.

Claudius's friendſhip to him.

Agrippa comes to Judæa.

HE returned ſoon after into his kingdom, where he ſhewed a more extraordinary attachment to the Jewiſh religion, than any of his predeceſſors, and began with the ſolemn performance of the vow of Nazareat †; after which he cauſed

[w] Antiq. l. xix. c. 3, & 4. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 18. Dio. lib. lx.
† De hoc vid. vol. iii. p. 249, & ſeq.

upon other accounts, particularly in Meſopotamia and Babylon. But we chuſe to refer our readers for them to Joſephus (44), rather than ſwell this hiſtory with things that happened out of Paleſtine.

It will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that as the Jews in other parts withſtood the preaching of the goſpel, where-ever the apoſtles and primitive converts brought it, and with the ſame vehemence as thoſe of Paleſtine, they ſeldom, if ever, failed ſharing in their puniſhment.

(T) It muſt be owned, that the part which Agrippa acted in this election between the new emperor and the ſenate, is not much to his honour, and was more becoming a conſummate courtier than a king (45), as we ſhall ſee in the Roman hiſtory. But the wonder will ceaſe, when we remember that he had been brought up at that court, had ſpent moſt of his life there, and that the various viciſſitudes his fortune had formerly led him through, would not ſuffer him to be over nice at ſuch a juncture, when his kingdom and all depended upon his ſecuring the friendſhip of the next ſucceſſor. In other things he really acted in a quite different character, as the ſequel will ſhew.

(44) Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 12, per tot. (45) Vid. Joſeph, & Dio, loc. ſup. citat.

cauſed the golden chain, which Caius had given him, to be hanged up in one of the moſt conſpicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to poſterity of the inſtability of human affairs. He depoſed Theophilus from the high-prieſthood, and gave it to Simon Cantharas the ſon of Boethus. He deveſted him of it ſoon after, to beſtow it on Jonathan the ſon of Annas, who had already enjoyed it after Caiaphas; but he modeſtly refuſed it, telling the king, that he thought himſelf ſufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother Matthias [x].

His character.

AGRIPPA was not only a zealous obſerver of the Jewiſh religion, but he was likewiſe an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generoſity and clemency (U). He had been at an immenſe

[x] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 5, 6, & 7.

(U) We have a ſignal inſtance of it in the caſe of one Simon, a ſurly fanatic lawyer, who had ventured to exclaim againſt him in a public aſſembly, as unfit to enter into the court of the Iſraelites, becauſe he was an Idumæan by the father's ſide. The king, who was then at Cæſarea, only ſent for him to the theatre, made him ſit down by him, and, inſtead of reproving his boldneſs, mildly asked him, whether there was any thing in him, or his actions, which he thought contrary to the Jewiſh law. This behaviour ſo mollified the man, that he anſwered him in the negative, approved of all he did, (for Agrippa was very fond of thoſe public ſhews) and in a ſubmiſſive manner begged pardon for his former ſpeech, which was readily granted to him (46).

His treatment of Silas, whoſe great obligations he had already rewarded with the command of all his forces, has indeed been cenſured as ſavouring of ingratitude; but the abuſe which that general had made of his power, his contemptuous behaviour towards him, and his public proteſting that he would never ceaſe upbraiding him with his former condition, and his own paſt ſervices to him, might well deſerve his reſentment; which yet he carried no further than impriſoning him: for it was Herod that put him to death immediately after that of Agrippa (47).

Joſephus, in the place laſt quoted, inſtances, as a monument of his magnificence, the ſtately theatre which he built at Berytus in Phœnice; in which, among other ſpectacles he gave the people there, he cauſed fourteen thouſand condemned criminals to repreſent a fight, which they did in ſuch good earneſt, that there was not one left alive of all that number.

(46) Antiq. l. xix. c. 7. (47) Id. ibid.

immenſe charge in building, beautifying, and fortifying a new quarter on the north ſide of the city, which he called Bezetha, or the new city, and in procuring the emperor's leave to ſurround it with a ſtrong wall, which, if he had obtained, would have rendered that metropolis impregnable. But Vibius Marſus, who had this year ſucceeded Petronius in the government of Syria, repreſented the danger of ſuch a deſign, which had already been carried on to ſome forwardneſs, in ſuch lively colours, that Claudius immediately ſent him an order to deſiſt. So conſiderable was he, and eſteemed by all his neighbours, that in one of his progreſſes to Tiberias, he had no leſs than five kings, who came to compliment him there. Theſe were Antiochus, a king of Comagene, Samſigeran, king of Emiſa, Cotis, king of Leſſer Armenia, Polemon, king of Pontus, and Herod, king of Chalcis. This meeting, however, gave Marſus ſuch jealouſy, that he came thither himſelf; and tho' Agrippa complimented him ſo far, as to go ſeven ſtadia to meet him, yet that governor commanded them all to depart, and return to their reſpective kingdoms. This action did ſo affront the Jewiſh king, that he ſent to deſire the emperor to recal him from his government, and eaſily obtained it; but Claudius died juſt before the orders had reached Syria [y].

Year of the flood 3040. Of Chriſt 42 or 45.

Viſited by five kings.

Upon his return to Jeruſalem, he depoſed Matthias the ſon of Annas from the high-prieſt-hood, and gave that dignity to Elionæus the ſon of Cithæus; and as he was very fond of pleaſing the Jewiſh nation, he began to perſecute the chriſtians, who till then ſeem to have been very quiet at Jeruſalem ever ſince St. Paul's converſion. The firſt who fell a victim to his popular zeal was, James the Leſs, ſurnamed Boanerges, whom he cauſed to beheaded (W). The pleaſure

Beheads James, and impriſons Peter.

[y] Antiq. ibid. cap. ult. ad fin.

(W) This was not the James whom we mentioned a little higher to have been a near relation of Chriſt, and on that account choſen biſhop of Jeruſalem, and was not martyred till many years after; but one of the ſons of Zebedee, and brother of John.

Euſebius adds (48), upon the teſtimony of Clement biſhop of Alexandria, that the ſoldier or captain that was to lead him to execution, was converted to chriſtianity, by the noble defence which that apoſtle made at his trial, and that they were both martyred together. Some other particularities concerning his auſtere life,

(48) Eccl. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 9.

pleasure which this action gave to the Jews, encouraged him to imprison Peter also, with a design to cut him off also immediately after the feast, which was that of the passover, and fell on that year on the first of April, in the forty-fourth year after Christ. Peter was therefore strongly guarded, having four quaternions of soldiers at his prison door, and being fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; whilst prayers were put up for him by all the christians in and about Jerusalem, and obtained him a miraculous deliverance. For on the very night before his designed martyrdom, an angel came and awaked him out of a sound sleep, knocked of his fetters, opened the prison door, and led him safe through some of the streets of the city, and left him to go and seek for some safe asylum; which he accordingly did, after he had gone and acquainted some of the brethren with his miraculous deliverance [z].

Soon after this disappointment, Agrippa returned to Cæsarea, where he designed to have exhibited some public games in honour of Claudius Cæsar, and was attended thither with a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre, in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sunbeams darting upon the silver ground of it, where reflected with such an uncommon lustre, that the people beheld him with a kind of divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech to the deputies of Tyre and Sidon, who had been some time in disgrace with him, and were now come to beg his pardon, and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations. Here the embassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court sycophants, as is usual in such cases, gave a great shout, crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man, and added some gestures of a kind of adoration. The king, too sensible of the people's praise, approved, instead of checking, their impious flattery; upon which the angel of the Lord smote him with a dreadful disease [a], under which having lingered five days, he expired

His dreadful death.

[z] Act. xii. per tot. [a] Ibid ver. 20. ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra.

life, great piety, &c. are added, which tho' they may be true enough, we dare not vouch for upon the bare testimony of antient tradition (49).

(49) Vid. Epiph. hæres. 58. c. 4, & seq. & al.

pired in all the miſery that can be expreſſed or imagined (X). He left a ſon of the ſame name, who was then but ſeventeen years old, and had been brought up at Rome, and three daughters, Berenice married to Herod, and then ſixteen years of age, and Mariamne, and Druſilla, both young and unmarried, though contracted, the former to Julius Archelaus, the ſon of Chalcias, and the latter to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus king of Comagene. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. Claudius was going to beſtow the kingdom on his ſon, according to a former promiſe; but was diſſuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be truſted with the care of ſuch a nation; upon which Judæa became again a province of the empire, and Cuſpius Fadus was ſent governor of it, with this particular order, that he ſhould act nothing in concert with Marſus, that he ſhould ſeverely puniſh the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, or Samaria, for the indignities they had offered to the memory of the late king (Y); and that he ſhould ſend the troops that were kept in Judæa away into Pontus. But he was ſoon after perſuaded to let them abide

Judæa made a province by Claudius.

(X) The ſacred hiſtorian ſays, that he was eaten of worms (50), and Joſephus, that he was ſeized with ſuch violent pains in his heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baſeneſs of his flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind of divine immortality, who was now going to expire in all the torments and agonies of a miſerable mortal.

The latter adds, that whilſt he was as yet in his priſon, an owl happened to pearch over his head; upon which a German, who was there, foretold him his future riſe and happineſs; but bid him take notice, that the next time that he ſaw that bird, it would prove ominous to him; and that he would live but five days after it; which happened accordingly. For whilſt he was applauding himſelf with the ſhouts and compliments, which the aſſembly were paying to him, on occaſion of his oration, the ſame bird appeared over his head, pearching upon a rope, from which he concluded that his life and glory was at an end (1).

(Y) Theſe ungrateful wretches, not contented with making the greateſt rejoycings at Agrippa's death, and blackening his memory with the vileſt outrages, had pulled down the ſtatues of his three daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried them into their public ſtews; where they proſtituted them in ſuch a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (2).

(50) Act. xii. 23. (1) Conf. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. & l. xix. c. ult. (2) Antiq. l. xx. c. 1.

abide ſtill in the former, which proved a ſource of new troubles and miſeries [b]. It was about this time that the famine foretold by Agabus, a chriſtian prophet [c], began to rage; againſt which the new churches, planted at Antioch and other places, ſent the believers at Jeruſalem a liberal relief, by the hands of Paul and Barnabas; whilſt Helen, queen of Adiabene, is ſaid to have relieved the Jews, and afterwards the chriſtians, in the pious and plentiful manner we have ſpoken of in a former volume †.

Fadus ſent into Judæa.

FADUS, upon his arrival into Judæa, was forced to ſuppreſs the banditti, which were by that time grown very numerous and powerful; and to quell an inſurrection which the Jews had raiſed againſt the inhabitants of Philadelphia, which was the ſame city with Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites [d]. In the mean time, Claudius, having recalled Marſus out of reſpect to the late king, had ſent Caſſius Longinus into that government, who came immediately to Jeruſalem, and inſiſted upon the pontifical veſtments being put into his poſſeſſion, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortreſs of Antonia. The Jews ſurpriſed at thisnew demand, begged leave that they might ſend a deputation to the emperor againſt it, and did not obtain it from that governor, till ſome of the heads of the nation had put their ſons as hoſtages into his hands. But upon the embaſſadors applying to Claudius, in which they were backed by the young Agrippa, they obtained a grant, that thoſe ſacred robes ſhould be kept in the poſſeſſion of the high-prieſt, in the manner Vitellius had granted it, ſix years before. At the ſame time Herod king of Chalcis obtained of that emperor the ſuperintendency of both the temple and ſacred treaſury; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity; in purſuance to which, he depoſed Cantharas, and raiſed Joſeph the ſon of Cami to it; After Herod's death, young Agrippa obtained the ſame grant for himſelf, and enjoyed it till the time of the Jewiſh war [e].

Year of the flood 3043: Of Chriſt 45 or 48.

DURING Fadus's government there aroſe a notable impoſtor, named Theudas (Z), who drew great number of the deluded

Theudas an impoſtor beheaded.

[b] Antiq. ubi ſupra. [c] Act. xi. 27. ad fin. † Vol. ix. p 641. [d] Antiq l. xx. c. 1, & 2. [e] Ibid.

(Z) We muſt take care not to confound this Theudas of Joſephus with another mentioned by St. Luke, and ſaid to have appeared juſt after the death of Herod the Great, and has been taken

deluded Jews after him, bidding them follow him beyond Jordan, and promiſed them that he would divide the waters of that river, as Joſhua had done, by his ſingle word. Cuſpius ſent ſome troops of horſe and foot againſt him and his followers, killed ſome of them, took others priſoners, and amongſt them Theudas himſelf, whom he cauſed to be beheaded, and his head to be brought to Jeruſalem. This, according to Joſephus, is the moſt remarkable thing that happened during Fadus's government [f]: he was ſoon after ſucceeded by Tiberius Alexander, an appoſtate Jew, of ſacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous Philo, often quoted in this chapter [g]. One of his firſt exploits was the crucifying James and Simon, the ſons of Judas, ſurnamed Galileus, head of the Gaulonitiſh ſect, ſpoken of in a former ſection; and about the ſame time Herod, king of Chalcis, having depoſed Joſeph the ſon of Cami, gave the high-prieſthood to Ananias the ſon of Nebedeus, and died ſoon after, in the eighth year of Claudius. That emperor gave his kingdom to young Agrippa, in prejudice of Ariſtobulus, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed.

VENTIDIUS CUMANUS ſucceeded Alexander in the government of Judæa, and it was in his time that thoſe troubles began, which ended in the ruin of the Jewiſh nation. The great concourſe of people, which their feſtival brought to Jeruſalem, obliged the Romans at ſuch times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to prevent tumults. It was now the paſſover, when one of the Roman ſoldiers upon duty, had the impudence to expoſe his nudity to open ſight; this indignity raiſed the reſentment of the Jews to ſuch a height, that they went and complained of it to Cumanus, and in an inſolent mannner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at firſt to appeaſe them by fair means; but finding them to grow more tumultuous, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; the ſight of which alarmed them ſo, that they fled in the greateſt fright and confuſion, inſomuch, that upwards of ten thouſand were ſtifled to death in their flight,

Year of the flood 3050. Of Chriſt 55 or 52.

[f] Id. ibid. [g] Ibid. c. iii. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11.

taken notice of in a former ſection †; and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the ſon of Ezechias mentioned by Joſephus under the name of Judas.

† Pag. 402, & (S).

flight, by running over one another in the narrow passages that led to and from the temple. The copies of Eusebius and St. Jerom say thirty thousand. Soon after this disaster another happened in Samaria, where some Galilean Jews, going to one of the feasts, were insulted, and one of them killed. This brought on a terrible skirmish, in which a great number of the Jews were killed, and the rest went to complain to Cumanus against the Samaritans; but he, being bribed by these, refused to do them justice; upon which the matter was brought before Quadratus, governor of Syria, who sent both parties toRome, and Cumanus with them, to answer for themselves there (A). The Samaritans were cast, and condemned to die, Cumanus sent into banishment, and Celer, one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the same guilt, condemned to be dragged through the streets of Jerusalem, and then put to death [h].

Felix made procurator of Judæa.

In the year following Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in Judæa, succeeded Cumanus in the government of it, under whom the Jewish affairs went from bad to worse (B). The land swarmed

[h] Antiq ubi supra, c. 4, & 5.

(A) They were all sent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Those among the Jews were Annas and Jonathan, who had been both high-priests, Ananias the present pontiff, and his son the captain of the temple, or rather chief of the Levites, who were the keepers of it, with some others. Those of the Samaritans were likewise considerable persons, and those joined interest with Cumanus; but the credit of young Agrippa at the Roman court easily turned the scales in favour of the Jews.

Those in Judæa had not met with so favourable a judge, and Quadratus, who had the power to try and condemn even the governors themselves, if he found them guilty, though he remitted the grand trial to Cæsar's court, had caused a great number of the most stirring among them to be, some crucified, and others beheaded, besides those that had been killed in the several engagements, especially in the canton of Acrabatene (3).

(B) Josephus says, that the Jewish nation, especially Jonathan the late high-priest, had desired him for their governor. He had been the year before chosen one of the judges by Quadratus, in the dispute between them and the Samaritans, and had perhaps ingratiated himself to them by his mild behaviour towards them; but after he became their governor, he behaved

(3) Antiq. l. xx. c. 5.

without with robbers and banditti, and within with false prophets, and pretended miracle-mongers, who were still blowing the coals of discontent and sedition; so that there passed scarcely a day, in which there was not some dreadful execution made upon some of those miscreants [i]. To these we may join the Sicarii or assassins (C), which crouded themselves into all the cities and towns of the kingdom, and committed the most horried murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. Among the false prophets, and pretended saviours, by whom that infatuated nation was seduced, there was a signal one that came from Egypt, and had drawn above thirty thousand men after him, by the large promises he made to them of a speedy deliverance. His followers were, however, soon dispersed by the Roman troops; but one was no sooner gone, but there

[i] Ibid. c. 6. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12.

haved like a tyrant. Tacitus says rightly of him (4); that he governed them with the arbitrariness of a monarch, and with the genius of a slave. He was the brother of Pallas, and therefore made no difficulty of committing the greatest oppressions and cruelties, till the flame broke out into an open rebellion, and ended in the most dreadful ruin and misery that ever nation felt.

(C) These were another kind of robbers, who came and mixed themselves among the crouds and assemblies, with short daggers under their cloaks, and stabbed all that came near them in open day, and then were the first to cry out murder. They not only, by this vile method, rid themselves of their enemies, but would hire themselves to murder any others for a small sum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public resort.

They are supposed to have been the spawn of the Gaulonitish faction, which began near fifty years before, as we have seen in a former section *; and in spight of all the severities which the Romans made them feel, still kept up their seditious spirit, and daily encreased in number. They were afterwards better known by the name of zealots, and under that specious title committed such unheard of crimes as hastened the total ruin of their city and nation. We have seen in a former volume †, whence they pretended to derive their origin; though by their actions one would rather think it came from hell, as we shall see in the sequel.

(4) Hist. l. v. c. 9. Conf. cum. antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. * Pag. 362, & seq. † See vol. iii. p. 345, &c.

there ſtarted up another, ſo that the moſt violent remedies did rather inflame, than aſſuage, their ſeditious diſeaſe. But Felix did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious rout alone, but on all others indiſcriminately, whom his avarice or reſentment marked out for deſtruction. This obliged the good old prieſt Jonathan, who had been moſt inſtrumental in procuring him the government, to expoſtulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. Felix at length, unable to bear his juſt cenſures, hired one Doras, a perſon in whom Jonathan put great confidence, to aſſaſſinate him, which was accordingly done (D). This murder going unpuniſhed, becauſe the perſon who ſhould have revenged it was the chief actor in it, proved the ſcource of an infinite number of others, which were committed every-where, the temple not excepted; and the Jewiſh chiefs and even the pontiffs made no ſcruple to hire the aſſaſſins above-mentioned, to rid them of any perſons that were obnoxious to them [k]. His character.

Marries Druſilla.

We have already taken notice, that Druſilla, Agrippa's daughter, had been contracted to Epiphanes; but he refuſing the circumciſion, her brother gave her to Azizus king of Emeſſa, who conſented to that ceremony out of love to her, ſhe being one of the fineſt women of that age. But as her virtue was far enough below her beauty, Felix, who was become enamoured with her, did eaſily perſuade her to forſake her huſband, and to be married to him, though a Pagan, and one of the worſt of that kind [l] (E). He was himſelf

[k] Id. ibid. [l] Id. ibid. & ſeq.

(D) It is impoſſible to gueſs from Joſephus, in what year this murder was committed; only by his expreſſions it ſeems to have been done about the beginning of Felix's government (5).

(E) Her two ſiſters did not prove much more virtuous than ſhe. Berenice the eldeſt, and formerly married to her uncle Herod king of Chalcis, being become a widow, was ſhrewdly ſuſpected of holding an inceſtuous intercourſe with her brother Agrippa. To ſuppreſs that ſuſpicion, ſhe married Polemon king of Pontus, and of part of Cilicia; but, ſhe ſoon after broke off with him, and by her looſe behaviour confirmed the reports that had been ſpread concerning her unlawful intrigues Her huſband on the other hand, who had embraced Judaiſm on her account, was no ſooner forſaken by her, than he caſt off herreligion, and returned to his paganiſm.

Mariamne

(5) Antiq. ubi ſupra c 6.

made perhaps more ſenſible of it than ever he had been, when the apoſtle St. Paul was brought before him, and made that noble diſcourſe on juſtice, temperance, or chaſtity, and a judgment to come; which threw him into ſuch a fit of remorſe and trembling, as made him cry out to him, *It is enough, go thy ways for this time; and when I am more at leiſure, I will ſend for thee* [m]. It proved however but of ſhort duration. Felix did afterwards ſend for him indeed more than once, but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a deſire of being made better acquainted with thoſe important truths, which he had heard of him; ſo that after near two years, finding himſelf diſappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he choſe to leave his priſoner in bonds, to ingratiate himſelf to the exaſperated Jews [n].

Feſtus ſucceeds Felix. Year of the flood 3056. Of Chriſt 62 or 59.

He was accordingly ſucceeded by Portius Feſtus, who upon his coming found the nation in that diſtreſſed condition, we have been ſpeaking of; and, which was ſtill worſe, the very prieſthood had begun a civil war among themſelves, ever ſince the laſt year of Felix's government, the occaſion of which ſeems to have been the frequent depoſitions of the pontiffs, and their pretenſions after it to a greater ſhare of the tythes than the inferior prieſts could afford them (F). Agrippa had the

[m] Act. xxiv. paſſ. & antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 7. [n] Act. ubi ſupra, ad fin.

Mariamne the youngeſt had been married betimes to Archelaus the ſon of Chelcias or Elchias, probably of the Herodian family; but ſhe likewiſe forſook him to marry one Demetrius, an Alexandrian Jew, and one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable of that city, and was then their Alabarea or chief (6).

(F) We have obſerved in a former volume *, that the Levites were to gather in the tythes from the people, and to allot a tenth part of them to the prieſts. Theſe allowed the high-prieſt a proportion of it ſuitable to his dignity, and divided the reſt among themſelves. When therefore the number of depoſed pontiffs began to encreaſe to ſuch a degree, as to leave the inferior ones too ſmall a quantity for their ſuſtenance, it bred a mutiny among them. The latter refuſing them their competency, they ſent their armed men to force it from them, to plunder their houſes and barns, and to kill all that oppoſed them. This obliged them to hire the ſicarii to repel force by force, and thoſe that could

(6) Ibid. c. 5. * vol. iii. p. 239, & ſeq. (7) In vita ſua.

the year before depoſed Ananias, and put Iſhmael in his room; there were ſtill ſeveral more ſuch diſcarded pontiffs alive, who all pretended to the ſame income of the tythes, which they enjoyed with that dignity, which muſt of courſe impoveriſh the inferior ſort, who therefore refuſed it to them. The rancour aroſe at length to ſuch a height, that each party uſed to go along accompanied with a troop of the ſicarii, and upon every rencounter fell foul on each other, killing all that oppoſed them, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple ſometimes, with blood. Feſtus was therefore forced to begin his government with the greateſt ſeverity, in order to ſuppreſs this treble butchery; that of the prieſthood againſt each other; that of the ſeditious laity againſt the Romans and thoſe that contentedly ſubmitted to them; and that of the banditti abroad, who infeſted the whole country, and robbed, plundered, and maſſacred every-where without mercy °. The ſuppreſſion of all theſe different parties, and the ſevere examples he made of their leaders, impoſtors, and of the moſt ſtirring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greateſt part of his time and labour during his ſhort government.

A civil war among the prieſts.

THREE days after his arrival in Judæa, he went to Jeruſalem, where Ananias the late high-prieſt, and the reſt of the Jewiſh chiefs, came to demand juſtice againſt Paul, who was ſtill kept priſoner at Cæſarea. As ſoon therefore as he was returned thither, he cauſed him to be brought before him,

Paul brought before Feſtus.

° Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 6.

could not ſtand thus in their own defence, were ſtripped of all they had, and left to ſtarve.

Joſephus ſays, that Felix had ſent a good number of them in chains to Rome to anſwer for their crimes, which yet he adds were of a light nature; and might therefore be ſome of this oppreſſed ſort who had armed themſelves againſt the cruelty of thoſe tyrants. He adds, that they were kept priſoners, ſome years, till he came himſelf thither on purpoſe to procure their freedom, which he did by the intereſt of Poppea, who was a lover of their nation, and was ſoon after married to the emperor Nero. He highly applauds the piety of thoſe prieſts, who, ſays he, were content to live upon nuts, and dry figs, rather than pollute themſelves with the uſual food of the Gentiles (7).

(7) In vita ſua.

him, and after a full hearing of both sides, especially of the prisoner's defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies still insisted that he was worthy of death, and Festus being willing to oblige them with a second trial at Jerusalem, Paul took hold on the privileges which the law then gave him, to appeal to Cæsar, and prevent thereby the effects of their further malice. Agrippa and his sister Berenice being come to Cæsarea to compliment the new governor, and having expressed a desire of seeing this celebrated prisoner, Festus, who knew that prince to be thoroughly versed in the Jewish laws and customs, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here Paul being permitted to speak for himself made such a noble defence, that Festus acquitted him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning; whilst Agrippa, conscious of the truth and force of his reasoning, owned himself almost convinced by him, and after some private conference with the governor, it was declared that he might have been released, if he had not appealed to Cæsar [P].

And Agrippa.

Agrippa displeases the Jews.

In the mean time Agrippa, who came often to Jerusalem, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the superintendency given him after his uncle Herod, took it into his head to build him a palace there, of such a height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The Jews were the more displeased at it, because Festus and the Romans would likewise come and take a view of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which, the king and governor taking it as an affront, ordered to be pulled down. The Jews, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to Rome; and these by the intercession of Poppea (G), got a grant from the emperor, for the keeping up of the wall. Ishmael the then high-priest, being at the head of this embassy, was for his laudable zeal deposed by Agrippa, who bestowed that dignity on Joseph, surnamed Cabbis, the son

[P] Act. xxv, & xxvi. pass.

(G) Josephus highly commends that empress's piety, though, setting aside her love to the Jewish nation, she had not one virtue that could intitle her to this compliment. On the contrary, she was known to be a leud princess, the promoter of a great number of murders, which she made her husband commit on the greatest persons of the empire, and prevailed at length on that mad monarch to repudiate, banish, and at length put to death, his virtuous wife Octavia, to marry her, as we shall see more at large in the Roman history.

ſon of the late pontiff Cantharus. Joſephus, adds, that Poppea detained Iſhmael and Chelcias as hoſtages at Rome [q].

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, Nero nominated Albinus to ſucceed him; in the mean time Agrippa, having given the high-prieſthood from Cabbis to Ananus, a proud Sadducee, this laſt took that interval before the arrival of the new prætor to call a council, and to have James the apoſtle and biſhop of Jeruſalem, aud ſome other chriſtians, condemned and ſtoned to death (H). Upon the governor's arrival at Alexandria, complaint was made to him of this preſumptuous and unlawful ſtep. Albinus reſented it, and ſent the new pontiff a very threatening letter; and Agrippa, who feared the conſequence of his anger, took care to depoſe him, and to put another in his room, viz. Jeſus the ſon of Damneus, before the governor was got to Jeruſalem. Judæa gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was ſuch a cruel rapacious monſter, that Felix and Feſtus, bad as they were, were honeſt men to him; and yet he was ſtill in one reſpect better than his ſucceſſor, in that he endeavoured at leaſt, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by ſome pretext or other.

His firſt care was to ſuppreſs the ſicarii, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder than ever. He puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity as many as came into his hands, and they only became the more impudent by it; inſomuch that they ventured one night, during one of their feaſts, to enter into the city, and to carry off Eleazer the ſon of Ananias, the late high-prieſt, who was ſecretary of the temple, and to ſend his father word that they would not releaſe him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their aſſociates, whom Albinus kept in priſon. Ananias, who was a very opulent perſon, eaſily bribed with a round ſum the rapacious governor to conſent to it, but his compliance

[q] Antiq. ubi ſupra, c. 7, ad fin.

(H) So ſays Joſephus; but we have related the manner of his death according to the teſtimony of ſome antient fathers in a late note, to which we refer the reader.

This Ananus was the fifth ſon of that Ananus or Annas, mentioned by the evangeliſts, that had enjoyed the high-prieſthood after their father, an honour and happineſs that never happened to any but him, ſays that Jewiſh hiſtorian (S).

(S) Antiq. l. xx c. 8.

compliance was attended with very bad consequences; being forced still to redeem some near relation at the same price, as often as any of the banditti were got into the governor's hands[r]. On the other hand Agrippa, having given the high-priesthood from Jesus the son of Damneus to Jesus the son of Gamaliel, those two pontiffs got each of them a strong escort of armed men, and committed the vilest outrages; not only against each other, but against the inferior sort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the lowest misery. About this time the Levites and singers, who, as we have formerly observed *, had no particular dress to distinguish them from the laity, obtained leave of Agrippa, to wear white robes like the priests, and some other privileges, which were contrary to the Jewish law, and did not a little displease the better sort of the Jews, as well as the whole priesthood. Agrippa was likewise become odious to his subjects, on account of his high taxes on them, to support his extravagance, sumptuous building, public spectacles, games, and such-like profusions [s].

About this time all the work of the temple being quite finished, and eighteen thousand hands at once discharged, as we observed in a former section †, a proposal was made to that prince to employ them in the taking down an old stately gallery of the temple, four hundred cubits high, which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it a-new; but Agrippa considering the expensiveness and length of the work, absolutely refused it, and told the Jewish chiefs that they might employ those hands in paving the city with white stones; but that not being agreed to, the greatest part joined themselves with the banditti for fear of starving. Albinus after a two years government was recalled by Nero, and succeeded by Gessius Florus, the last and worst governor that ever Judæa had. Josephus seems at a loss for words bad enough to describe him by, or a monster to compare him to [t]; his rapines, cruelties, conniving for large sums with the banditti, and in a word, his whole behaviour, was so open and barefaced that he was looked upon by the Jews, more like a bloody executioner sent to butcher, than as a magistrate to govern them. His design was to provoke them to such an open rebellion, as might either give him the brutish pleasure of seeing them destroy each other, or prevent his oppressions, murders, and

Gessius Florus's bloody government. Year of the flood 3065. Of Christ 67 64

[r] Ibid. c. 8. * Vol. iii. p 275, & seq. [s] Antiq. ubi supra. Bell Jud l. ii, c. 1. 3 † pag. 308, & (Z). [t] Antiq. ibid. c 9. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

and other helliſh works being enquired into. He ſucceeded but too well in it; and a war was kindled accordingly through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the Jewiſh nation. This great event, ſo plainly foretold by Chriſt, ſo punctually fulfilled, and ſo lively deſcribed and related by a Jewiſh hiſtorian, and an eye-witneſs, might well deſerve a larger place in this chapter; but as it is ſo very well known, and abounds with ſuch dreadful murders, cruelties, and other circumſtances, fit only to fill a reader with horror, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving ſome of the moſt remarkable ſtrokes of it, to avoid drawing the chapter to too great a length.

A prodigious warning to the Jews.

About four years before this dreadful war broke out, and about ſeven before the ſiege of Jeruſalem, whilſt the Jews did ſtill enjoy ſome kind of peace, a country fellow, named Jeſus, came to the feaſt of tabernacles, and was on a ſudden ſeized with a kind of phrenſy, as the Jews thought it, which made him cry out without ceaſing; Wo to the city, Wo to the temple: A voice from the four corners, a voice againſt Jeruſalem, a voice againſt the nation, &c. and in this lamentable tone he run through all the ſtreets of the city night and day, and on the ſabbaths and other feſtivals, was heard to ſpeak thoſe words louder, and in a more diſmal tone, without ever loſing his voice, or even being hoarſe with crying; and, what was ſtill more ſurprizing, neither threats nor the moſt ſevere puniſhments that could be inflicted on him (I), could make him deſiſt or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than thoſe dreadful woes, till he ſaw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the ſiege of the city, when he cried out in a more diſmal tone, Woe alſo to my ſelf; and was in that inſtant killed by a ſtone thrown in by the beſiegers [u]. There were ſeveral more ſuch prodigious warnings ſent to that unhappy nation in the ſequel, which though all too little to bring them to a better mind, are ſufficient to convince us, that

[u] Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 12.

(I) Joſephus adds, that ſome of the Jewiſh heads, being highly diſpleaſed at this poor fellow, cauſed him to be ſeverely whipped; and that this not proving ſufficient either to ſilence him, or to make him anſwer to other queſtions; they had him brought before Albinus, who ordered him afreſh to the whipping poſt; where they gave him ſo many and ſevere laſhes, that his ribs were quite uncovered, without forcing a word or groan from him. And laſtly, that being diſmiſſed as a madman, he continued his dreadful outcries, without taking the leaſt notice by word or geſture, either of thoſe that hurted him, or gave him food.

that god did not doom them to this dreadful deſtruction, till their impiety and hardneſs of heart had forced that ſevere puniſhment from him.

Complaints made to Ceſtius Gallus. Year of the flood 3064. Of Chriſt. 69 66.

Judæa being thus diſtracted within and without, and groaning now more than ever under a tyrant, who openly promoted thoſe miſchiefs he ſhould have remedied; vaſt numbers of Jews forſook it to ſeek an aſylum among foreign nations, whilſt thoſe that ſtayed behind applied themſelves to Ceſtius Gallus, the then governor of Syria, who was then at Jeruſalem at the paſſover, and beſought him to pity their wretched ſtate, and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. Florus, who was preſent when theſe complaints were preferred againſt him, made a mere jeſt of them; and Ceſtius, inſtead of making a ſtrict enquiry into his conduct, diſmiſſed them with a bare promiſe, that Florus ſhould behave better for the future, and ſet himſelf about computing the number of Jews that were then at Jeruſalem, by that of the lambs that were offered at that feſtival (K), in order to ſend an account of it to Nero; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions five hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand. Joſephus thinks they rather amounted to three millions [w].

Soon after this, the conteſt betwen the Jews and Syrians about the city of Cæſarea, which had been kept in ſuſpenſe ever ſince the time of Felix (L), being at length decided in favour

[w] Ibid, l. ii. c. 13, & alib.

(K) This computation could not be very certain, becauſe, though none but Jews offered theſe lambs at the feaſt, yet thoſe who had contracted any legal pollution were excluded from it. Beſides, one lamb might ſerve for twenty perſons, though never for leſs than ten. However, they took this laſt number for each lamb; and found that of the lambs to amount in the whole to two hundred and fifty-five thouſand. But as, among the poor, one of them might ſerve for more than ten, and as far as for twenty, Joſephus rightly gueſſes that there muſt have been a much greater number, though conſidering the bigneſs of the place, one would wonder how it was poſſible for it to contain even that.

(L) This conteſt, in which the Jews maintained that that city belonged to them, becauſe it had been built by Herod, and the Syrians pretended that it had been always eſteemed a Greek city, ſince even that monarch had reared temples and ſtatues in it; grew to ſuch a height, that both parties came at laſt to blows, and took up arms againſt each other. Felix at length put an end to it for a time, by ſending ſome of the chiefs of each nation to Rome to plead their cauſe before the emperor, where it hung in ſuſpenſe till

favour of the Syrians, the decree was no ſooner brought to Judæa, but, as if it had been agreed, that this ſhould be the ſignal for a revolt, the Jews every-where, reſolved to take up arms; and thus began the fatal war in the ſecond year of Florus's government, in the twelfth of Nero's reign, the ſeventeenth of that of Agrippa, and in the ſixty-ninth year of Chriſt [x]. Agrippa, who was at this time at Jeruſalem, at the beginning of this revolt ſtrove in vain to aſſuage them by a long and elaborate ſpeech, as well as by other proper means; they only liſtened to him, till he came to inſiſt on their ſubmitting to Florus, till a new governor could be obtained from Rome; this ſingle propoſal exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they began to pelt him with ſtones, and forced him to leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. Florus beheld all this with an inhuman pleaſure, and without putting the leaſt help to quell the ſedition, though earneſtly entreated to it by the Jewiſh heads. Agrippa ſent them indeed three thouſand men; but what could they do now againſt ſuch an enraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil ſoon ſpread all over the kingdom, and though the Jews were every-where the ſufferers, yet did not their deſperate rage abate in the leaſt. Nothing was now to be ſeen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, ſexes and quality, even down to the ſucking babes. The Jews on their part neither ſpared Syrians nor Romans, but retaliated their cruelties where-ever they got the better of them, for which vaſt numbers of their peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode. The Cæſareans fell ſuddenly on thoſe of their city, and maſſacred twenty thouſand of them, two thouſand were murdered at Ptolemais, and fifty thouſand at Alexandria. In a word, there was neither town nor city, where the pagans proved either ſtronger or quicker than they, where they did not commit the ſame horrid butcheries. At Jeruſalem Florus cauſed one day his troops to go and plunder the high market, and to kill all they met; and they murdered accordingly three thouſand five hundred perſons, men, women, and children. Among thoſe that were brought priſoners to him, there were ſome men of quality, and who had been even honoured with the Roman knighthood; yet this

Jews terribly perſecuted.

[x] Conf. antiq. l. xx. c. ult. & Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 14.

till this time, when Nero decided it in ſuch a manner as cauſed this inſurrection.

this did not ſave them from his cruelty; on the contrary, he cauſed them to be whipped before his tribunal, and then crucified [y].

Berenice intercedes in vain.

BERENICE, who had ſtayed at Jeruſalem after her brother, being bound there by a vow of Nazareat thirty days, ſpared neither prayers, meſſages, nor viſits to mollify the brutiſh prætor, till at length ſhe was likely to have loſt her life by it, and with great difficulty recovered her palace before his helliſh inſtruments could reach her. Yet not diſcouraged by it, ſhe went barefoot to him on the very next day, threw herſelf at the footſtool of his tribunal, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms entreated him to put a ſtop to the ſhedding of ſo much blood. The brute did not ſo much as vouchſafe her the leaſt token of common reſpect, ſo that ſhe ran a ſecond riſk of being torn in pieces before ſhe could get home [z]. This may ſerve to give a ſketch of that governor's character, who, becauſe he was depending on that of Syria, failed not to write to Ceſtius, and throw all the fault on the Jews; inſomuch, that this laſt knew not well which to believe, Florus, or Agrippa, Berenice, and other conſiderable Jewiſh heads, who gave him a quite different account [a].

The zealots beat the Romans.

IN the mean time, a great number of aſſaſſins having joined themſelves to the ſeditious, beat the Romans out of the fortreſſes of Maſſada, Antonia, and the towers of Phaſael, Mariamne, and others; killing all that oppoſed them. They began next to ſet fire to the palaces of Agrippa, Berenice, of the high-prieſt Ananias, and of his brother Ezechias; and theſe two laſt, who had hid themſelves from their fury, bebeing diſcovered, were murdered without mercy. Menahem, one of the ſons of the late Judas, chief of the Gaulonites, had now put himſelf at the head of the ſicarii, who now called themſelves zealots; and being come to Jeruſalem, was choſen chief of the ſeditious there, but was ſoon after maſſacred by them, with a great number of his men. His nephew Eleazar ſucceeded him as chief of the zealots, and beſieged the Romans ſo cloſe in their caſtle, that they capitulated at length to retire only with their lives; which being promiſed to them, he cauſed them all to be maſſacred on the ſpot, though it was on the ſabbath [b]. This treachery was cruelly retaliated on the generous Jews of Scythopolis, or Bethſhean, who had offered the Greeks of that city to ſtand by them againſt their brethren, who were beſieging them. But their ſincerity being unhappily ſuſpected by their townſmen,

Scythopolitan Jews maſſacred.

[y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. c. 15. [a] cap. 16. [b] Ibid. c. 17, 18.

men, these obliged them to retire into some neighbouring wood, where on the third night they came upon them, when they were asleep, and killed thirteen thousand of them, and seized upon all their wealth [c] (M).

By this time the revolted Jews had carried their conquests beyond Jordan, and had taken the fortresses of Macheron and Cyprus; this last they rased to the ground, after having put all the Romans to the sword; so that Cestius Gallus, who had hitherto kept himself an idle spectator of all these mutual devastations, began to think it high time to bestir himself. He marched into Judæa with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, massacred all the Jews he could come at, and came and encamped before Gibeon (N), about the feast of tabernacles. The people at Jerusalem no sooner heard of his approach, than they forsook the solemnity, and, though on the sabbath, armed themselves, and came out against him with such fury, that they had in all likelihood defeated him, had not his foot been timely succoured by his cavalry. He lost above five hundred men, and the Jews but twenty-two. The latter having seized on all the passes round about,

[c] cap. 19.

(M) It was on this dreadful occasion, that a considerable Jew, named Simon, who had signalized himself in the defence of Scythopolis against those of his own nation, observing what bloody returns the Greeks made them for their friendship, in a fit of rage and despair, instead of standing in his own defence, fell on his father, mother, wife, and children, who clung round about him, and killed every one of them; after which, getting on the heap of their dead bodies, he run himself through with his own sword (9).

(N) This city, the capital of the antient Gibeonites †, was distant about fifty stades or seven little miles north of Jerusalem, and situate on an eminence, as its name properly imports (10). Josephus says elsewhere, it was but forty stades from that metropolis (11).

Cestius's army consisted of the whole twelfth legion, two thousand men picked out of the other legions, six cohorts of foot, four of horse, besides three thousand horse and six thousand foot sent him by Agrippa and Antiochus, and four thousand from Soemus; in the whole about twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

(9) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 19. † Vid. Vol. ii. p. 201. (10) Joseph. ubi supra. Euseb. loc. Hebr. (11) Antiq. l. vii. c. 10.

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about, Cestius was forced to stay three days near Bethoron, where Agrippa joined him, and assisted him with his troops, his person, counsel, and good offices. He tried once more to bring the Jews to some temper, by sending two of his chief captains to offer them a pardon, and some terms of peace; but the revolters, instead of hearkening to their proposals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who narrowly escaped with his life. This base action, which was highly condemned by the more moderate Jews, caused a dissension between them, which Cestius failed not to improve, by sallying suddenly against them, and pursuing them almost up to Jerusalem. He stayed three days at Scopas, a small mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent, and then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of October, and put them into such consternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. Cestius set fire to the former, and began himself to besiege the latter, and took up his head quarters in the royal palace [d].

Cestius defeated.

HAD the governor vigorously pushed on the siege, it is likely he might have put an effectual end to the sedition; but that sinful nation was now reserved for greater evils, and the siege was on the sudden shamefully raised, at the instigation of some of Cestius's generals, whom Florus had corrupted; which gave a new life to the seditious. They pursued him to his camp at Gibeon, harassing him in the rear, whilst those that kept the passes attacked him in flank. His army in despair, not being able to move forward or backward, made the mountains echo with their hideous cries, and after a loss of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and of a great part of their baggage, being assisted by the intervening night on the eighth of November, happily got down through the narrow streights of Bethoron, and escaped [e]. The Jews, after this success against the Syrian governor, set themselves about the properest means to carry on the war against the Romans, and chusing some of their bravest chiefs to command in the several cantons and fortresses of Judæa, Josephus the writer of these wars, a brave Jewish priest, of considerable rank, was appointed governor of the two Galilees. Joseph the son of Gorion and the high-priest Ananus had the government of Jerusalem; and Eleazar, the chief of the revolters, that of Idumea; soon after which they departed to take care each of their particular commands. All this while there reigned

Escapes with loss.

Jews and christians leave Jerusalem.

[d] Ibid. c. 20, 21, & seq. [e] cap. 23. 24.

reigned ſuch a diſſenſion among the Jews, that great numbers of the better ſort, foreſeeing the ſad effects of the Roman reſentment, forſook the city, as men do a ſinking veſſel, and the chriſtians, mindful of their Saviour's warning (O), retired into Pella, a ſmall city on the other ſide of Jordan, in the tetrarchy of Herod, whither the war did not reach [f].

WHILST the new choſen governors were putting their reſpective cantons in the beſt poſture of defence, the ſon of Gorion in repairing the fortifications of Jeruſalem, Joſephus in fortifying a vaſt number of places in the upper and lower Galilee, and raiſing of forces to the number of a hundred thouſand, preparing arms and amunition, and Eleazar was doing the ſame in Idumea; the news came to Nero of all theſe preparations, as well as of the ill ſucceſs of Ceſtius againſt the Jews. Veſpaſian, who had already ſignalized himſelf in Germany and England, being then with the emperor in Achaia, was nominated to march with all ſpeed againſt Judæa with a powerful army [g]. He came accordingly into Syria, gathered all his forces and thoſe of his auxiliaries, among whom Agrippa did not fail to meet him at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement of his own, whilſt Titus was ſent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from Alexandria into Judæa [h]. It is likely, Ceſtius did not long outlive his diſgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the Jews, elated at his defeat, if not alſo at his death, took it into their heads to go and beſiege Aſcalon. Antony, who commanded there, came out againſt them, and killed ten thouſand of them; they made a ſecond attempt, and were ſurpriſed in the way, and cut off to almoſt the ſame number. Niger, who headed the Jews, fled into a tower, to which Antony ſet fire; and not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but upon the Jews coming three days after to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had ſaved himſelf from the flames [i].

Veſpaſian ſent into Judæa.

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[f] cap 25, & ſeq. [g] lib. iii. c. 1. [h] cap. 2, & 3. [i] Ibid. c. 1, & ſeq. paſſ.

(O) Euſebius aſſures us (12), upon the teſtimony of ſome ancient fathers, that God was pleaſed to direct them to this flight even before the beginning of the war; and Epiphanius adds (13), by the miniſtry of an angel ſent on purpoſe to the church of Jeruſalem.

(12) Hiſt. Eccl. l. iii. c. 5. (13) Hereſ. 29, & ſeq.

Veſpaſian enters Judæa.

VESPASIAN, on the very beginning of the next year, having ſent Placidus to ſuccour the inhabitants of Sephoris (P) againſt the Jews, advanced towards Ptolemais with Agrippa, and was there joined by Titus at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter, and came much ſooner than was expected. Their whole forces of horſe and foot conſiſted now of upwards of ſixty thouſand men, beſides ſervants, all excellently diſciplined, with which they entered Galilee, and having burnt Gadara, were marching to beſiege Jotapa. Joſephus, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vigour, forty-ſeven days, in ſpight of all the Roman efforts and bravery. It was at length taken by aſſault about the beginning of July (Q), and put to fire and ſword; not one Jew eſcaped to carry the dreadful news, but they were all either murdered or made priſoners. There were reckoned forty thouſand of the former, and but twelve hundred of the latter, among whom was Joſephus, who had hid himſelf in a deep cavern, but was at length diſcovered, and by Veſpaſian's generous offers and entreaties, though much againſt the conſent of thoſe Jews that were with him (R), went and ſurrendered

Jotapa taken by Veſpaſian.

(P) We have already obſerved, that this city was the metropolis of Galilee, and was very conſiderable for its ſtrength, ſituation, bigneſs, and opulence. It was now become obnoxious to the revolted Jews, by reaſon of its adherence to the Romans, ſo that it would have undergone a dreadful fate, had not Veſpaſian ſent timely ſuccours to it (14).

(Q) The reader may ſee the ſtrength of this place in Joſephus (15), with the many other remarkable particulars of this obſtinate ſiege (16), wherein the Romans were terribly peſtered by the valour and conduct of the beſieged, and the general himſelf wounded in the heel (17). This ſtout reſiſtance occaſioned the great ſlaughter he made of them, and the vaſt diſproportion between the number of the ſlain and of the priſoners, the latter being in all probability only women and children.

(R) This cavern was cut into the rock by the ſide of a well and well ſtored with proviſion; and there Joſephus found forty o his own men. He went out the firſt night to ſee whether ther was any poſſibility of eſcaping; but finding none, he reſolved t abide there as long as he could. He was diſcovered on the thi day by a woman, and Veſpaſian, who had a great deſire to ſe him

(14) Bell Jud. l. iii. c. 3. (15) ubi ſupra, c. 7. (16) Ibi c. 8. ad 13. (17) Ibid. c. 14.

surrendered himself prisoner to him. When he was brought before Vespasian, the whole army crouding about to see him, he was put under a guard, with a design to be sent to Nero; which when the Jewish general understood, he desired to have the liberty to speak to him; which being granted, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect: My message to you being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the disposal of me as your prisoner, or sending me to the emperor; and, as a Jewish commander, I should have preferred death to this surrender, had it not been to deliver his divine commission to you. The interval between Nero's end and your succeeding him is so small, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your son Titus as your happy successor. Keep me only as your prisoner, and if you find I have abused God's name in promising you from him the empire of the world, then punish me with the severest death. Vespasian took him at his word, used him with great respect and generosity, but caused him to be kept close prisoner, having a design to make some further use of him in his war against the Jews [k]. This prediction of the Jewish historian to the Roman general, is likewise confirmed by Suetonius [l] and Dion Cassius [m]. Something like this, but with a more dreadful prospect to the Jews, Lactanius tells us [n], had been foretold at Rome about the same time, by the two great apostles Peter and Paul; the substance of which

Josephus surrenders himself.

His speech to Vespasian.

Kept close prisoner.

A prophecy of St. Peter and Paul.

[k] Id. ibid. cap. 12, 13, & 14. [l] In vit. Vespas. [m] lib. lx. [n] lib. iv. c. 21. Vid. Usser sub an. Chr. 67.

him, sent him two of his tribunes to promise him his life and friendship. Upon his refusal to surrender himself, he sent a third, named Nicanor, and an old acquaintance of his; but he returning likewise without him, the Romans were for burning him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to resist any longer, he proposed to the rest to accept of Vespasian's generous offer; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baseness, and threatened to kill him, if he presumed to stir out. He tried once more to remonstrate to them the unlawfulness of self-murder, which he saw them now fully bent upon; he was forced at last to propose to them to draw lots, who should kill the next, and so on, till the last man; which being agreed to by the rest, providence so ordered it, that there were but two left, viz. Josephus and one more; so that being loth either to kill him, or be killed by him, he at length persuaded him to a surrender, which was accordingly done (18).

(18) Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 14.

the reader will find in the margin (S). As ſoon as the news of Jotapa's being taken had reached Jeruſalem, the Jews, who heard alſo that Joſephus had been killed in it, made the greateſt mourning and lamentations for him a whole month; but when they came to hear that he had ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to the Romans, they, who had till then retained a ſingular eſteem and regard for him, began now to look upon him as a baſe betrayer of his country, and to perſecute him with the moſt irreconcileable hatred and diſdain, of which they gave him many ſingular proofs, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Jotapa and other cities taken.

WHILST Veſpaſian was beſieging Jotapa, Trajan (T) had been ſent to form that of Japha, in the neighbourhood, and took it on the twentieth of June, but complimented young Titus with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the laſt aſſault. Upon their entering the place, the Japhians held out a bloody and obſtinate ſtreet fight during ſix whole hours; but being at laſt overpowered, all the men were put to

(S) That God ſhould in a little time ſend a prince againſt the Jews that ſhould overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground: that during the ſiege of it, they ſhould pine with hunger and thirſt, even to the eating of one another: that after it was taken, they ſhould ſee their women grievouſly tormented before their eyes, their virgins deflowered, their young men torn aſunder, and their babes daſhed in pieces, themſelves reduced to the loweſt miſery, their country waſted with fire and ſword, and the whole nation baniſhed out of their own land, becauſe they had exalted themſelves above the moſt gracious and approved Son of God.

Theſe two apoſtles, according to the records of both eaſtern and weſtern churches, ſuffered martyrdom on the twenty-ninth of June, the laſt day of which month falls within the reign of Nero (19); and an antient father affirms, that the day of St. Paul's death was more certainly known than that of Alexander the great (20); and Dionyſius biſhop of Corinth tells us, that St. Peter ſuffered death on the ſame day (21). St. Paul was beheaded; but St. Peter was, according to our Saviour's prediction (22), crucified, but with his head downward at his own deſire, and out of reſpect to his divine maſter (23).

(T) Probably the ſame, who was afterwards emperor; but at preſent he was only a colonel of one of the legions.

(19) Uſſer's annal. ſub an Chr. 67. (20) Homil 26, in 2 Corinth. ap. eund. (21) Ap. Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 24. (22) John xxi. 18, & ſeq. (23) Orig. com in Gen. tom. 3. Vid. Euſeb. ubi ſupra, l. iii. c 1

to the ſword, and the women and children carried away priſoners [o]. A week after, the Samaritans, who had aſſembled upon mount Garizzim, with a deſign of defending themſelves, having been cloſely ſurrounded by Cerealis at the head of a Roman detachment, were ready to periſh for want of water. Many of them ſuffered themſelves to die with thirſt, and thoſe who refuſed to ſurrender, were all butchered to one man [p]. Joppa, which had been lately laid waſte by Ceſtius, being again repeopled by a great number of ſeditious Jews, who infeſted the countries about, Veſpaſian ſent ſome troops to take it, which they ſoon atchieved. Above four thouſand Jews endeavouring to eſcape the maſſacre, by betaking themſelves to their ſhips, a ſudden tempeſt drove them back, ſo that they were all either drowned, or put to the ſword. Tarichea and Tiberias were taken next (U); the former of theſe, being ſituate on an eminence and by the lake of Genezareth, was beſieged by land and by water, and made a deſperate defence, till a diſſenſion happened within; which being overheard by Titus, who commanded at the ſiege, the town was taken by ſtorm, and all the ſeditious condemned to die [q].

AFTER the reduction of thoſe two places, all the other cities of Galilee ſubmitted themſelves to the Romans, except thoſe of Giſchala and Gamala, and the mountain of Itabyr (W). Againſt Gamala, which was ſituate over-againſt

[o] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 11. [p] Ibid. c. 12. [q] Ibid. c. 15, & ſeq.

(U) Theſe two cities belonged to Agrippa, but had revolted; the latter was divided; ſome of the citizens, being for peace, were oppoſed by the ſeditious party. Veſpaſian ſent ſome officers to perſuade them to ſubmit, but they were repulſed, and forced to flee for their lives; for which he would have burnt the city, but the peaceable citizens having repreſented their caſe to Agrippa, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon (24).

(W) The ſame with Thabor, ſpoken of in a former volume (25), with a ſpacious plain near twenty ſtades in ſquare on the top, with a city of the ſame name upon it. The area was encompaſſed with a large wall, built by Joſephus in about forty days (26).

As for the town of Sephoris, which was extremely rich and ſtrong, it never once rebelled during all this war, but kept conſtant

(24) Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 16. (25) Vol. iii. p. 109, & 110. (B). (26) Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 2.

Tarichea, on the ſame lake, as Agrippa had in vain carried on a ſiege of near ſeven months; the Romans were forced to come and aſſiſt him. He tried, however, by a ſet ſpeech to perſuade them to ſurrender, before they were reduced to greater ſtreights. The only anſwer they made him was with ſtones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The Romans, provoked to behold the little regard which thoſe wretches paid to their monarch, made ſuch a deſperate aſſault againſt them, that they had got poſſeſſion of the town; but being inferior in number, they were ſoon driven out of it with conſiderable loſs. It was renewed afreſh with greater fury, and as obſtinately oppoſed by the beſieged, who put the Roman courage and ſtrength to the ſevereſt proof they had as yet felt. At length three ſtout Romans having beaten down one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the ſword, to the number of four thouſand. But a much greater number periſhed by their own hands, flinging themſelves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means. During this ſiege, Placidus was ſent to take Itabyr mentioned in the laſt note. He went and ſlily drew the Jews down into the plain by a pretended flight, faced about, and defeated them, and got poſſeſſion of the mountain[r].

Giſchala taken.

AFTER this ſtout ſiege was over, Veſpaſian ſent his ſon Titus to form that of Giſchala; and this laſt, who was now beginning to relent at the great ſlaughter made at Gamala, earneſtly exhorted them to prevent, by a timely ſurrender, involving themſelves in the ſame fate. The citizens were inclinable enough to take his advice; but a ſeditious Jew of that town, named John, the ſon of Levi, head of the faction and a vile fellow, oppoſed it, and, having the mob at his beck, overawed the whole city. That day being the ſabbath, this wretch begged but of Titus to forbear hoſtilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but inſtead of that fled to Jeruſalem, where he committed an infinite deal of miſchief. On the morrow the citizens came and ſurrendered themſelves, and told the Roman general of John's flight, begging of him that he would ſpare the guiltleſs, and only puniſh the factious, which he readily conſented to, and

[r] Ibid. l. iv. c. 1, & ſeq.

ſtant to their ſubjection to the Romans, ſo that Gamala and Giſchala were the two laſt towns in Galilee to be reduced.

and only ſent ſome of his horſe after the fugitives. But John had reached Jeruſalem, before they could overtake him; they killed, however, near ſix thouſand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thouſand women and children priſoners. The taking and garriſoning of this laſt place completed the conqueſt of Galilee, and Titus rejoined his father at Cæſarea, where they gave their troops ſome reſpite before they went to beſiege Jeruſalem [s].

Two parties in Judæa

THE Jewiſh nation by this time was divided into two very oppoſite parties: The one, foreſeeing, that this war, if continued, muſt end in the total ruin of their country, were for putting an effectual end to it, by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion to the Romans: The other, which was the ſpawn of the Gauloniti ſh incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confuſion, and cruelty, oppoſed all peaceable meaſures with an invincible obſtinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, conſiſted of men of the vileſt and moſt abandoned profligate character that ever hiſtory could parallel.

A character of the zealots.

They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the moſt horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if Joſephus's character of them may be credited, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men, who had any ſenſe left of goodneſs and humanity. They covered, however, their helliſh brutality with the ſpacious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming everywhere, that it was offering the greateſt diſhonour to him to ſubmit to any earthly potentate, much more to the Romans and heathens; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themſelves, under the ſtricteſt obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority, or periſhed in the attempt [t] (X). This obliged the contrary party to riſe up

[s] Ibid. c. 4. [t] Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. ad fin. l. v. c. 1, & ſeq.

(X) This dreadful diſſenſion was not confined to Jeruſalem, but had infected all the cities, towns, and villages of Paleſtine. Even houſes and families were ſo divided againſt each other, that, as our Saviour had expreſsly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (26), a man's greateſt enemies were often thoſe of his own family and houſhold (27).

(26) Matth. xxiv. paſſ Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 5, & ſeq. (27) Matth. x. 36. Luke xii. 52, & ſeq.

up likewiſe in arms in their own defence againſt thoſe hell-hounds, from whom, however, they ſuffered unſpeakably more, than they did even from the exaſperated Romans, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Their horrid butcheries. Year of the flood 3065. Of Chriſt 70 67.

THE zealots began to exerciſe their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and maſſacring all that oppoſed them in the countries round about; after which they eaſily entered Jeruſalem, with Zechariah and Eleazar at their head. Here they were, at firſt, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the late high-prieſt Ananus (Y), whoſe zeal upon this occaſion Joſephus highly commends. That pontiff made a pathetic ſpeech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms againſt thoſe factious villains, who had by this time ſeized upon the temple and made it their garriſon, from which they ſallied out to commit the vileſt outrages and butcheries. He eaſily perſuaded them to follow his advice, upon which they went and armed themſelves, and returned in a ſtrong body, and made a vigorous attack againſt them. The engagement was fierce and obſtinate on both ſides, and laſted a conſiderable time. At length, Ananus forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them cloſely beſieged. We have already taken notice of a vile demagogue, John of Giſchala, who had fled lately from this laſt place to Jeruſalem, and was at the head of the ſeditious; this wretch, under pretence of taking the intereſt of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the zealots.

Seize the temple.

(Y) He had been depoſed about ſix years before, as we have already ſeen, and ſucceeded by ſeveral others. Matthias the ſon of Theophilus was now in that dignity, to which he had been raiſed a year or two before by king Agrippa (28); but the ſeditious in the temple took it into their heads to chuſe another in his ſtead, which they did by caſting lots firſt for the twenty-four claſſes, in which the twelfth was taken, and in that, upon one Phannias, a man wholly unfit for it, and whom they were forced to teach the manner of performing his office.

This unprecedented boldneſs, joined to their maſſacres and other pollutions of the temple, and even of the very ſanctuary, gave ſuch offence, not to the prieſts only, but to all the religious Jews, that they ſought from that time for ſome means of ridding themſelves of their tyranny, whilſt the zealots crew made a jeſt of them, and of every thing that was ſacred, ſerious, or humane.

(28) Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. ult.

zealots. Ananus, not ſuſpecting his treachery (Z), ſent him to offer the beſieged ſome fair terms of accommodation; inſtead of which, when he came to them, he perſuaded them to hold out, and call the Idumeans to their aſſiſtance. They did ſo, and procured twenty thouſand of them to come to their relief; but when theſe approached the metropolis, Ananus refuſed them entrance, and exhorted them in a civil and friendly manner to retire into their own country; at which they were ſo exaſperated, that they accuſed him of being in the Roman intereſt, and juſt going to betray the city to them. They ſet down before the walls for that day, threatening Ananus and Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel, another depoſed high-prieſt, in the ſevereſt terms, if they did not open their gates to them [u].

Invite the Idumeans.

On that very night there happened ſuch a dreadful ſtorm, accompanied with thunder and lightening, and a violent earthquake, that the zealots, from within the inner court, ſawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates, without being heard, forced the guards of the beſiegers, and ſallied into the city, and let in the Idumeans [w]. Theſe two parties, thus joined and ſtrengthened, began to commit the moſt horrid and unheard-of murders and butcheries on the oppoſite ſide. Barely to put them to any ſpeedy death, was what they thought too mild a puniſhment; they muſt have the pleaſure to murder them by inches; ſo that they made it now their diverſion to put them to the moſt exquiſite tortures that could be invented, neither could they be prevailed upon to diſpatch them till the violence of their torments had rendered them quite incapable of feeling them. Twelve thouſand perſons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave Ananus (A) and Jeſus the ſon of Gamaliel, who had ſo nobly.

Horrid butcheries committed.

[u] Ibid. l, iv. c. 5, 6. [w] cap. 7.

(Z) Such was their infatuation, that this wretch, who had ſkrewed himſelf into all their councils, and betrayed them to the zealots, had behaved with ſuch an affected integrity, that few of them ſuſpected him; and when ſome of the council began to queſtion his counterfeited zeal, they were over-ruled by the reſt, who contented themſelves with making him ſwear, that he would be true to them; which gave him all the opportunity of ruining them that he could deſire.

(A) We have obſerved elſewhere, that he was the ſon of Annas mentioned in the goſpel: It was he that cauſed St. James to be

bly oppoſed them. In a word, the zealots fury and cruelty was grown to ſuch a height, that the whole nation trembled at their very name; none dared be ſeen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their neareſt relations, nor even to give them burial [x].

THE Idumeans crying out ſhame at length at the maſſacring of ſuch numbers of worthy perſons indiſcriminately, the zealots began to ſet up a kind of court judicature, to judge thoſe they ſhould think guilty with ſome ſhew of juſtice. Zechariah the ſon of Baruch (B) was one of the firſt who was brought before this mock court, which conſiſted of ſeventy-two perſons. They brought a black catalogue of accuſations againſt him, which he not only refelled with great eaſe and plainneſs, but reminded them of their own black and helliſh crimes, with ſuch noble courage and in ſuch lively colours, that the conſciouſneſs of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at which the zealots were ſo exaſperated, that they murdered him on the ſpot, bidding him at the ſame time to take that abſolution at their hands, which would prove ſurer to him than that of his judges; after which they drove theſe out

Zechariah murdered in the temple.

[x] Lib. v. c. 1.

be caſt down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other caſes, he was a brave man, and the only perſon almoſt that had courage and conduct enough left to ſtem the tide, and to reſtore peace to the nation; and it was for this reaſon that the zealots cut him off.

(B) This brave and worthy perſon is by many chriſtian commentators ſuppoſed the ſame with the Zechariah the ſon of Barachiah, ſaid by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (29). It is indeed objected, that he ſpeaks there of him, as of a perſon long ſince put to death; but it is replied, that he ſpake prophetically, and, according to the prophetic ſtyle, made uſe of the preſent for the future. And it muſt be owned, that unleſs theſe two hiſtorians ſpeak of the ſame perſon, it will be difficult to find out the Zechariah mentioned in the goſpel, the laſt of thoſe juſt perſons, the ſhedding of whoſe blood was to fill up the meaſure of the Jews iniquities.

We ſhall not enter into the merit of the controverſy, but refer our readers to thoſe who have writ upon it, and which the reader will find in the margin (30).

(29) Matth. xxiii. 35. (30) Vid. Grot. Hamm. Le Clerc, Beza, Tremel. L. de Dieu, & Fabric. Apocr. N. T. not in Protevang. Jacob.

out of their ſeats as perſons unfit for their purpoſe. They threw the body of Zechariah out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the ſide of it; and the Idumeans, aſhamed to act any longer in concert with ſuch bloody aſſaſſins, retired into their own country, after having ſet at liberty two thouſand of their priſoners, and left the zealots to reign in their cruelties without any further reſtraint. From this time theſe bloody hell-hounds, who were glad at heart to ſee their backs turned upon them, gave themſelves a looſe to all manner of barbarities; and as nothing rendered a man more dreadful to them than the bare ſuſpicion of his being honeſt or virtuous, ſo they made the greateſt havock among all that had the leaſt pretence to that character [y].

THEIR rage did not ſtop there; but, after having butchered all the perſons of any diſtinction or character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once ſeemed to oppoſe them: to be unactive, was to be a ſpy on them; and not to applaud their vileſt actions, was to be diſaffected; and to be either rich, or ſuſpected to be ſo, or even having the misfortune of being diſliked by them, was crime enough to deſerve death [z]. This obliged many of the Jews to forſake Jeruſalem and to take ſhelter under the Romans, though the gates and avenues of the city were ſo cloſely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire to them, and as many as were caught doing ſo were put to immediate death. All this while Veſpaſian, who was at Cæſarea, remained a kind of idle ſpectator afar off of the diſmal condition of the Jewiſh nation. His officers, amazed at this ſo unuſual inaction, took the liberty to remind him, what pity it was he ſhould thus neglect the moſt favourable opportunity of making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem and all Paleſtine. Veſpaſian, who had a longer head than they, ſoon made them ſenſible, that his continuing thus idle in Cæſarea was the moſt probable means of effecting the conqueſt they were ſpeaking of, with the leaſt difficulty and hazard of his own troops; ſince the Jewiſh ſtrength dwindled daily more and more by their inteſtine broils and maſſacres, whilſt his own men, after enjoying ſo long a refreſhment, would be the better able to cruſh them into ſubmiſſion or death [a] (C).

Veſpaſian ſtays at Cæſarea.

EVERY

[y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. in fin. [a] Ibid c 2.

(C) The event ſhewed that he reaſoned like a conſummate general; for thoſe cruelties did not only thin the enemy, but forced

The zealots divided into two factions,

EVERY thing ſucceeded to his wiſh. The zealots, after having maſſacred or driven away the oppoſite party, began to turn their bloody ſwords againſt each other. John of Giſchala, a wretch of unparallelled ambition, could not brook that any ſhould ſhare the command with him; and, in order to make himſelf abſolute, drew the moſt profligate of the zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who oppoſed him with no ſmall heat, made another faction, ſo that they were ever either ſkirmiſhing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilſt things went thus on from bad to worſe in the city, there aroſe a new gang of ſicarii in the country, who having ſeized the ſtrong fortreſs of Maſſada, made it their place of retreat. Theſe plundered, burned, and maſſacred every-where, and carried their plunder into that place. They had at their head one Simon the ſon of Gorias, a bold ambitious young man, a native of Gelaſa, who, to encreaſe his party, cauſed a proclamation to be diſperſed, in which he promiſed free liberty to all the ſlaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen, that ſhould come over to him. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and he ſaw his party in a very little time ſwelled into a conſiderable army, and himſelf as reſpected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many Jews of diſtinction, as well as others

Simon head of the ſicarii.

forced a vaſt many of the zealots away to the Romans by reaſon of ſome diſſenſions which began to reign among them, and in ſpight of the danger of being caught in the way.

Among their cruel executions of theſe, there was one Niger, a Peraite or native of Perea, a perſon of diſtinction, who had ſignalized himſelf in their former wars againſt the Romans; who, together with the brave Gorion, was ſeized, and dragged ſhamefully out of the city; where the former, finding his death inevitable, only begged that his body might be afterwards buried. But the mercileſs wretches refuſing to grant him even that, he addreſſed himſelf to heaven, and prayed, that the Romans might at length come, and wreak their direct vengeance on thoſe murderers. His words were looked upon as prophetical; but Joſephus mentions ſome other oracles, which had long ago foretold the total ruin of that nation as well as deſtruction of the city and temple. Whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of Zechariah, will be apt enough to think, that the Jewiſh hiſtorian had an eye to them (31), among the many others we could name to the ſame purpoſe.

(31) Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, in fin. cap. 1.

others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themſelves under his protection from the cruelty of the other parties [b].

Whilst theſe things were tranſacting in Judæa, Nero, having been declared an enemy to Rome by the ſenate, left both it and the world to avoid the more ſhameful puniſhment decreed againſt him [c], as ſhall be further ſhewn in the Roman hiſtory. Veſpaſian, who was yet ignorant of it, and did not give great heed to Joſephus's prediction of his becoming emperor, was making great preparations againſt the revolted Jews and for the ſiege of Jeruſalem, whilſt Simon, at the head of a good army, was making war againſt the zealots. Theſe laſt, having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition Simon had got, in order to come and inveſt them, began to think it high time to try to diſperſe his forces by a vigorous ſally. They did ſo, and were defeated and put to flight; but Simon, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough yet to beſiege Jeruſalem, went to invade Idumea with an army of twenty thouſand men. The Idumeans marched againſt him with twenty-five thouſand, which was all they could get in that ſhort time. A fierce battle enſued, which laſted from morning till night, by which time it could ſcarcely be gueſſed which ſide had had the better. But Simon found means ſoon after to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous Idumean (D), who having got the command of their forces, delivered them up to him, as had been agreed between them. Simon put all to fire and ſword, and, by the conqueſt of that province, became more dreadful than ever to the zealots; who from that time did not dare to come out

Nero's death. Year of the flood 3066. Of Chriſt 71 68.

Idumea invaded by Simon.

Betrayed to him.

[b] Ibid. c. 3, & ſeq. [c] Sueton. in Neron. c. 40. Tacit. hiſt. l. i.

(D) This miſcreant, whoſe name was James, was one of the Idumean chiefs, and was ſent by the reſt to reconnoitre the enemy and know the number of their forces. He ſet out from the Idumean camp at Oltura, and privately agreed with Simon to deliver up the army and country to him, on condition he ſhould be treated with honour; which being promiſed, he returned to his camp, and there repreſented the enemy's army as vaſtly more numerous and ſtrong than it really was; by which means he eaſily obtained the command, and compaſſed his treacherous deſign (32).

(32) Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 7.

out againſt him, but contented themſelves with laying ambuſhes againſt him in all the paſſes, in one of which they took his wife priſoner. They were on the ſudden ſtrangely elated at their ſucceſs, not doubting but they ſhould now eaſily force him to lay down his arms, in order to get her releaſed to him. But it happened quite otherwiſe; for Simon no ſooner heard the news, than he poſted with his army to the very gates of Jeruſalem, where he committed ſuch cruelties, and threatened the enemy into ſuch a fright, that they were glad to ſend him his wife again, after which he left them to go and ruin the ſad remains of Idumea. Theſe miſerable wretches, ſeeing the devaſtations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take ſhelter at Jeruſalem, and were purſued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis [d].

THUS Simon without, and John within, ſeemed to ſtrive which ſhould outdo the other in cruelties and in the moſt unheard-of crimes; whilſt thoſe that fell into either hands were ſure to be butchered without mercy; inſomuch, that there was now no ſafe place either in city or country. John had hitherto tyranniſed within at the head of his blood-hounds with uncommon ſucceſs, when the Idumeans, who were left in the city and were of his party, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted againſt him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace (E), and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time, the people, having taken a notion that he would ſally out in the night and ſet fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worſe than the diſeaſe, which was to open the city gates, and let in Simon with the troops to oppoſe thoſe of John and his zealots. Matthias, the then high-prieſt, againſt whom theſe laſt had ſet up an obſcure prieſt into that dignity, promoted the deſign, without troubling himſelf

[d] Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 7.

(E) This palace had, it ſeems, been built there by the princeſs Grapta, couſin to Izates king of Adiabene, of whom we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the laſt volume *.

As for the horrid crimes and beſtialities of the zealots within, as well as of Simon without, they are of ſo ſhocking a nature, that we ſhall paſs them by in ſilence. Thoſe that can read them without horror, may ſee them in the Jewiſh hiſtorian (33).

* Vol. ix. p. 635, & ſeq.

(33) Bell. Jud. ibid. & ſeq. ad c. 9.

himself about the consequences of it, and was sent to acquaint Simon with it. Simon was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care now was to render his strength as great, and authority as absolute, as he could. To this end he looked indifferently on those that had invited him in, and those against whom he was called, and soon began to exert his cruelty against them equally, though the former had received him, with great honours and universal acclamations, as their future deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a nature to scare a wretch that had discarded all natural and civil virtues, to abandon himself to the most monstrous vices. He made, however, a bold assault against John and his party; but being as stoutly repulsed, he contented himself for the present with keeping them closely besieged in the temple [e].

Gadara surrendered.

THE Romans, on the other hand, had not stood idle all this last year; but being invited by the inhabitants of Gadara, one of the strongest places on that side of Jordan, had sent Placidus to take possession of it. He was forced to fight his way through several stout bodies of the factious who opposed him. He killed about fifteen thousand of them, as they were endeavouring to pass that river, besides a great number of others, whom he defeated at several encounters, and many more made prisoners. In a word, Placidus bestirred himself so well, that he soon reduced all that part of Judæa which lies on the east side of the Jordan, except the castle of Machæron. All this was done in the winter. In the beginning of the spring, Vespasian, marched out of Cæsarea, and penetrated near half of Idumea, plundering and burning every place he came through, except such as he thought expedient to leave with a Roman garrison to keep the country in awe [f].

Idumea wasted.

SOME months before this time, Vespasian received the news of Nero's death, and of Galba's being chosen his successor; upon which he immediately dispatched his son Titus to Rome, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the reduction of Judæa. Agrippa desired him to bear him company, but the winter not being quite over and their ships being of a large bulk, they sailed so slowly, that they were got no farther than Achaia, when they received the news of Galba's being murdered, after a seven months reign, and Otho's being proclaimed in his room. Agrippa resolved to continue his voyage, but Titus, as by some divine impulse, was now come back to rejoin his father at Cæsarea, whither he

[e] Ibid. c. 9. [f] Ibid. cap. 3.

Year of the good 3066. of Chriſt 73 78

he was returned after his Idumean expedition [g]. They left Cæſarea on the fifth of June, and led their army towards Jeruſalem, and took every place in their way thither, except Herodion, Macheron, and Maſſada, whilſt Cerealis, one of their chief generals, was laying waſte the upper Idumea with a conſiderable number of troops.

WHILST Judæa was thus miſerably torn with a foreign, and with their inteſtine wars, the Roman empire was in as bad a plight with their own. We ſhall not anticipate on the Roman hiſtory, ſo far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Suetonius [h] compares Rome to a veſſel toſſed about by contrary winds, and ready at every moment to ſink, when Veſpaſian was happily choſen emperor, and reſtored a calm to the empire. Joſephus now reaped the benefit of his former predictions, and that emperor recalling them to mind, thought it high time now not only to give him his liberty, but recompenſe him for his faithfulneſs to him with many ſignal favours [i] (F). As ſoon as Veſpaſian had received the news that his election had been confirmed at Rome, he left the beſt of his troops with his ſon, with orders to go and beſiege Jeruſalem and to deſtroy it utterly; after which he prepared himſelf to return to the capital of his empire.

Veſpaſian choſen emperor.

Joſephus ſet at liberty.

ALL this while the Jewiſh diſſenſions encreaſed, and Eleazar, the ſon of another Simon, a perſon of the ſacerdotal order

Three factions in Jeruſalem.

[g] Tacit. Sueton. ubi ſupra. bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 8, & ſeq.
[h] In vit. Veſpaſ. [i] Ubi ſupra, cap. 12.

(F) Veſpaſian was then at Berytus, where vaſt numbers of embaſſadors came crouding to compliment him on his election, and to offer him the uſual crowns and letters of ſubmiſſion. Here he held a grand council, wherein having highly extolled the courage of the Jewiſh chief, he related to them how he had foretold his coming to the empire even during Nero's life.

Titus, who was there preſent and had conceived a great eſteem for him, declared, that it would be an action worthy his goodneſs and juſtice to grant him his liberty, to knock off his fetters, and to reſtore him to the rank and condition which he enjoyed before his captivity; it being the cuſtom of the Romans to break the bonds of thoſe who had been unjuſtly detained in them. Veſpaſian approved his propoſal, and cauſed it to be put in execution out of hand; and Joſephus not only gained his liberty by it, but got the reputation of a prophet, and was in high credit in the Roman army ever after (34).

(34) Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 2.

order and of great ſenſe and courage, found means to form a new party, and to draw a conſiderable number of John of Giſchala's men to him, under pretence, that this laſt was become ſo inhuman and tyrannic, that it was dangerous to let him lord it any longer over them. With this new party he ſeized on the court of the prieſts, and confined John to that of the Iſraelites. Eleazar kept the avenues ſo well guarded, that none were admitted to come into that part of the temple, but thoſe who came thither to offer ſacrifices, and it was by theſe offerings chiefly that he maintained himſelf and his men. John by this means found himſelf hemmed by two powerful enemies, Eleazar above (G), and Simon, who was maſter of the city, below. He defended himſelf againſt the former by his engines (H), out of which he kept ſtill throwing ſtones into his court; and when he ſallied out againſt the latter, he ſet all on fire where-ever he could reach, by which he deſtroyed great quantities of corn and other proviſions, with which they might otherwiſe have held out a ſiege ſeveral years. Thus were theſe three factions ever watching all advantages againſt each other. Simon had the greateſt number of troops and a ſtore of arms and proviſions, his army conſiſting of ten thouſand zealots and five thouſand Idumeans; but

Their condition and advantages.

(G) We have formerly obſerved in our deſcription of this ſtately building, that the innermoſt court was raiſed conſiderably above the reſt, having a terraſs and nineteen ſteps to aſcend to the area of it *.

(H) John had luckily found a great quantity of large cedar trees, which king Agrippa had cauſed to be brought from Libanus at a vaſt charge, to raiſe the temple twenty cubits higher than it was, or perhaps that part which we obſerved in the note laſt quoted to have been ſunk that number of cubits through the weakneſs of the foundation; but his project was ſet aſide by reaſon of the war.

John, having poſſeſſion of this court, ſoon put this timber to other uſes, and cauſed towers and other engines to be made with it, in order to beſiege his competitor within; and indeed he ceaſed not haraſſing him, but whilſt he was forced to defend himſelf againſt Simon, who beſieged him from without. The flight of ſteps and terrace mentioned in the laſt note not permitting him to bring his towers near enough to the wall of the inner cincture, he was projecting to have removed them towards the weſtern ſide, where the ground was all plain; but providence ſo ordered it, that Titus began the ſiege of the city before he could compaſs it, which made him ſet his project aſide.

* See before, pag. 310 ſub not.

he was the moſt diſadvantageouſly ſituated of the three. John had the advantage over him in this laſt reſpect, but had but ſix thouſand men, and was forced to get proviſions for them by his conſtant ſallies. He was ſuperior to Eleazar in number of men; this laſt having but about two thouſand four hundred. But he was more ſtrongly ſituated, and was continually ſupplied with proviſions, by the continual offerings which the people brought to the temple, and which they often abuſed by luxury and drunkenneſs [k].

This was the ſad diſtracted ſtate of Jeruſalem, when Titus marched his army againſt it. He had, beſides the three legions which had ſerved under his father, the fifth legion, which had been ſo ſadly handled by the Jews in Ceſtius's time, and now burned with a deſire of revenge. Beſides theſe, Agrippa, Soemus, and Antiochus, the two former of whom accompanied him in perſon, and ſome allied cities, had furniſhed him with twenty regiments of foot and eight of horſe, beſides vaſt multitudes of Arabs, and a choice number of perſons of diſtinction from Italy and other places, who came to ſignalize themſelves under his ſtandards. Titus ordered the fifth legion to take the road of Emmaus, the tenth that of Jericho, the other two legions marched after him in the order, which the reader will find in the margin [l] (I). It was now the beginning of April and near the feaſt of the paſſover

[k] Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 1. [l] Ibid. in fin. & cap. 2.

(I) Joſephus, who was an eye-witneſs of it, becauſe he was ſtill ordered to follow the emperor, gives it to us as follows *:

The auxiliaries marched firſt, and were followed by the pioneers, whoſe buſineſs was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-maſters, who marked out their encampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army under a ſufficient eſcort.

Titus came next, attended with his guard and a ſelect body of troops, followed by a body of horſe, who marched juſt before the warlike engines; and after theſe came the tribunes and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a choſen number of troops. Then appeared the Roman eagle, ſurrounded with the enſigns of the ſeveral legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets ſounding, and followed by the mean body, which marched in rank and file ſix in a front. Laſtly, came the ſutlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, which cloſed the whole march. In this order they came to Gophna, which had a Roman garriſon, and on the next day to Gibbeath-ſaul, about thirty ſtades, or three miles and a half, from Jeruſalem.

* Ibid. c. 1. in fin.

over, to which there was a greater reſort of Jews this year, than had ever been known, even from beyond the Euphrates (K).

TITUS being advanced ſo near the city, went himſelf to reconnoitre its ſtrength and avenues, attended only with ſix hundred horſe; he ſeemed even to flatter himſelf, that, upon his firſt appearance, the peaceable part of the Jews would open Titus's army. Year of the flood 3066. Of Chriſt 73 or 68.

(K) The chiefs of the Jews in Paleſtine had written, it ſeems, to invite all their brethren every where, not doubting but their preſence and great concourſe would contribute to quell the factions within, as well as oppoſe the Romans without; ſo that they came flocking to this ſolemnity from all parts of the world.

But it ſeems as if they were directed thither by the hand of providence to ſuffer the puniſhment of their ſins, the bulk of the nation being there, as it were, ſhut up in a priſon, to add to that of the deſtroying ſword, the dreadful plagues of famine and peſtilence, which ſhortly after devoured them. Joſephus reckons eleven hundred thouſand that died during the ſiege.

They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, or courage, or any thing but experience to make a brave defence; but this they made up by their invincible obſtinacy and deſpair. Their city was ſtrongly ſituate by nature, ſurrounded with three ſtout walls, and many a ſtately and ſtrong tower. The firſt or old wall, which by reaſon of its vaſt thickneſs was looked upon as impregnable, had ſixty of theſe towers, very lofty, firm, and ſtrong. The ſecond had fourteen, and the third eighty. The former of theſe, beſides its extraordinary height and thickneſs, was raiſed on a high and ſteep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and ſtrong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty-three ſtades, or four thouſand one hundred and twenty-five geometric paces, or near four of our miles.

Beſides theſe vaſt fortifications, there were ſeveral other caſtles of extraordinary ſtrength, ſuch as thoſe of Hippicos, Phazael, Mariamne, and Antonia; to ſay nothing of the royal, and ſome other ſtately and well-fortified palaces. The temple ſtill exceeded all the reſt in ſtrength, both for ſituation, its walls, towers, and other buildings, and was at leaſt equal to the beſt citadels then in being (35). Yet how inſufficient did all theſe, and the vaſt quantities of arms, ammunition, &c. prove, to ſave a nation, whom the divine juſtice had doomed to the moſt dreadful deſtruction! Well might Titus, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible ſtrength of it, cry out, "that God muſt have certainly fought for him, ſince no human power or ſtrength was equal to that which they had now overcome."

(35) See Joſephus, ibid. ch. 6.

pen the gates to him; but to his ſurprize, the factious made ſo ſudden and vigorous a ſally againſt him, that he found himſelf quite ſurrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, his cavalry ſevered from him, ſo that he had no other way left to eſcape their fury, but to make a deſperate puſh and break his way through them; which he at length, almoſt by a miracle, happily accompliſhed, even without receiving any wound, or loſing more than two of his men [m]. After this narrow eſcape, he cauſed his army to draw near to Scopas, within ſeven ſtades of the city, in order to beſiege it in form, whilſt the factious within were applauding themſelves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future ſucceſs. His legion, which had come by the way of Jericho, being arrived, he ordered it to encamp on the mount of olives, which was parted from the town on the eaſt by the brook Cedron, and where they were on the ſudden ſo furiouſly aſſaulted by the beſieged, that they were in danger of being cut all in pieces, had not Titus come timely to their reſcue (L).

Jeruſalem beſieged.

It was then that the three factions, ſeeing themſelves beſieged by ſo powerful an army and ſo brave a general, began to think of laying aſide all private feuds and join together in a vigorous defence againſt the common enemy. This union, however, proved but ſhort-lived; for on the fourteenth of April, which was uſhering in the paſſover, when Eleazar had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourſe that came thither to ſacrifice, John of Giſchala found means to ſlide in ſome of his men with ſwords hid under their cloaks among them, who immediately drew their weapons, fell on Eleazar's party and the reſt of the people, filled the court of the prieſts with blood and horrid outcries, and took poſſeſſion of the place. By this bloody and impious ſtratagem the three factions were reduced to two, Eleazar's men being all either cut off, or after their flight were returned with their chief and had ſubmitted themſelves to John, who had now no enemy

[m] Ibid. ad. fin.

(L) Dio adds to what we read in Joſephus, that Titus had many ſuch a bloody encounter with the beſieged under the walls, in which both ſides fought ſo valiantly, that it was not eaſy to ſay which had the better; but that the Jews were at length repulſed, and gave thereby an opportunity to the enemy to open the ſiege (36).

(36) lib. lxvi. Vid. & Tacit. hiſt. l. v. c. 11

but Simon within the walls. From that time this laſt renewed his hoſtilities againſt him with greater vigour: he held now the whole temple, ſome of the out parts of it, and the valley of Cedron. Simon had the whole city to range in, in ſome parts of which John had made ſuch devaſtation, that they ſerved them for a field of battle; from which they ſallied unanimouſly againſt the common enemy, whenever occaſion ſerved, after which they returned to their uſual hoſtilities, turning their arms againſt each other, as if they had ſworn to make their ruin more eaſy to the Romans. Theſe in the mean time were drawing ſtill nearer to the walls, having with great labour and pains levelled all the ground between Scopas and them, by pulling down all the houſes and hedges, cutting down the trees, and even cleaving the rocks that ſtood in their way, from Scopas to the tomb of Herod and Bethara, alias the pool of ſerpents; in which work ſo many hands were employed, that they finiſhed it in four days [n].

John and Simon join againſt the enemy, and then fight againſt each other.

WHILST this work was doing, Titus ſent the beſieged ſome offers of peace; Joſephus was pitched upon to be the meſſenger of them, but they were rejected with indignation. On the morrow they made a ſhew of accepting them, inſomuch, that ſome of the Romans, believing them in earneſt, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly eſcaped with their lives. He ſent a ſecond time Nicanor and Joſephus with freſh offers, and the former received a wound in his ſhoulder; upon which Titus reſolved to begin the aſſault in good earneſt (M), and ordered his men to raze the ſuburbs, to cut down all the trees, and uſe the materials to raiſe platforms againſt the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour, the Romans began to play their engines againſt the city in good earneſt, and it was by one of theſe that Jeſus the ſon of Ananus, who had ſo long foretold the deſtruction of the Jewiſh nation, was killed [o].

The ſiege began in form.

Offers of peace rejected.

[n] Ibid. cap. 7. [o] Ibid.

(M) The place which Titus, after having taken a full view round the city, choſe to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-prieſt John, both becauſe it ſtood on the low ground, and becauſe the outer wall was low and not defended on that ſide by the middlemoſt; ſo that when the breach was made on the former, it was eaſy to penetrate to the latter, and ſo come up to, and make themſelves maſters of, the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortreſs Antonia.

THE Jews had likewiſe their machines upon the walls, which they plyed with uncommon fury: they had taken them lately from Ceſtius, when he retired ſo ſhamefully from them, but they were ſo ignorant in their uſe, that they made little execution with them, till they were better inſtructed by ſome Roman deſerters. Till then their chief ſucceſs was rather owing to their frequent ſallies; but the Roman legions, which had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havock. The leaſt ſtones they threw were near a hundred weight, and theſe they could throw the length of two ſtades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with ſuch force, that having overthrown thoſe that ſtood in the firſt rank, they could ſtill do miſchief on thoſe that ſtood at ſome diſtance behind them. Titus had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terraſs above-mentioned; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, did greatly alarm the Roman camp, which ran immediately to arms at the noiſe of it; but Titus upon knowing the cauſe, diſmiſſed them, and cauſed it to be ſet up again. Theſe towers being plated with iron, the Jews tried in vain to ſet fire to them, and were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their ſhot; by which the battering rams were now at full liberty to play againſt the wall. A breach was ſoon made in it, at which the Romans entered, and the Jews abandoning this laſt incloſure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty-eighth of April, a fortnight after the beginning of the ſiege [p].

The firſt wall broken and entered.

JOHN defended the temple and the caſtle of Antonia, and Simon the reſt of the city. Titus marched cloſe to the ſecond wall, and plied his battering rams againſt it ſo furiouſly, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a prodigious ſhake. The men that were in it made a ſignal to the Romans, as if they would ſurrender, and at the ſame time ſent Simon word to be ready to give them a warm reception. Titus having ſmelt their ſtratagem, plied his work more furiouſly, whilſt the Jews that were in the tower ſet it on fire, and flung themſelves into the flames. The tower being fallen gave them an entrance into the ſecond incloſure, five days after the gaining of the firſt; and Titus, who was bent on ſaving the city, would not ſuffer any part of the wall or ſtreets to be demoliſhed, which left the breach and lanes ſo narrow, that when his men were furiouſly repulſed by

The ſecond wall taken.

[p] Ibid. c. 8, & 9.

by Simon, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, ſo that there was a number of them killed in it. This overſight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with ſuch vigour, that the place was carried four days after their firſt repulſe [q].

Famine and peſtilence.

THE famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was ſoon followed by a peſtilence, and as theſe two dreadful judgments encreaſed, ſo did the rage of the factious, who, by their inteſtine feuds, had deſtroyed ſuch quantities of proviſion, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the moſt unheard of cruelty. They forced their houſes, and if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not appriſing them of it; and if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almoſt every-where the caſe, they put them to the moſt ſevere tortures, under pretence that they had ſome proviſion concealed [r]. "I ſhould, ſays Joſephus, undertake an impoſſible taſk, were I to enter into "a detail of all the cruelties of thoſe impious wretches; it "will be ſufficient to ſay, that I do not think, that, ſince "the creation, any city ever ſuffered ſuch dreadful calami-"ties, or abounded with men ſo fertile in all kind of "wickedneſs [s]."

TITUS, who knew their miſerable condition and was ſtill willing to ſpare them, gave them now four days to cool; during which he cauſed his army to be muſtered, and proviſions to be diſtributed to them in ſight of the Jews, who flocked upon the walls to ſee it; and it is thought, that even the moſt flagitious among the zealots were ſo frighted at the ſight of it, that they would have agreed to a ſurrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their black and horrid deeds made them quite deſpair of. Joſephus was ſent to ſpeak to them afreſh, and to exhort them not to run themſelves into an inevitable ruin, by obſtinately perſiſting in the defence of a place which could hold out but a very little while, and which the Romans looked upon already as their own. The reader may ſee his elaborate and pathetic ſpeech in the chapter laſt quoted, and which, he tells us, drew a flood of tears from him. His ſtubborn people, after many a bitter invective, fell a darting their arrows at him, at which not at all diſcouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect it wrought on them, was only, that it prevailed on great numbers to ſteal away privately to the Romans, whilſt the

Joſephus's ſpeech to the beſieged.

[q] Ibid. cap. 10. [r] cap. 11. [s] Ibid. in fin.

the reſt became only the more deſperate and reſolute to hold out to the laſt, in ſpite of Titus's merciful offers.

The city immured.

To haſten therefore to their deſtined ruin, he cauſed the city to be ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, to prevent their receiving any ſuccours or proviſion from abroad, or their eſcaping his reſentment by flight (N). There was now nothing to be ſeen through the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above-ground, walking ſkeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the Romans in their ſallies, Titus cauſed to be crucified in ſight of the town to inject a terror on the reſt; but the zealots gave it out, that they were thoſe that fled to him for protection. Which when Titus underſtood, he ſent a priſoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and aſſure them, that he ſpared all that voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were cloſely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand [t]. A greater miſchief than that was, that even thoſe, who eſcaped ſafe to the Roman camp were miſerably butchered by the ſoldiers, from a notion which theſe had taken, that they had ſwallowed great quantities of gold: inſomuch, that two thouſand of them were ripped up in one night to come at their ſuppoſed treaſure [u]. When Titus was appriſed of this barbarity he would have condemned all thoſe butchering wretches to death; but they proved ſo numerous, that he was forced to ſpare them, and contented himſelf with ſending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as ſhould be ſuſpected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, ſhould be put to immediate death; yet did not this deter many of them from it, only they did it more privately than before; ſo greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection encreaſed, more through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miſeries and dying groans of their ſtarving brethren the ſubject of their cruel mirth,

Horrid butcheries within and without.

[t] Ibid. c. 12, & ſeq. [u] cap. 15.

(N) This wall, which was near forty ſtades, or five miles in circuit, was yet carried on with ſuch ſpeed and by ſo many hands, that it was finiſhed in three days; by which one may gueſs at the ardour of the beſiegers to make themſelves maſter of the city (37).

(37) Ibid. c. 13.

mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the ſheathing of their ſwords in ſport on thoſe poor wretches, under pretence of trying their ſharpneſs.

When they found therefore, that neither their guards nor ſeverities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourſe to another ſtratagem equally impious and cruel; which was to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the deſpairing remains of the people to expect a ſpeedy and miraculous deliverance; and this impoſture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We ſhall not ſo far diſguſt our readers, as to mention what miſerable ſhifts theſe poor wretches made uſe of to prolong the ſad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathſome under ſuch circumſtances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to ſupport it [w]. It was upon this ſad and pinching juncture (O), that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child. This lady, whoſe name was Miriam or Mary, had taken refuge with a vaſt number of others in this accurſed city from the beginning of the war. As the famine encreaſed, the factious zealots, who, as we obſerved before, lived now altogether upon the plunder of the helpleſs, had often forced into her

False prophets ſet up.

A mother eats her own child.

[w] Ibid. l. vii. c. 7.

(O) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famiſhing condition they were now reduced to. The poor, having nothing to truſt to but the Romans mercy, or a ſpeedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city; and if, in their flight and wandering out for herbs, or any other ſuſtenance, they fell into the hands of any of Titus's parties, ſent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully ſcourged, and crucified, if they made the leaſt reſiſtance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, tho' in the privateſt manner, to give half, or all they were worth, for a meaſure of wheat, and the middling ſort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into ſome private places in their houſes, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much leſs, to boil or bake it, leſt the noiſe or ſmell ſhould draw the rapacious zealots to come and tear it from them. Not that theſe were reduced to any real want of proviſions, but they had a double end in this barbarous plunder, viz. the ſtarving what they cruelly ſtyled all uſeleſs perſons and the keeping their own ſtores in reſerve.

her houſe, and carried off ſuch proviſions as ſhe had been able to procure. She had often tried either by prayers to prevail on them, or by the bittereſt curſes to provoke them, to put an end to her miſerable life; but thoſe inhuman monſters ſtill thought it too great a mercy to be granted to her. Filled at length with fury and deſpair, ſhe ſnatches her ſucking child from her boſom, cuts his throat, and broils him; and having ſatiated her preſent hunger, ſhe hid the reſt. The ſmell of it ſoon drew thoſe voracious carrions again to her houſe; they threatened to put her to the moſt excruciating tortures, if ſhe did not diſcover her proviſions to them; upon which ſhe goes and fetches them the ſad relicts of her mangled infant, and ſets it before them, bids them eat heartily, and not be ſqueamiſh, ſince ſhe, the once tender mother of it, had made no ſcruple to butcher, dreſs, and make a meal of it. At the ſight of this horrid diſh thoſe bloody hell-hounds, who never had till then felt the leaſt ſpark of remorſe or humanity, were ſeized with ſuch ſudden dread, that they went off trembling out of the houſe, and left the aſtoniſhed mother in full poſſeſſion of her diſmal fare [x].

Titus ſwears the ruin of the city.

WHEN this news were ſpread through the city, the horror and conſternation was as univerſal as it was inexpreſſible. It was then, that they began to think themſelves forſaken by the divine providence, and to expect the moſt terrible effects of his anger againſt the poor remains of their nation; inſomuch that they began to envy thoſe that had periſhed before them, and to wiſh their turn might come before the ſad expected cataſtrophe. Their fears were but too juſt; ſince Titus, at the very firſt hearing of this inhuman deed ſwore the total extirpation of the city and people. Since, ſaid he, they have ſo often refuſed my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine, ſuch a dreadful one eſpecially, to plenty, I am determined to bury that curſed metropolis under its ruins, that the ſun my never ſhoot his beams on a city, where the mothers feed on the fleſh of their children, and the fathers, no leſs guilty than they, chuſe to drive them to ſuch extremities, rather than lay down their arms. In the like manner did that good-natured general expoſtulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he ſaw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, eſpecially at the ſight of ſuch vaſt numbers of dead bodies, which, for want

[x] cap. 8.

want of burying room, they were forced to throw down from their walls into the adjacent vallies; taking heaven to witneſs, that he was innocent of all thoſe horrid calamities which that infatuated nation had brought upon themſelves, and might have prevented by a timely ſubmiſſion [y] (P).

THIS dreadful action happened about the end of July, by which time the Romans, having purſued their attacks with freſh vigour, made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs Antonia; which obliged the Jews to ſet fire to thoſe ſtately galleries which joined it to the temple, leſt they ſhould afford an eaſy paſſage to the beſiegers into this laſt [z]. About the ſame time Titus with much difficulty got materials (Q) for raiſing new mounds and terraſſes, in order to haſten the ſiege, and ſave, if poſſible, the ſad remains of that once glorious city and nation; but his pity proved ſtill worſe and worſe beſtowed on thoſe obſtinate wretches, who only became the more furious and deſperate by it. Titus at length cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulſed with loſs. The Jews were ſo terrified at it, that they ſuffered themſelves to be devoured by the flames without putting a helping hand, either

Fort Antonia taken.

Gates ſet on fire.

[y] Ibid. in fin. [z] Ibid. cap. 5, & ſeq.

(P) We have thus epitomiſed at one view what Joſephus has ſcattered in ſeveral chapters of this and the foregoing book, of the dreadful effects of this famine, that it might not for the future interrupt the thread of the ſiege, and deſtruction of the city, temple, and nation, which we ſhall now haſten to bring to a concluſion.

All that needs be added to make up the ſad account of this calamity is, that even thoſe, who, at the hazard of their lives, got ſafe to the Romans and were well received of them, did for the generality meet with their deaths in the plenty of proviſions which they found there. Many of them expired with the meat in their mouths; others fell into dropſies and other diſtempers, or quite loſt the uſe of their limbs.

(Q) The greateſt part of thoſe that had ſerved hitherto for the ſiege, were either conſumed, or rendered unfit for ſervice. The ſuburbs and adjacent parts of Jeruſalem, which abounded with the moſt beautiful gardens, orchards, and greateſt variety of fruit and other trees, had been already ſtripped of all their ornaments to ſerve to the ſiege, and were now reduced into a wilderneſs. Titus therefore could not carry on his works with the ſame ſpeed and vigour, becauſe he was forced to ſend his men for freſh timber and other materials, at a great diſtance, even ſo far as ninety ſtades, or between eleven and twelve miles off.

either to extinguish them or save themselves [a]. About the same time Matthias the high-priest, who had encouraged the people to introduce Simon into the city, met with a requital worthy of that monster of cruelty, being first tortured and then condemned to death, together with three of his sons, the fourth having happily conveyed himself out of reach. The pretence was, their holding correspondence with the Romans, and the reverend old pontiff only begged as the last favour, that he might be put to death before his sons, but was denied both that and common burial. Ananias with about seventeen persons more of rank and merit, was put to death after them [b]; besides many more for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. All this while Josephus did not cease exhorting them to surrender, to represent to them the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and to assure them, that it was out of his mere compassion to them that he thus hazarded his own life to save theirs: he received one day such a wound in his head by a stone from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The Jews sallied out immediately to have seized on his body, but the Romans proved too quick and strong for them, and carried him off [c] (R).

Matthias put to death.

Josephus wounded.

By this time the two factions within, but especially that of John, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul also on the treasury of the temple, whence John took a great quantity of golden utensils he found there, together with those magnificent gifts that had been presented to that sacred

The temple plundered.

[a] cap. 9. [b] cap. 15. [c] Ibid.

(R) Josephus, by his own account, seems to have led but a sad life between the Romans, and his own countrymen. These looked upon him as a vile apostate, a traytor to his God and country: had imprisoned his (the Greek says, father, but the sequel shews it to have been his) mother, and made her suffer many hardships and would have spared no cruelties against him, if they could have caught him in their hands.

On the other side, the Roman officers looked upon him as a faithless wretch, who, under pretence of going to exhort the besieged to surrender, did what he could to encourage them to hold out to the last extremity; insomuch, that several of them did not scruple to accuse him before Titus of this double dealing; but happily for him, the general had conceived too good an opinion of him to harbour any such suspicion, and still vindicated him against his accusers (38).

(38) In vita sua.

ſacred place by the Jewiſh kings, by Auguſtus, Livia, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own uſe. The repoſitories of the ſacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reſerved to accompany the uſual ſacrifices, were likewiſe ſeized upon, and turned into common uſe, and the laſt of this to ſuch exceſs, as to make himſelf and his party drunk with it. All this while, not only the zealots, but many of the people, were ſtill under ſuch an infatuation, that though the fortreſs Antonia was loſt, as we hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the Romans were making ready to batter down, yet they could not perſuade themſelves, that God would ſuffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and were ſtill expecting ſome ſudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monſter John, who commanded there, either ſeemed confident of it, or elſe endeavoured to make them think him ſo. For when Joſephus was ſent for the laſt time to upbraid his obſtinately expoſing that ſacred building, and the miſerable remains of God's people, to ſudden and ſure deſtruction, he only anſwered him with the bittereſt invectives, adding, that he was defending the lord's vineyard, which he was ſure could not be taken by any human force. Joſephus did in vain remind him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple, and in particular of the ſeas of blood which he cauſed to be ſhed in both thoſe ſacred places, and which, he aſſured him from the old prophecies, were a certain ſign and fore-runner of their ſpeedy ſurrender and deſtruction (S). John remained as inflexible, as if all the prophets had aſſured him of a deliverance, which ſhews the ſad effects of a judicial infatuation. However, a great number of the people were ſo moved by Joſephus's diſcourſe, that they fled preſently after to the Romans, and amongſt them ſome perſons of rank and figure, particularly Joſeph the ſon of Cabbi and Jeſus the ſon of Damneus, who had been

The beſieged ſtill infatuated.

Joſephus's ſpeech to them.

(S) He alluded probably to the eleventh and following chapters of Zechary, of which we have given ſome hint a little higher; or it may be perhaps that he had an eye to the doom which Chriſt had pronounced againſt that murdering and apoſtate city, of which he ſaw the far greater part already accompliſhed enough to aſſure him of the reſt. For, as we have elſewhere obſerved, it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed, but that ſuch a man as Joſephus had more than once converſed with ſome chriſtians, who might have appriſed him of it, or, as an hiſtorian, he might have read it in ſome one of the goſpels.

been both high-prieſts. Titus gave them a gracious reception, and ſent them to Gophna, a place ſituated between Samaria, and Lydda, till the concluſion of the war; but he was forced to ſend for them back, and contradict a report, which the factious had cunningly ſpread, of their having been put to death [d].

At length Titus, forſeeing the inevitable ruin of that ſtately edifice, which he was ſtill extremely deſirous to ſave, vouchſafed even himſelf to ſpeak to them, and to perſuade them to ſurrender. But the factious, looking upon this condeſcenſion as the effects of his fear, rather than generoſity; only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at laſt to come to thoſe extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer paſſage towards it through the caſtle Antonia, he cauſed a conſiderable part of the wall to be pulled down and levelled, which proved ſo very ſtrong, that it took him up ſeven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of July.

The daily ſacrifice interrupted.

It was on the ſeventeenth day of that month, as all Joſephus's copies have it (T), that the daily ſacrifice ceaſed for the

[d] Cap. 16. † Sect. III. p. 135.

(T) A modern critic ſuppoſes an error to be in that date, and that it was originally written the ſeventh or tenth of that month (39). But beſides, that it is ſeventeen in all copies of Joſephus, the Jews have kept their faſts in memory of this ceſſation on that very day ever ſince (40).

This daily ſacrifice called by the Jews תָּמִיד Thamid, by the Greeks ἐνδελεχισμός, and by the Latins juge, conſiſted of two lambs, the one of which was offered in the morning towards ſunriſing, after the burning of the ſacred incenſe, and the other in the evening, or, as the Hebrew hath it, between the two evenings, that is, between three in the afternoon and ſun-ſetting. It was a burnt offering, and was therefore ſet on a ſlow fire, that it might be the longer in burning. We have ſpoken of it in a former volume †, to which we refer.

All that we need to add is, that if the Jews have appointed their faſts right, the ceaſing of it here was on the ſame day on which Moſes broke the two tables, the city of Jeruſalem was deſtroyed, the book of the law burnt by Aphſathomos (Epiſtemon) and the ſtatue of Jupiter ſet up in the temple, as the reader may ſee in the three authors laſt quoted.

(39) Tillemont. not. in ruin Jud. 35. (40) Vid. Mehillath, Tahanith, c. 12. part. ult. Maimon, Helcath, Tahanith, c. 5 Buxt. Synag. Jud. c. 30. † See Vol. iii. p. 230, 244, & (N).

the first time, since its restoration by the brave Maccabitish chief, mentioned in a former section †, there being no proper person left in the temple to offer them up. Titus caused the factious to be severely upbraided for it, exhorted John to set up whom he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the Roman troops [e]. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to set again on fire the gallery, that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle Antonia. The Jews, as we have hinted before, had already burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze which was likewise encouraged by the besieged, consumed about fourteen more; after which they beat down what remained standing. On the twenty-seventh of July, the Jews, having filled part of the western portico with combustible matter, made a kind of a flight, upon which some of the forwardest of the Romans having scaled up to the top, those set fire to it, which flamed with such sudden fury, that many of them were consumed in it, and the rest, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were crushed to death. Artorius was the only one that escaped by a stratagem [f] (U).

Romans outwitted.

On the very next day, Titus having set fire to the north gallery, which inclosed the outer court of the temple, from fort Antonia to the valley of Cedron got an easy admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He tried in vain six days to batter down one of the galleries of that precinct with an Helepolis (W); he was forced to mount his battering rams on the terrarss, which was raised by this time; and yet the strength of this wall was such, that it eluded the force of these also, though others of his troops were busy

Fire set to the temple gates.

† Sect. III. p. 135. [e] Ibid. l. vii. c. 4. [f] Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6.

(U) This soldier observing one of his companions below, named Lucius, promised to make him his heir, if he would catch him in his fall. He did so, and saved Artorius, but was himself crushed by his weight (41).

(W) This was a kind of battering engine, its name signifies "a town-taker." We have described it in a former volume *.

(41) Bell. ibid. lib. vii c. vi. * Vol. vii p. 419, & ix. p. 416, (B)

buſy in ſapping it. When they found that neither rams nor ſapping could gain ground, they bethought themſelves of ſcaling, but were vigorouſly repulſed, and with the loſs of ſome colours and a number of men. When Titus therefore found that his deſire of ſaving that building was like to coſt ſo many lives, he ſet fire to the gates, which being plated with ſilver, burnt all that night, whilſt the metal dropped down in the melting. The flame ſoon communicated itſelf to the porticos and galleries, which the beſieged beheld without offering to ſtop it, but contented themſelves with ſending whole vollies of impotent curſes againſt the Romans. This was done on the eight of Auguſt, and on the next day, Titus, having given orders to extinguiſh the fire, called a council, to determine whether the remainder of the temple (X) ſhould be ſaved or demoliſhed. That general was ſtill for the former, and moſt of the reſt declared for the latter, and alledged, that it was no longer a temple, but a ſcene of war and ſlaughter, and that the Jews would never be at reſt, as long as any part of it was left ſtanding; but when they found Titus ſtifly bent on preſerving ſo noble an edifice, againſt which he told them he could have no quarrel, they all came over to his mind. The next day, Auguſt the 10th, was therefore determined for a general aſſault, and the night before the Jews made two deſperate ſallies on the Romans, in the laſt of which, theſe, being timely ſuccoured by Titus, beat them back into their incloſure [g].

Titus calls a council.

The temple ſet on fire.

But whether this laſt Jewiſh effort exaſperated the beſiegers, or which is more likely, as Joſephus thinks, puſhed by the hand of providence, one of the Roman ſoldiers of his own accord, took up a blazing firebrand, and, getting on his comrade's ſhoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that ſurrounded the ſanctuary, through a window, and immediately ſet the whole north-ſide on a flame up to the third ſtory, in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, the twenty-firſt of king Agrippa, and on the ſame fatal day and month in

[g] Ibid. c. 9, & 10.

(X) That is, the ſanctuary and moſt holy place, with all the chambers, galleries, &c. thereto belonging, as the reader may ſee them deſcribed in a former ſection. Among thoſe who were for deſtroying it was Tiberius Alexander, probably the ſame apoſtate Jew, who had been prætor of Judæa, and was now commander of the Roman legions.

in which it had been formerly burnt by Nebuchadnezzar [h]. Titus, who was gone to reſt himſelf a-while in his pavilion, was awaked at the noiſe, and ran immediately to give orders to have the fire extinguiſhed. He called, prayed, threatened, and even caned his men in vain; the confuſion was ſo great, and the ſoldiers ſo obſtinately bent upon deſtroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded. Thoſe that flocked thither from the camp, inſtead of obeying his orders, were buſy, either in killing the Jews, or in encreaſing the flames. When Titus obſerved, that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the ſanctuary and the moſt holy place, in which he found ſtill ſuch rich and ſumptuous utenſils and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he ſaved the golden candleſtick, the table of ſhew-bread, the altar of prefumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tiſſue; but in the latter, he found no utenſils, becauſe, in all probability, they had not made a freſh ark, ſince that of Solomon had been loſt. Upon his coming out of that ſacred place, ſome other ſoldiers ſet fire to it, and obliged thoſe who had ſtayed behind to come out; they all fell foul of the plunder of it, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber work, and carried off all the coſtly utenſils, robes, &c. they found in it, inſomuch, that there was not one of them that did not enrich himſelf by it [i].

Titus enters into the ſanctuary.

A HORRID maſſacre followed ſoon after, in which a great many thouſands periſhed, ſome by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's ſword, which deſtroyed all it met with, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality. Among them were upwards of ſix thouſand perſons, who had been ſeduced thither by a falſe prophet, who promiſed them, that they ſhould find a ſpeedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themſelves at the general's mercy; but were anſwered, that they had out-ſtayed the time, and were led to execution (Y). They carried their fury to the

A horrid maſſacre.

[h] Conf. 2 Kings xxv. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra, c. 9. in fin.
[i] Ibid. & ſeq.

(Y) Probably to be crucified; for Joſephus tells us there, that in his return from Tekoah, he obſerved a number of them faſten-

ed

burning of all the treaſure-houſes of the place, though they were full of the richeſt furnitures, plate, veſtments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in thoſe places for ſecurity. In a word, they did not ceaſe burning and butchering, till they had deſtroyed all, except two of the temple gates and that part of the court which was deſtined for the women †. In memory of this deſtruction, and of that of Nebuchadnezzar, they keep a ſolemn faſt on the ninth of the month Ab, anſwering in part to our Auguſt, which laſts full twenty-four hours, during which time they neither eat, drink, or uſe the leaſt refreſhment; but the ſtricteſt of them keep themſelves barefoot, in prayers and tears, from ſun-ſetting to the next ſun-ſet [k].

The factious ſuit rejected.

In the mean time the ſeditious having made ſuch a vigorous puſh, that they eſcaped the fury of the Romans, at leaſt for the preſent, and retired into the city, they found all the avenues of it ſo well guarded every-where, that there was no poſſibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to ſecure themſelves as well as they could on the ſouth-ſide of it, from whence Simon and John of Giſchala ſent to deſire a parley with Titus. They were anſwered, that though they had been the cauſe of all this blood-ſhed and ruin, yet they ſhould have their lives ſpared, if they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. To that they replied, that they had engaged themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths never to ſurrender, and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children; which inſolence did ſo exaſperate the Roman general, that he cauſed a herald to bid them ſtand to their defence; for that not one of them ſhould be ſpared, ſince they had rejected his laſt offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his ſoldiers, who fell forthwith on plundering it, ſetting fire every-where, and murdering all that fell into their

† De hac vid. ſect. v. p. 310. [k] Vid. Mehilath, Tahanith, ſub Menſ. Ab. Maimon, Buxtorf, & al ſup. citat.

ed each to a croſs, and ſtill alive; among whom were three of his acquaintance, whoſe lives he obtained of Titus, and ordered them immediately to be taken down, and their wounds to be put under the care of able ſurgeons. He adds, that only one of them outlived it, the other two died under their phyſicians hands.

their hands (Z); whilſt the factious that were left went and fortified themſelves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thouſand Jews, who had taken refuge there [1].

In the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, eſpecially on the royal palace; and this took them up from the twentieth of Auguſt to the ſeventh of September, during which time great numbers came and made their ſubmiſſion to Titus, among whom were the forty thouſand citizens mentioned in the laſt note, ſome of the Edomites, and two prieſts, who, upon promiſe of being ſpared, diſcovered to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candleſticks, ſome tables, cups, and other veſſels of maſſive gold, with many precious ſtones, rich garments, and other coſtly things. By this time the war-like engines plied ſo furiouſly on the factious, that they were taken with a ſudden panic, and inſtead of flying into the towers of Hippicos, Phaſael, or Mariamne, which were yet untaken, and ſo ſtrong, that nothing but famine could have reduced them; they run like madmen towards Siloah, with a deſign to have attacked the wall of circumvallation, and to have eſcaped out

The high city taken.

Year of the flood 3068. Of Chriſt 73 or 70.

[1] Bell ubi ſupra, c. 13.

(Z) Joſephus tells us (42), however, that he ſpared the family of Izates, king of Adiabene, of whom we have already ſpoke, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, who came and ſurrendered themſelves to his mercy, but he kept them ſtill priſoners.

He likewiſe diſmiſſed above forty thouſand of the inferior ſort, who came and implored his pardon, and gave them leave to go and ſettle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themſelves with ſo much blood, that the ſtreams which ran along the ſtreets did even put the fire out. And as for the priſoners, they were ſo very numerous already, that they could not find buyers for them, tho' they offered them at the loweſt prices (43); ſo that one would have thought it high time for a prince of that excellent character to have wreaked his fury only on the factious zealots, and to have ſpared the reſt. But in all this he was acting more like a ſcourge ſent from above, againſt a rebellious nation, than according to his own natural inclination; and it is what he rightly acknowledged, when his army congratulated him on this arduous and glorious conqueſt *.

(42) In vita ſua. (43) Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 15. * Vid. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l. vi. c. 14.

out of the city; but being there repulſed, they were forced to go and hide themſelves in the public ſinks and common ſewers, ſome one way, and ſome another. All the reſt the Romans could catch were put to the ſword, and the city was ſet on fire. This was on the eighth of September, when the city was taken and entered by Titus. He would have put an end to the maſſacre, but his men killed all, except the moſt vigorous, whom they ſhut up in the porch of the women, mentioned a little higher. Fronto, who had the care of them, reſerved the youngeſt and moſt beautiful for Titus's triumph, and ſent all that were above ſeventeen years of age into Egypt, to be employed in ſome public works there; and a great number of others were ſent into ſeveral cities of Syria and other provinces, to be expoſed on the public theatres, to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beaſts [m]. The number of theſe priſoners amounted to ninety-ſeven thouſand, beſides about eleven thouſand more of others, who were either ſtarved through neglect, or ſtarved themſelves through ſullenneſs and deſpair (A).

The number and diſpoſal of the priſoners.

We have already had occaſion to mention the number of ſlain, as well as of the priſoners, according to Joſephus. Suetonius and Cornelius Nepos do indeed make the former a great deal leſs; they reckon but ſix hundred thouſand of them in all; but conſidering the diſtance of time and place in which they wrote, it will be eaſily granted, that they could not be ſo well acquainted with it as Joſephus, who was a Jew and an eye-witneſs. Whether this laſt has exaggerated in compliment to Titus and the Romans, we will not pretend to ſay. A curious author has ſince taken the pains to make a freſh computation out of him of all that periſhed in the ſeveral places, throughout that kingdom and out of it, from the beginning to the concluſion of the war †; in which we believe our readers will be glad to ſee the whole amount of the ſeveral bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows:

At

[m] Ibid. c. 16, & 17. † Juſtus Lipſius de Conſtantia, lib. ii. c. 21.

(A) Joſephus was by this time in ſuch high favour with Titus, that he obtained the liberty of ſeveral of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother Matthias, without any ranſom. That emperor had likewiſe given him leave to ſave what he thought fit out of the ruins of the city and temple, but he contented himſelf with the volume of the ſacred writings.

At Jeruſalem, by Florus's order	630	Jews killed in and out of Judæa.
By the inhabitants of Cæſarea in hatred to the Jews	20,000	
At Scythopolis in Syria	30,000	
By the inhabitants of Aſcalon in Paleſtine	2,500	
By thoſe of Ptolemais	2,000	
At Alexandria in Egypt under Tiberius Alexander, an apoſtate Jew	50,000	
At Damaſcus	10,000	
At the taking of Joppa	8,400	
In the mountain of Cabulo	2,000	
In a fight at Aſcalon	10,000	
In an ambuſh	8,000	
At the taking of Apheck	15,000	
Upon mount Garizzim	11,600	
Drowned at Joppa by a ſudden ſtorm	4,200	
Slain at Tarichæa	6,500	
Slain or killed themſelves at Gamala, where none were ſaved but two ſiſters	9,000	
Killed in their flight from Giſchala	2,000	
At the ſiege of Jotapa, where Joſephus commanded	30,000	
Of the Gadarenes, beſides vaſt numbers that drowned themſelves	13,000	
In the villages of Idumæa	10,000	
At Geraſium	1,000	
At Macheron	1,700	
In the deſart of Jardes	3,000	
Slew themſelves at Maſſada	960	
In Cyrene by the governor Catulus, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by	3000	
Periſhed at Jeruſalem by ſword, famine, peſtilence, and during the ſiege	1100,000	
According to this account the whole amouts to	1337,490	

Beſides a vaſt multitude that died in the caves, woods, wilderneſſes, common-ſewers, in baniſhment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten thouſand that were ſlain at Jotapa, more than our author has reckoned. For Joſephus mentions expreſly forty thouſand, but he only thirty thouſand.

To these, if we add the ninety-seven thousand prisoners, doomed in all appearance to a captivity infinitely worse than death, and the eleven thousand, which, as we hinted above, perished either through the neglect of their keepers, or their own sullen despair, the amount will be above one million four hundred and forty-five thousand. What still more aggravates this destruction is, that the far greatest part of them were strangers, that is, were Jews, who, as we observed a little higher, were written to, and invited from remote parts of the world, even from beyond the river Euphrates, by their brethren at Jerusalem, to come and assist them in the defence of their religion and liberties; their country, city, and temple; instead of which they met with the most dreadfull deaths there, and shared in the common ruin. Thus did the divine providence order it, that they, who, by their strenuous opposition of the gospel in all the parts of their dispersion, had shared in the guilt of the crucifiers of its divine author, should be involved in their punishment.

TITUS, as we have seen, acknowledged more than once the hand of providence, both in his extraordinary success against them, and in the invincible obstinacy with which they, to the last, preferred their total destruction to his oft repeated proffers of mercy. Josephus hath scarce a chapter in which he doth not ascribe all these dreadful calamities, and the final ruin of his nation, city, and temple, to an over-ruling power, to the offended deity, or to the sins of the people: but no-where more pathetically than in that chapter, in which, besides the old prophecies, he sums up a number of dreadful warnings sent before-hand, not so much to reduce them to obedience, as to let them discern the almighty hand, that was now powering down the most dreadful phials of his anger against them. We have already taken notice of that extraordinary countryfellow Ananus, who had kept pronouncing woe and destruction to them, during seven whole years. It will not be amiss to close this sad catastrophe with some other signal ones, out of the same Jewish historian, which were no less remarkable than dreadful.

Strange prodigies.

OF this class was that strange comet, which hung over Jerusalem one whole year, in the shape of a sword: the extraordinary light that was seen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebrating of the paschal feast, and which was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen, but by the wiser sort as a forerunner of a dreadful war: a cow delivered of a lamb, as she was led to the altar to be sacrificed: the eastern gate of the temple made of solid brass,

and

and ſo heavy, that it required twenty pair of ſtout hands to open and ſhut it and was flung open in the middle of the night, though faſtened with ſtrong bolts and bars: the air before ſun ſet filled with chariots and armed men, which paſſed all over the country, and for the truth of which Joſephus appeals to ſeveral living witneſſes, who beheld the dreadful ſight; and laſtly the voice, which, after a kind of rumbling noiſe, was diſtinctly heard by the prieſts, who were going to officiate on the feaſt of pentecoſt, and uttered theſe words articulately, Let us depart; let us depart *. In ſpight of all which, the Jews, as we have ſeen, continued as hardened as ever, and liſtened only to thoſe lying prophets, who flattered them with the hopes of a ſudden and miraculous deliverer. But to return to the ſiege.

Simon and John taken.

WHILST the ſoldiers were ſtill buſy in burning the remains of the city, and viſiting all the ſinks, jakes, and common ſewers, where they found and killed numbers of other poor creatures who had hid themſelves, Simon and John, the two grand rebels, were found and brought to Titus, who ordered them to be reſerved for his triumph. John, being pinched with hunger, came out firſt, and having begged his life, obtained it, but was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Simon, whoſe retreat was better ſtored, held out till towards the end of October, when neceſſity forced him out. He appeared on the ſudden on the ruins of the temple, in a white robe and a purple cloak. The Romans were at firſt ſurpriſed at him; but underſtanding ſoon after who he was, Terentius Rufus, who was left commander, ſeized on him, and ſent him to Cæſarea, whither Titus was got by this time, and from whence he was conveyed with his bloody collegues to Rome, to adorn the conqueror's triumph [n].

The city razed to the ground.

As ſoon as the Romans had ended their deſtructive work of burning and maſſacring, Titus ſet them on to demoliſh the city, with all its noble ſtructures, fortifications, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and fortifications, down to the level of the ground, according to Chriſt's expreſs prediction. He left nothing ſtanding but a piece of the weſtern wall, and the three towers of Hippicos, Phaſael, and Mariamne, the former to ſerve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages ſome idea of the ſtrength of the whole city, and of the ſkill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were ſo punctually executed, that, except thoſe few buildings above-mentioned, there

* Bell. Jud. ubi ſupra, c. 12. [n] Ibid. & ſeq.

there was not ſo much as any remains left, that could ſerve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited (B). Inſomuch, that when he came to paſs through it, in his way from Cæſarea to Alexandria, in order to embarque for Rome, he could not refrain himſelf from ſhedding plenty of tears at the ſight of ſo dreadful a devaſtation, and curſing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it [o].

Titus's triumph.

It is not our buſineſs to follow that emperor to his capital, or to deſcribe the magnificence of his triumph, the greateſt which that city ever ſaw: that will be beſt done in the enſuing Roman hiſtory. All that is proper to be ſaid on that head here is, that John and Simon, at the head of ſeven hundred of the handſomeſt Jewiſh captives, were made to adorn the triumphal chair; after which Simon, having been dragged through the ſtreets, with a rope about his neck, and ſeverely ſcourged, was put to death with ſome other Jewiſh leaders, and John was ſent into perpetual impriſonment [p] (C).

Titus

[o] cap. 18, & ſeq. [p] cap. 24.

(B) The Jewiſh tradition adds, that Titus cauſed the plow to be driven over it; which ceremony, according to the Roman law, condemned the ground to perpetual deſolation. But that, as well as Joſephus's account, ſeems exaggerated, ſince there is great reaſon to believe, there were ſtill many conſiderable ruins to be ſeen even in the emperor Adrian's time, as we may have occaſion to ſhew in the Roman hiſtory.

(C) Titus's triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from Judæa; among the principal of which were thoſe which had been taken out of the ſanctuary, ſuch as the golden table of ſhew-bread, which weighed ſeveral talents; the ſeven-branch candleſtic, a rich and curious piece of art; the roll or volume of the law, covered with a coſtly gold cloth, which was carried the laſt of the three, as the moſt venerable of all the trophies. The two former Titus cauſed to be placed in the temple of Peace, which his father had built; the latter, together with ſeveral curious and coſtly veils of the temple and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (45).

There are ſtill ſome coins extant of that emperor, ſtamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman ſitting ſorrowful under a palm tree, with the inſcription of Judæa Capta; with ſome others coined in the twenty-firſt year of king Agrippa, with theſe words in Greek, "Veſpaſian emperor, and Cæſar. Judæa was taken in the twenty-firſt of Agrippa."

To

(45) Bell. Jud. l. vii, c. 24.

TITUS had left three caſtles ſtill untaken, namely thoſe of Herodion and Maſſada on this, and that of Macheron on the other, ſide of Jordan. The firſt of them was ſoon after taken by capitulation by Lucilius Baſſus, who had been appointed lieutenant of Judæa. He went preſently after at the head of a good number of troops to beſiege that of Macheron, which was a very ſtrong place, and likely to have held out a long time. But a lucky accident, which the reader may ſee in the margin (D), obliged the beſieged to ſurrender, upon condition that they ſhould have liberty to retire whither they pleaſed; which being readily granted to them, they went and joined ſome of their revolted brethren, who had ſheltered themſelves in the foreſt of Jardes. Hither Baſſus came, and attacked them, and, after a deſperate combat on both ſides, totally defeated them, with Judas their chief, who had ſaved himſelf out of Jeruſalem, through one of the aqueducts of that city [9]. Simon and John's fate.

DEATH

[9] Cap. 25.

To theſe medals we may add ſome fragments in baſs-relief, repreſenting Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus's triumph, and on which is ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed the ſeven branch candleſtic, with other ſacred utenſils; ſome have pretended alſo to diſcover the ark in it; but we have already ſeen, that there was no ſuch thing in the moſt holy place; and it is moſt likely to be only the table of the ſhew-bread, which was not altogether unlike it; but the misfortune is, that time has ſo defaced this noble monument, that it is not eaſy to diſcover any thing in it with any certainty, except the candleſtic above-mentioned.

(D) There was in that caſtle a young nobleman highly eſteemed for his valour, who, after having given the beſiegers a ſtout repulſe in a ſally, unfortunately ſtrayed out of the gates to ſpeak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An Egyptian then in the Roman army, came ſwiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms, and carried him off.

When Baſſus had got the noble youth in his power, he cauſed him to be ſtripped naked and ſeverely ſcourged, in the view of the beſieged, who filled immediately the air with their cries. Baſſus perceiving them ſo moved at the ſight, cauſed a croſs to be erected, and gave them to underſtand, that he would crucify him, unleſs they prevented it by a timely ſurrender. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and the Jews, not being proof againſt ſo doleful a ſpectacle, choſe to capitulate, and ſoon after ſurrendered the place, on the conditions above mentioned (46).

(46) Cap. 25. ad fin.

DEATH having prevented Baſſus from putting an end to the war, Flavius Silva, his ſucceſſor, aſſembled all his forces to attack Maſſada, now the only remaining fortreſs in the rebels hands. The place was prodigiouſly ſtrong both by art and nature, well ſtored with all proviſions, and defended with a good number of ſicarii and aſſaſſins; at the head of whom was one Eleazar, the grandſon of Judas the Gaulonite, often mentioned in this and a former ſection. Silva having in vain tried his engines and battering rams againſt it, bethought himſelf of ſurrounding it with a high and ſtrong wall, and then ordered fire to be ſet to the gates. The wind favouring him, puſhed the flames ſo fiercely againſt the Jews, that Eleazar, in a kind of deſpair, perſuaded them firſt to kill all their wives and children, and next to chuſe ten men by lot who ſhould kill all the reſt; and laſtly, one out of the ſurviving ten to diſpatch them and himſelf, which was accordingly executed out of hand; only this laſt man was ordered to ſet fire to the place before he finiſhed this bloody tragedy. On the next morning the Romans, who were preparing to ſcale the place, were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee and hear nothing move; upon which they made ſuch an hideous outcry, that two women, who had concealed themſelves from the maſſacre in ſome aqueduct, came out, and told them the tragical end of the beſieged, which put an end to that dreadful war [r]. Veſpaſian ordered the Jewiſh lands to be ſold to his own uſe (E), and all the Jews within the Roman empire to pay the uſual tribute of half a ſhekel, or two drachms, to his treaſury, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the ſanctuary [s].

THE temple and holy city thus deſtroyed and levelled with the ground, and the whole nation either miſerably buried under its ruins, or diſperſed into other countries, might, one would think, have opened the eyes of the poor remains of that once favoured people, and cruſhed at once all hopes and expectation of any other deliverer, but him whom they had rejected and crucified. Many of them did indeed do ſo, but the far greater part remained in their infatuated ſtate, and, according to Chriſt's own prediction, have been diſperſed ever ſince over all the world, to atteſt his truth and their own obdurate

[r] Cap 28. [s] Ibid. c. 26. in fin.

(E) He only reſerved the town of Emmaus, which he beſtowed on eight hundred of his beſt veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of Nicopolis (47)

(47) Cap. 26.

obdurate blindneſs, till the happy time comes when the veil ſhall be taken off their eyes. When that will be, is one of thoſe ſecrets which God has been pleaſed to leave as yet unrevealed; and which it would be vain and preſumptuous to ſearch too curiouſly after. Euſebius adds to their ſad cataſtrophe, that, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian cauſed all the remaining ſprouts of the houſe of Judah to be cut off [t], to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer or future Meſſiah. Notwithſtanding which, the zealots made ſeveral attempts to regain their power, firſt in Egypt, where it coſt ſome their heads, and cauſed their temple at Alexandria, mentioned in a former ſection †, to be quite ſhut up [u] (F); next in Cyrene of Libya, where one of them, named Jonathan, ſet up for a prophet, and perſuaded about two thouſand of his brethren there to follow him into the deſart, where he promiſed to ſhew them wonders, and where Catullus, the then governor, cauſed them to be purſued and defeated [w] (G).

From

[t] Eccleſ. hiſt. l. iii c. 12. † See pag. 172, & (T). [u] Bell. ubi ſupra, c. 30. ad fin. [w] Ibid. c. 31. paſſ.

(F) Theſe wretches, which were undoubtedly the relics of the Gaulonitiſh faction, ſince even their children ſuffered the ſevereſt torments, rather than acknowledge Cæſar for their lord (48), met at firſt with a kind reception from their brethren of Alexandria. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by ſowing their leaven of ſedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were delivered up to the Romans, and ſix hundred of them put to death.

Veſpaſian being appriſed of it, and fearing leſt their Alexandrian temple ſhould afford them a freſh pretence of aſſembling themſelves, and raiſing ſome new ſedition in Egypt, ſent orders to Lupus his governor there to demoliſh it. But he contented himſelf with ſhutting it up. Paulinus, who ſucceeded him ſoon after, ſtripped it of all its ornaments and rich furniture, and cauſed the gates of it to be quite ſhut up, to prevent any further worſhip being offered up in it (49).

(G) Jonathan was taken preſently after, and brought to Catullus, before whom he accuſed many of the richeſt Jews of having inſtigated him to this impoſture, and whom that greedy governor cauſed to be put to death to the number of three thouſand, and confiſcated all their wealth.

He afterwards obliged that wretch to prefer the ſame indictment againſt thoſe that were at Rome, among whom was Joſe-

ſephus

(48) Ibid. cap. 29. (49) Cap. 30. ad fin.

FROM that time the Jewish nation has been dispersed through, despised and hated by, all the world, hath gone from one age to another through a series of the greatest miseries and persecutions. We have innumerabe instances of crowned heads, and even commonwealths, who have spared neither the severest edicts, nor the cruellest butcheries against them. In a word, Pagans and Mahometans, as well as Christians, tho' so opposite in other things, have yet, as it were, joined their efforts in vain, to exterminate that unhappy people, whom the divine providence hath nevertheless upheld under all those disadvantages by a kind of miraculous power, and no doubt for a more glorious purpose; insomuch, that, according to a late learned historian, there are still above three millions of them dispersed through almost every nation and kingdom in the world, and still impatiently sighing after that glorious time, when God shall restore them to their pristine state. But this and some other particulars relating to their dispersions, writings, and the like, will be fully seen in the appendix.

AFTER the reduction of Jerusalem and Judæa, Agrippa and his sister retired to Rome, probably with Titus, who was excessive fond of both, but especially of Berenice. We have seen through the course of this last war how serviceable the brother had been to the general, accompanying him in person, and assisting him with men and amunition, for which we are told Titus got his kingdom enlarged by the emperor, and procured him prætorian honours. But his extraordinary friendship to that prince flowed chiefly from his special fondness for his sister, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if she had been his real wife. We have hinted some former reports publicly spread concerning her incestuous

phus the historian, whom he accused to have furnished him with arms and money. Vespasian made such a strict enquiry into the matter, that he easily found out the cheat, caused Jonathan to be cruelly whipped, and then burnt alive, and acquitted the persons accused.

Catullus, though deep in the guilt, was yet pardoned by that emperor; but providence did not suffer him to go unpunished; for he was soon after seized with a panic phrensy, which made him fancy himself surrounded with the dreadful spectres of those whom he had unjustly put to death. He was at length seized with an inward intolerable heat, which consumed his very entrails, and he died in that miserable condition unpitied (50).

(50) Cap. 31.

inceſtuous intrigues with her brother, and for which ſhe had given but too good a foundation. Titus could hardly be ignorant of it; but her beauty had ſo captivated him, that he overlooked every thing elſe; inſomuch, that he had promiſed her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found that the Romans were wholly averſe to it, partly on account of her being a Jeweſs, and partly on that of her royal deſcent. To pave himſelf therefore the way to the empire, he was forced to diſcard her, invitus invitam [x], as Suetonius expreſſes it. What became of her afterwards, is not worth enquiring. As for Agrippa, he was the laſt of the Herodian race that bore the royal title, and is ſuppoſed to have died at Rome about the ſeventieth year of his age, and the ninetieth of Jeſus Chriſt [y]. Joſephus has this remarkable ſaying on the Herodian line, that they all failed within a hundred years [z], though they were at firſt ſo numerous, as we have ſeen them in the genealogy of Herod the Great.

This was the end of the Herodian family, and of the Jewiſh nation and polity, and is ſo much the more remarkable, conſidering, that the ſuccinct account we have of it is written by a Jew of ſuch extraordinary character, and that the deſtruction of the city and people, eſpecially of their temple, is found upon the whole ſo exactly conformable to the prophecies of Chriſt, denounced againſt them ſo long before. One might have expected, that this ſhould have opened their eyes, to acknowledge theſe as well as the many others we have mentioned in the courſe of this and the laſt ſection, which prove him the Meſſiah, ſince they had ſeen their ſacrifices, ceremonial law, their temple, their royal ſtock of Judah, &c. which they till then thought were to laſt for ever, buried, as it were, under the ruin of their metropolis. Inſtead of which, their chief aim and ſtudy has been to find ſalvos againſt theſe pregnant proofs againſt them; to depart from the expoſitions of their antients, give a new ſenſe to the prophets, and to invent new ſcepters for their royal tribe in ſome unknown parts of the world, in a word, to oppoſe every thing that we urge againſt them, as we ſhall ſhew in the appendix.

In the mean time, it will not be amiſs to take notice, that the Jews are no leſs at variance with Joſephus, than the chriſtians

[x] Vid. Sueton. in vit. Tit. & Xiphil. ex Dione, Juſtus Tiberius apud Phot. bibl. cod. 33. [y] Tillemont, Ruin des Juifs, Art. 83, & not. 41. [z] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

chriſtians have admired him. St. Jerom, among other praiſes he gives him, calls him the Livy of the Jews [a]. Photius and others have been equally laviſh of their incenſe; and Euſebius adds to the reſt, that he had a ſtatue reared to him in conſideration of his writings [b]. We ſhall not repeat what we have often obſerved of his partiality to his nation and ſacerdotal order, both in this chapter and a former volume. But his countrymen had trumped up another Joſephus, known by the name of Bengorion, whoſe hiſtory is compiled out of the Rufinian verſion of the true Joſephus; for he doth not ſeem to have ſeen the original, and has ſtuffed it with the moſt abſurd falſhoods and contradictions to him; and yet the Jews give him the largeſt encomiums. In particular Rabby Than, who has publiſhed his hiſtory, is not aſhamed to affirm, that all he wrote was juſt and true, without the leaſt falſehood; that his writings come nearer to thoſe of the prophets, than thoſe of any other Jewiſh author; that the hand of God was upon him, whilſt he compiled his work, with ſome other commendations, which amount almoſt to blaſphemy [c]. That fabulous author is ſo well known to the learned, that we ſhall ſpend no time in expoſing him. The readers may ſee enough of them in that mutilated edition which Munſter has given us of it; though he has concealed a great number of them. But thoſe that have ſeen the full editions that have come out ſince, will find them ſo full of them, that he will readily own, nothing but the greateſt degree of infatuation and perverſeneſs could induce the Jews to prefer him to the true one, who, ſetting aſide his partiality above mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact hiſtorian.

[a] De vir. illuſt. c. 13. [b] Hiſt. eccleſ. l. iii. c. 13. [c] Præf. in Joſſip. Bengorio, edit. Conſtantinop. 1490.

The End of the Tenth Volume.

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

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Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. XII.

The Hiſtory of the Parthians, from Arſaces, to the recovery of the kingdom by the Perſians.

Parthia deſcribed.

PARTHIA, properly ſo called, was bounded on the eaſt by Aria; on the ſouth by Carmania Deſerta; on the weſt by Media; and on the north by Hyrcania. Ptolemy divides it into five diſtricts or provinces, viz. Caminſine or Camiſene, Parthyene, Choroane, Atticene, and Tabiene. The antient geographers enumerate a great many cities in Parthia; but thoſe of moſt note were, Calliope, Iſſatis, Europum, known alſo by the names of Ragæ, Europos, and Arſace, Apamea, Heraclea, Crenonia, Charax, Artacana, Aſpa, Marriche, Rhagæa, and Hecatompylos. The latter was the metropolis of Parthia, and the place where the firſt kings of that country reſided; for after they had made themſelves maſters of Aſſyria, they abandoned Hecatompylos, paſſing the winter at Cteſiphon, and the ſummer at Ecbatan, or in Hyrcania. The city of Cteſiphon ſtood

on the Tigris, a little below Seleucia, and on the oppoſite bank, in the province of Chalonitis, which was the moſt ſoutherly of all Aſſyria. This city was founded, according to Ammianus Marcellinus [a], by one Vardanes, and embelliſhed and fortified by Pacorus. Who Vardanes was, we know not; but Valeſius takes Pacorus here ſpoke of to have been the ſon of Orodes, whom Ventidius defeated. Polybius [b], Tacitus [c], Herodotus [d], and Strabo [e] ſpeak of Cteſiphon as the metropolis of the whole Parthian empire; whereas Hecatompylos was only the metropolis of Parthia properly ſo called, but nevertheleſs a place of great note, and about nine miles in compaſs. It had a hundred gates, whence it borrowed the name of Hecatompylos, as Polybius informs us [f]. Moſt of our modern travellers are of opinion, that it ſtood on the very ſpot where the preſent city of Iſpahan ſtands. Parthia is at preſent known by the name of Arach or Erach, and may be called the royal province of Perſia, ſince the king always reſides in it. The chief cities it contains at preſent are, Caſbin or Caſwin, built on the ruins of the antient Arſace; Sawa or Sava, Kom, Hamadan, Kaſhan, and Iſpahan, which Holſtenius [g] takes to be the antient Aſpa, contradicting therein moſt of our modern geographers and travellers. The air of Parthia was antiently, and is ſtill, very clear and healthy; but the ſoil barren, and not yielding wherewithal to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to tranſplant themſelves into other countries. Upon the death of Alexander the Great, it was almoſt entirely neglected, and left as an appendant to Media, none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of ſo poor and barren a province. But we ſhall ſee this ſmall and obſcure province make a great figure in hiſtory, eclipſe all the kingdoms of the eaſt, and become formidable to the Romans themſelves, while they were at the height of their glory. But we muſt not here confound Parthia, or, as others call it, Parthyæa and Parthyene, with what the antients underſtand by the Parthian empire. The former was comprized within the narrow bounds which we have deſcribed above; whereas the latter was of a vaſt extent, being bounded on the eaſt by Indus; on the weſt

[a] Ammian. Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 20. [b] Polyb. l. v. c. 45. [c] Tacit. l. vi. c. 42. [d] Herod. l. iii. c. 9. [e] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 512. [f] Polyb. l. x. c. 25. [g] Holſten. in Orth.

weſt by the Tigris; on the ſouth by the Red-ſea; and on the north by mount Caucaſus [h]; ſo that it comprehended Arachoſia, Parthia, Aſſyria, Perſis, and Media. Theſe wide-ſpreading dominions, were, according to Pliny [i], divided by the Parthian monarchs into eighteen kingdoms, which they diſtinguiſhed by the name of the upper and lower kingdoms. The former were eleven, extending from the confines of Armenia and the Caſpian ſea to the borders of Scythia. The other ſeven comprehended the remaining provinces ſubject to the crown of Parthia, and were known by the name of the lower kingdoms.

Inhabitants.

SOME writers are of opinion, that this country was firſt peopled by the Phetri or Pathri, often mentioned in ſcripture [k], and will have the Parthians to be deſcended from Phetruſim the ſon of Mizraim. This may perhaps be true with relation to the firſt inhabitants of Parthia; but thoſe Parthians, who are ſo famous in hiſtory, were, without all doubt, originally Scythians, as we are told by all the antients who ſpeak of them. 'Tis true, there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the particular nation or tribe to which they belonged, ſome taking them to be originally Daæ; others to be Getæ, Maſſagetæ, or European Scythians. Strabo tells us, that Arſaces, the founder of this kingdom, was by birth a Scythian, and king of the Daæ or Dahæ. Curtius ſays, that the Scythians, known by the name of Parthians, came out of Europe [l]. Jornandes will have them to be originally Goths or Getæ; for theſe, according to him, are one and the ſame people [m]. They were, according to Juſtin, driven out of their own country, and, finding no other place to ſettle in, obliged to take up with this barren and inhoſpitable region. They called themſelves, on their firſt ſettling here, Parthians, that is, in the old Scythian language, exiles; and hence came the name of Parthia.

Manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Parthians.

THE Parthians were a courageous and warlike people, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and not undeſervedly eſteemed the beſt horſemen and archers in the world. They were accuſtomed from their infancy, ſays Dionyſius [n], to the warlike and manly exerciſes of managing a horſe and handling a bow; and in both excelled all other nations. They had an art or method peculiar

[h] Vide Oros. l. i. c. 2. [i] Plin. l. vi. c. 25. [k] Iſai. c. xi. Jerem. c. xliv. Ezech. c. xxix. [l] Curt. l. vii. [m] Jornand. de reb. Goth. [n] Dionyſ. in poem. de ſitu orb.

to themſelves, of diſcharging their arrows with incredible addreſs, dexterity and order, while they were retiring full ſpeed, which gained them many victories, and rendered their retreat far more formidable to the enemy than their onſet (A). To their great ſkill in archery alluded the conſul Craſſus, when being told by an aſtrologer, that his expedition againſt the Parthians would prove unſucceſsful, by reaſon of the ominous aſpect of the conſtellation Scorpio, the Roman returned anſwer, That he feared not Scorpio, but Sagittarius. To theſe exerciſes of horſemanſhip and archery the air and nature greatly contributed; for the dry air, as Dion obſerves, ſeaſoned their bows; and their large plains afforded them ſufficient room for the training up of their horſes. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all without exception, obliged to ſerve in war, to attend the muſters, learn the military exerciſes, and be ready, at a very ſhort warning to take the field [o]. Perſons of any rank or diſtinction among them never appeared in public a-foot, but always on horſeback and armed with ſcymetars [p]; which cuſtom ſeemed ſtrange to the Romans, who uſed to lay down their arms when they quitted the ſagum or military

[o] Strabo. l. xv. [p] Juſtin. l. xii.

(A) This art, peculiar to the Parthians, of diſcharging their arrows with great dexterity, while they were retiring full ſpeed, is much ſpoke of by the Latin writers, eſpecially the poets.

Fidentemque fuga Parthum, verſiſque ſagittis (1).
Et verſis animoſum equis
Parthum dicere (2).
Ut celer averſis utei : Parthus equis (3).
Quid tibi nunc mitti ſolitæ poſt terga ſagittæ,
Quid loca, quid rapidi profuit uſus equi (4)?
Nil opus eſt equis,
Nil armis, & inertibus
Telis, quæ procul ingerit
[illegible]us, cum ſimulat fugas (5).
[illegible]at & verſas equitis ſagittas,
Terga fallacis metuenda Parthi (6).
Rupis Achæmeniæ ſcopulis, ubi verſa ſequentum
Pectoribus figit ſpicula pugna fugax (7), &c.

(1) Virgil. georg. l. iii. (2) Horat. l. i. carm. od. 19. (3) Ovid. l. iii. de arte. (4) Idem faſt. v. (5) Senec. in Thyeſt. (6) Idem in Oedip. (7) Boet. l. v.

tary habit [q]. In war they did not uſe trumpets like other nations, but large hollow veſſels of braſs, covered with ſkins, ſuch as our kettle-drums, which, being beat with hammers, yielded a very warlike ſound [r] (B). They are ſaid to have been very ſpare in their diet [s], their country not affording any ſuperfluities; but at the ſame time to have been great lovers of wine, and much addicted to all manner of lewdneſs, not reſpecting even their ſiſters or mothers, whom they were allowed to marry, and as many wives beſides as they pleaſed, nothing being deemed more honourable among them than to have a numerous iſſue [t]. They entirely neglected agriculture, navigation, trade, and all other callings, being wholly taken up in learning the arts of war which alone were of any repute among them [u].

THEIR religion was much the ſame with that of the Perſians; they worſhipped the ſun under the name of Mithras [w]; believed, that thoſe who fell in battle enjoyed a perpetual and uninterrupted happineſs, a tenet well ſuited to the genius of a warlike nation; and in moſt other points Religion.

[q] Ovid. Triſt. l. v. [r] Plut. in Craſſo. [s] Juſtin. l. xii. c. 3 & 9. [t] Idem, l. xvi. Agath. l. ii. Philo. de ſpecial. legib. p. 778. Tertul. in Apologet. [u] Dionyſ. ubi ſupra. [w] Strabo. l. xv. Suid. Heſych. Dionyſ. Areopagit. epiſt. 7. ad Polycarp. Cyril. catech. 7.

(B) Lucretius tells us, that the Parthians carried lions about with them in war, which, in the beginning of the engagement, they uſed to let looſe againſt the enemy.

Et validos Parthi præ ſe miſere leones
Cum ductoribus armatis, ſæviſque magiſtris,
Qui moderarier his poſſent, vincliſque tenere:
Nequicquam; quoniam permixta cæde calentes
Turbabant ſævi nullo diſcrimine turmas,
Terrificas capitum quatientes undique criſtas (8). infar

But herein the poet deſerves no more credit, than ſome too credulous hiſtorians mentioned by Lucian, who, miſtaking the dragons which the Parthians carried in their colours for real dragons, wrote, that the king of Parthia was always attended in war with a great number of dragons, which made a dreadful havock among the enemies troops (9).

(8) Lucret. l. v. (9) Lucian. in lib. de conſcrip. hiſtor.

of religion entirely agreed with the Persians, of whose religion we have spoke at length in the history of Persia. They were most religious observers of their word, thinking it highly dishonourable not to perform their engagements, or to deceive those who had trusted them on their parole [x], whereof we shall give a glaring instance in the reign of Artabanus.

Government. As to their government, it was, as is well known, monarchical, and absolute in the highest degree, no tyrants having ever required a more servile and blind submission from those who had the misfortune to live under them. They treated their subjects, says Herodotus [y], as the meanest of slaves and scarce as men, while they put themselves on a level with the immortal gods. Their usual title was, "The king of kings, the great monarch, the brother of "the sun and moon, &c." These haughty titles they not only assumed in all the laws and edicts they enacted, but in their letters to other princes. Thus Vologeses II. in writing to the emperor Vespasian, used the following superscription: Arsaces, king of kings, to Flavius Vespasian. The emperor could not help smiling when he read it; and, to shew how little he valued such pompous and high sounding titles, he answered him in his own strain thus: Flavius Vespasian to Arsaces king of kings, giving the Parthian the titles he had assumed, but despising them himself. The same haughty stile Phrahates IV. used in writing to Augustus; and Phrahates III. sent embassadors to Pompey, on purpose to expostulate with him for omitting in his letter to him the title of king of kings, and giving him only that of king. Their whole conduct was answerable to the sublime and lofty titles they assumed; for, not satisfied with the respect paid to other crowned heads, they obliged all those whom they vouchsafed to see, to kiss the threshold on their first entering the royal palace, to prostrate themselves before them with their faces on the ground, and acknowledge their majesty with some offering, as if they appeared, to use the expression of Dion, before the great Jupiter [z] (C).

We

[x] Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. ult. [y] Herod. l. iv. c. 3. [z] Dion. l. iv. Justin. l. xvi. Strabo, l. xv.

(C) To this Martial alludes in the following epigram:

Frustra

We can give no particular account of the ſtate of Parthia before Arſaces I. the works of Apollodorus, Artemiſius, Creperius, Calpurnianus, Quadratus, Rhianus, and Seleucus Emiſenus, who wrote of the Parthian affairs and are quoted by Strabo [a], Athenæus [b], Lucian [c], Stephanus, and Suidas, not having reached our times. All we know of them is, that they were firſt ſubject to the Medes, afterwards to the Perſians, and laſtly to Alexander the Great, upon whoſe death Parthia fell to the ſhare of Seleucus Nicator, whoſe ſucceſſors held it till the reign of Antiochus Theus, when Arſaces, ſhaking off the Macedonian yoke, ſet up for himſelf and founded a new kingdom, which, in proceſs of time, became by far the moſt powerful in the eaſt, and was held by his ſucceſſors for the ſpace of four hundred and ſeventy-five years; at the end of which the empire was transferred anew from the Parthians to the Perſians, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Kings of Parthia. Arſaces I. Year of the flood 2699. Before Chriſt 300.

Arsaces I. the founder of the Parthian monarchy, was, according to ſome writers, of the race of the Achemenidæ; according to others, by birth a Parthian. Strabo ſays, that he was king of the Dahæ before the revolt of Parthia; and Georgius Syncellus, that he was a nobleman of Bactria. We have related elſewhere [d] on what provocation he ſolicited the Parthians to revolt from Antiochus Theus, and what ſucceſs attended him in his wars with Seleucus Callinicus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Antiochus Theus [e], whom he not only defeated, but took priſoner, and from that time aſſumed the title of king, having

[a] Idem, l. ii. & xv. [b] Athen. l. xv. c. 12. [c] Lucian. de conſcrib. hiſtor. [d] Vol. viii. within 33 pages of the end. [e] Ibid. within 23 pages of the end.

Fruſtra blanditiæ venitis ad me, &c.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humileſque, ſuppliceſque,
Pictorum ſola baſiate regum (10).

And Virgil:

Præterea regem non ſic Ægyptus, & ingens
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Medus Hydaſpes
Obſervant, &c. (11).

(10) Mart. l. x. epig. 71. (11) Virgil. georg. l. iv.

ving founded, and by that victory firmly eſtabliſhed, an empire in the eaſt, which in proceſs of time counter-balanced the over-grown power of the Romans in the weſt. He reduced Hyrcania and ſome other neighbouring provinces, and was at laſt killed in a battle againſt Ariarathes IV. king of Cappadocia [f]. From him all thoſe, who reigned of the ſame race, took the name of Arſaces, as the kings of Egypt did that of Ptolemy, and the Roman emperors that of Cæſar.

Arſaces II. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Arſaces, who entering Media, made himſelf maſter of that country, while Antiochus the Great was engaged in a war with Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt. But Antiochus was no ſooner diſengaged from that war, than he marched with all his forces againſt Arſaces, drove him quite out of Media, and, entering Parthia, obliged him to retire into Hyrcania, whence he ſoon after returned with an army of an hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe. With theſe he put a ſtop to Antiochus's further progreſs; ſo that the Syrian, finding he could not overpower ſo valiant an enemy, began to give ear to the overtures which were made him for putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war; and a treaty being ſet on foot, it was agreed, that Arſaces ſhould hold Parthia and Hyrcania, on condition of his aſſiſting Antiochus to recover the other provinces which had revolted [g], as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Syria [h].

Priapatius. Priapatius, the ſon of Arſaces II. ſucceeded his father; but all we know of him is, that he reigned fifteen years, and left three ſons behind him, viz. Phrahates, Mithridates, and Artabanus. The crown he bequeathed to

Phrahates. Phrahates his eldeſt ſon, who overcame the Mardi, one of the moſt warlike nations of the eaſt, and never conquered before the reign of Alexander, who, with much ado, reduced them, as well as the other nations inhabiting Media [i]. Phrahates left a numerous iſſue; but having more at heart the welfare of his kingdom than the advantage of his children, he left the crown to his brother Mithridates, on account of his extraordinary merit; for he had given many

Mithridates I. inſtances of an uncommon wiſdom, probity, and courage. He reduced the countries of the Bactrians, Perſians, Medes, and Elymæans, and over-ran in a manner all the eaſt, extending

[f] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 5, &c. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Vide Vol. ix. p. 2. [i] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 5.

tending his dominions into India, beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conqueſts. Demetrius Nicator, who then reigned in Syria, endeavoured to recover the provinces of the eaſt, which Mithridates had taken; but his army was entirely cut off, and himſelf taken priſoner, as we have elſewhere related at length [k]. After this victory, Mithridates got poſſeſſion of all Babylonia and Meſopotamia; ſo that he was now maſter of all the provinces lying between the Euphrates on the weſt, and the Ganges on the eaſt [l]. He entertained his royal captive with great humanity, allowed him a maintenance ſuitable to his rank, and, ſending him into Hyrcania to reſide there, gave him Rhodagune, one of his ſiſters, in marriage [m]. However, he kept him ſtill in captivity, tho' with as much freedom as was conſiſtent with the ſtate of a captive; and at his death, which happened in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, left him in this condition to his ſon Phrahates, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom [n]. The reign of Mithridates is looked upon by authors as the epoch of the Parthian grandeur; for under him that empire was by far the moſt powerful and moſt extenſive in the eaſt, all the countries that lie between the Euphrates and mount Caucaſus receiving law from him, and moſt of the princes of Aſia being either ſubdued by him, or obliged to enter into an alliance with him on his own terms. He was a prince of great courage and reſolution, and at the ſame time had a ſweetneſs of temper, which rendered him amiable to all who approached him. As he conquered many nations, he is ſaid to have carefully examined their various conſtitutions, and, out of the whole collection, to have formed a body of excellent laws for the regulation of the empire; ſo that he was both a great warrior and wiſe law-giver [o].

Phrahates II.

PHRAHATES II. had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched againſt him at the head of a numerous army, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who was ſtill kept in captivity. Phrahates marched out againſt him, but was overcome in three ſucceſſive battles, ſtripped of Meſopotamia, Babylonia, and all the other countries which his

[k] Vide Vol. ix. p. 131, 132. [l] Juſtin. l. xli. c. 6. Oros. l. v. c. 4. [m] Juſtin. ibid. & l. xxxviii. c. 9. [n] Idem, l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xlii. c. 1. [o] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 361.

his father had reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom. However, he had the good luck at last to retrieve his affairs, and cut off Antiochus with his whole army, in the manner we have related at length in the history of Syria [p]. Phrahates, flushed with this victory, resolved to invade Syria; but while he was making the necessary preparations for this enterprize, he found himself engaged in a war at home with the Scythians his neighbours. He had called them to his assistance against Antiochus; but that prince being overcome, and his army entirely defeated before their arrival, he refused to pay them the sum which had been promised them. Hereupon the Scythians, falling upon the country which they were come to defend, committed every-where most dreadful ravages [q]. Phrahates, having thus drawn upon himself a war with the Scythians, in order to strengthen his army against so brave and powerful an enemy, took into his service all the Greek mercenaries, who, having followed Antiochus king of Syria in his Parthian expedition, had been taken prisoners in the late overthrow of that prince. As these Greeks had been treated by the Parthians with great haughtiness and cruelty during their captivity, they no sooner got arms into their hands, but they resolved to be revenged on them; and accordingly, in the first engagement, they went all in a body over to the Scythians, and, in conjunction with them, falling upon the Parthians, cut their army to pieces, killed their king, and laid waste their country [r]. After this, both the Greeks and Scythians returned to their own countries; and on their departure, Artabanus, the third son of Priapatius and uncle to the deceased king, took possession of the crown, which he held a very short time, being killed a few days after in battle by the Thogarians, another nation of the Scythian race [s].

Artabanus I.

Pacorus I.

ARTABANUS was succeeded by his son Pacorus I. who, hearing of the great exploits of the Romans, sent embassadors to Sylla, who was then in Cappadocia, to desire the friendship and alliance of so powerful a people. The Parthians, tho' the most warlike and wealthy nation in Asia, were at that time scarce known at Rome. Sylla therefore was overjoyed to hear, that their king had resolved to send embassadors to him, and looked upon it as one of the most fortu-

[p] Vol. ix. p. 141.
[q] Justin. l. xlii. c. 1.
[r] Idem ibid.
[s] Idem ibid.

fortunate occurrences of his life, that he should be the first Roman, to whom so great and gallant a nation should apply for an alliance with the people of Rome. He was then only prætor, and had been sent by the senate to restore Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, to the throne, whence he had been driven by Tigranes king of Armenia. However, to dazzle the eyes of the embassadors with an air of grandeur, he took great state upon him in the audience he gave them; for in the place where he received them he ordered three seats to be put; one in the middle for himself, that on the right hand for king Ariobarzanes, and the other on the left for Oromazes, the chief of the embassy. This compliance of the Parthian embassador cost him his life, Pacorus having caused him to be beheaded on his return, for debasing the majesty of the Parthian monarchy, by giving place to a Roman prætor [t]. However, Pacorus afterwards sent embassadors to Lucullus, to renew the alliance he had concluded with Sylla. He was succeeded by his son Phrahates III. who taking under his protection Tigranes, the son of Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia, gave him his daughter in marriage, and invading Armenia laid siege to Artaxata, with a design to drive the father from the throne, and place the son on it in his room. But, on the approach of Pompey, he thought fit to withdraw, and, by a solemn embassy, to renew the alliance which his father had concluded first with Sylla, and aftewards with Lucullus [u]. He was, not long after, murdered by his own children, Mithridates and Orodes, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon his death, Orodes, who was the elder brother, took possession of the throne; but was soon driven out by Mithridates, who making himself odious to the Parthians by his cruelties, was, in his turn, obliged to abandon the kingdom, and shelter himself with Gabinius governor of Syria. On his flight Orodes was replaced on the throne, by means of the Surenas, who next to the king, held the first place of honour and power in the kingdom, and had always adhered to the interest of Orodes. Gabinius was easily prevailed upon to undertake the restoring of Mithridates; for as his heart was entirely bent upon gain, he wanted only a pretence to invade Parthia, knowing that it was at that time a wealthy nation. Accordingly he set out on his march, taking Mithridates

Phrahates III.

Orodes.

Mithridates II.

[t] Plut. in Syll. Vell. patercul. l. ii. c. 24. [u] Dion, l. xxxvi. p. 22. Liv. epit. l. 100.

thridates along with him for his guide; but after he had passed the Euphrates, being accosted by Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt, who offered him ten thousand talents, on condition he restored him to his kingdom, this corrupt governor, dropping his former enterprize, repassed the Euphrates, and marched directly into Egypt, leaving Mithridates to shift for himself. The Parthian, seeing himself thus abandoned by Gabinius, raised what troops he could, and returning into Babylonia, seized Seleucia, where he was closely besieged by Orodes, and in a short time reduced to such streights, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. Orodes no sooner got him into his power, but, considering him as an enemy, and not as a brother, he caused him to be put to death, and was himself an eye-witness of that cruel execution [w]. We must not confound, as Justin has done, this Mithridates with Mithridates II. of whom we have spoke above, it being plain from Plutarch, Dion, Florus, Xiphilinus, and from the very prologue of the forty-second book of Trogus Pompeius, whom Justin has epitomized, that Mithridates II. and Mithridates the brother of Orodes, were two different princes. The former, by his many conquests and noble exploits, acquired the surname of Great; whereas the latter did nothing worth mentioning.

Mithridates put to death by his brother Orodes.

Orodes, by the death of his brother, became sole master of the whole Parthian empire; but did not long enjoy it in peace, a violent storm breaking out at a time, and from a quarter he least expected it. M. Licinius Crassus had been lately created consul at Rome the second time with Pompey; and, in the partition of the provinces, had obtained, in virtue of a law made by C. Trebonius tribune of the people, Syria, with the neighbouring provinces. To Pompey the two Spains were assigned, with all the provinces of Africa. By the Trebonian law they were both impowered to hold their provinces for the space of five years, to raise what forces they should think proper, and to make peace or war with whom they pleased, according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or people of Rome, as all other governors had ever before been obliged to do [x]. Crassus was, according

[w] Dion, l. xxxix. Appian. in Parthic. p. 134, 140, 141, & in Syriac. p. 120. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. [x] Liv. l. cv. Plut. in Crasso, Pomp. & Cat. Min. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. p. 437, 438. Dio, l. xxxix.

cording to Plutarch [r], a man of known valour and great experience in war, and had, on many occaſions, given ſignal proofs of both in the armies of Sylla, under whom he had learnt the military art. He was likewiſe an eloquent orator, well verſed in hiſtory, acquainted with Ariſtotle's philoſophy, and deemed one of the beſt antiquaries of his time. His obliging behaviour, his wonderful addreſs and affability, prejudiced people at firſt in his favour, and gained upon their affections; but his inſatiable avarice made all his good qualities in a manner overlooked; for though he was born of a rich family and heir to a great eſtate, yet he let no means of encreaſing his revenues eſcape him, and often uſed ſuch as were wholly unworthy of his birth and rank, being of opinion, as he himſelf declared, that no citizen was to be accounted a rich man, till he was able to maintain an army at his own expence. As he had therefore uſed all his intereſt to obtain the province of Syria, ſo he was overjoyed when it was conferred upon him for ſuch a term of years, and with ſo unbounded a power and authority, being reſolved to carry the war into Parthia, in hopes of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of that nation, which was deemed very rich, as never having been ſubdued by any foreign enemy. He was ſo tranſported with joy at the thoughts of the immenſe treaſures, which he took for granted, he was to bring with him from Parthia, that he could not forbear talking of his intended expedition in a manner unworthy of his age and character, even with perſons whom he ſcarce knew. He did not confine his view to Syria alone, or Parthia, but flattered himſelf with atchieving ſuch things, as ſhould eclipſe the great exploits of Lucullus, Pompey, and Sylla himſelf, whoſe names had ſpread terror over all the nations of the eaſt. He fancied himſelf already on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, and over-ran in his thoughts Bactria, India, and the moſt remote provinces of Aſia, beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conqueſts. Intoxicated with theſe hopes, he began, towards the end of his conſulſhip, to make his levies, and form the legions, which were to attend him into Syria. But ſome of the tribunes of the people, diſapproving his deſign of making war upon the Parthians, who had entered into an alliance with Rome, and religiouſly obſerved their engagements, did all that lay in their power to reverſe the

M. Licinius Craſſus reſolves to make war on the Parthians.

[r] Plut. in Craſſo.

the plebiſcitum or decree of the people, paſſed at the inſtigation of Trebonius, who was now out of office. Ateius Capito one of the tribunes, having ſtirred up the people, by repreſenting to them how baſe and ſhameful a thing it was to diſturb the tranquillity of a peaceable nation, who had done the Romans no injury, would have arreſted Craſſus, tho' conſul, if eight other tribunes had not oppoſed the violence of their collegue, and reſcued Craſſus out of the hands of the officer who had ſeized him. When the conſul, after performing, as uſual, his vows in the capitol, was ready to ſet out for his province, Ateius aſſembled the people, prepared to obſtruct his departure; which Craſſus being alarmed at, deſired Pompey to accompany him to the gates of the city; which he did accordingly, keeping in awe by his preſence, as he was greatly revered by the people, thoſe who had moſt zealouſly oppoſed the conſul's expedition. Ateius, ſeeing he could not prevent the departure of Craſſus, haſtened to the gate of the city through which he was to paſs; and there having ordered a fire to be kindled, as ſoon as Craſſus appeared, he threw ſome perfumes into it, and, invoking the infernal gods, uttered a thouſand imprecations againſt Craſſus, which made all thoſe, who heard them, tremble with horror [z]. Tho' Craſſus took no notice of theſe curſes, yet the ſuperſtitious Romans aſcribed to them all the misfortunes and calamities which befel him, and thoſe who attended him in this fatal expedition (D); whereas they were owing, as we ſhall ſee anon, to a quite different cauſe.

Is oppoſed in vain by Capito, tribune of the people.

CRASSUS

[z] Dio & Plut. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 11. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 46. Appian. bell. civil. p. 438

(D) Florus tells us, that Craſſus, on his ſetting out from Rome, was curſed by Metellus tribune of the people (12); and Velleius Paterculus (13), Appian (14), and Dion (15), that he was curſed by all the tribunes, but eſpecially by Ateius, who ſignalized himſelf on that occaſion.

————Craſſumque in bella ſecutæ
Sæva tribunitiæ moverunt prælia diræ.

ſays Lucian (16). Craſſus, the night before he ſet out for his province, ſupped with Cicero, in the gardens of his ſon-in-law Craſ-

(12) Flor. l. iii. c. 11. (13) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 46.
(14) Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 438. (15) Dio, l. xlix.
(16) Lucian. l. iii.

CRASSUS having, with the aſſiſtance of Pompey, got ſafe out of Rome, purſued his march to Brunduſium; where he immediately embarqued his men on board ſeveral tranſports, and, notwithſtanding the wind blew then very high, ſet ſail for Aſia, and, with much ado, reached the ports of Galatia, having loſt many ſhips in his paſſage. Soon after his landing he had an interview with Dejotarus king of Galatia, who, tho' ſtricken in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. Craſſus, thinking this an unſeaſonable undertaking, ſaid pleaſantly, You begin, O king, full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day. The twelfth hour was, with the Romans, the laſt of the day. As Craſſus was upwards of ſixty, and looked older than he was, Dejotarus replied, "And you, O general, are not too early in your expe- "dition againſt the Parthians[a]."

Sets out from Rome, Year of the flood 2944. Before Chriſt 55.

FROM Galatia Craſſus purſued his march into Syria, the province allotted to him; and being there informed, that immenſe treaſures were lodged in the temple of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch, he marched thither with part of his army, in order to ſeize them. Eleazar, one of the prieſts and at that time keeper of the ſacred treaſure, had under his charge, beſides many other things of an ineſtimable value, a rafter of maſſy gold, weighing three thouſand Hebrew pounds, or ſeven hundred and fifty common pounds. This, for the better ſecuring of it, he had incloſed into a beam made hollow for that purpoſe, and placed the beam over the entrance from the holy place into the holy of holies, hanging from it the veil which parted thoſe two places. Eleazar, who was appriſed of the motive of Craſſus's march to Jeruſalem, to ſave the other ornaments of the temple and the riches which were depoſited there by private perſons

Plunders the temple of Jeruſalem.

[a] Plut. ibid.

Craſſippes (17). From thence Cicero removed to Tuſculanum, and Craſſus haſtened to Brunduſium in his military habit, being reſolved, in ſpite of the tribunes, to make a war on the Parthians (18).

(17) Cic. epiſt. familiar. l. i. epiſt. 9. (18) Idem, l. iv. ad Attic. epiſt. 12. & l. ii. de divinat.

ſons, diſcovered the golden rafter to Craſſus, and ſuffered him to take it away, after having made him ſolemnly promiſe with an oath, that he would meddle with nothing elſe. But Craſſus no ſooner received it, than forgetting his oath, he ſeized on the two thouſand talents which Pompey had left there untouched; and rummaging the temple, plundered it of every thing elſe which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thouſand talents more; ſo that the whole booty, which he ſacriligeouſly took from thence, amounted to ten thouſand talents [b]; that is, to two millions and upwards of our money. Joſephus, who relates this, thinking it would ſcarce be credited by other nations, alledges the authority of Strabo and other writers to prove, that immenſe treaſures had been depoſited in the temple, by the Jews of Europe, Aſia, and Cyrenaica [c]; but the hiſtorical writings of Strabo, which he quotes, have not reached our times.

Begins hoſtilities with the Parthians.

CRASSUS, thinking himſelf now ſufficiently furniſhed for his intended expedition, marched to the Euphrates, and having croſſed that river on a bridge of boats, which he threw over it, entered the Parthian territories, and began hoſtilities, without any other motive than his inſatiable avarice, and an eager deſire of enriching himſelf with the plunder of a country, which was generally eſteemed very rich. The Romans had, by Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, made peace, and entered into alliances with the nation he thus invaded, and no complaints of any infraction or injuries had ever been heard, which might give juſt reaſon for a war; ſo that the Parthians, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch an invaſion, and having made no preparations for their defence, were eaſily driven out of all Meſopotamia. The city of Zenodotia, which Stephanus places near Nicephorium, was the only place that made any oppoſition. Apollonius, who was governor, or rather tyrant, as Dio calls him, of that city, ſent deputies to Craſſus, acquainting him, that he was willing to ſurrender up the place to him; but as ſoon as the detachment ſent to take poſſeſſion of it had entered the gate, he ſurrounded them, and cut them in pieces. But both he and the inhabitants paid dear for their treachery; for Craſſus having immediately inveſted the city with his whole army, and taken it by aſſault, reduced the inhabitants to ſlavery, confiſcated their goods

And ſeizes great part of Meſopotamia.

[b] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. [c] Idem ibid.

goods, and ſold their perſons to the beſt bidder. For this conqueſt and an inconſiderable advantage gained over one Talymenus Ilaces, or Syllaces, governor of Meſopotamia, who, having engaged the Romans with a ſmall body of horſe, was overcome and wounded, Craſſus ſuffered himſelf to be ſaluted by the ſoldiery with the title of imperator, which was uſually given after ſome ſignal victory. This turned to his diſgrace, the whole army laughing at his vanity, and expecting little from a general who was thus elated with the leaſt ſucceſs [d]. The other cities made no reſiſtance; ſo that he over-ran all Meſopotamia, and might, if he had taken advantage of the conſternation the Parthians were in, have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Cteſiphon, and made himſelf maſter of Babylonia as well as Meſopotamia; but, inſtead of purſuing the career he had begun, in the beginning of the autumn he repaſſed the Euphrates, and, leaving only ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to garriſon the places he had taken, put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria. This was undoubtedly the greateſt fault Craſſus committed in his Parthian expedition, after that of his undertaking it upon moſt unjuſt motives; for his haſty retreat gave the enemy time to recover from the terror which his arms had ſpread all over the eaſt, and to raiſe an army againſt the enſuing year, which the Romans could not withſtand. On his return into Syria, he was joined by his ſon, at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe. This young Roman had ſerved under Cæſar in Gaul, in quality of his lieutenant, and had been honoured with ſeveral military crowns, which generals uſed to beſtow on ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour. When Cæſar underſtood that his father had begun the war with the Parthians, he gave him leave to go into the eaſt and ſerve under him; and indeed Cæſar had all along preſſed Craſſus to break with the Parthians, to force his way into Bactria, and from thence into India, knowing, that the farther that general, of whoſe power he was jealous, penetrated into the eaſtern countries, the more able he himſelf ſhould be to put in execution his deſign of ſubverting the republic; but the unfortunate young Craſſus came into Aſia, only to be a witneſs of his father's ill conduct and to partake of his misfortunes [e].

[d] Dio, l. xl. Plut. ubi ſupra. [e] Plut. & Dio, ibid.

His extortions in Syria.

In Syria Craſſus ſpent his time, more like a publican than a general, being wholly taken up with examining into the revenues of that province, and improving them by the moſt ſhameful methods, in order to amaſs new treaſures. The plunder of the temple of Jeruſalem was not the only ſacrilege he was guily of; he robbed in like manner all the temples of Syria, appropriating to his own uſe their rich ornaments and furniture. The temple of the Syrian goddeſs, named Atargetis, at Hierapolis, which ſome writers call Bambyces, others Edeſſa, and the Syrians Magog, was famous all over the eaſt, on account of the immenſe treaſures laid up there, as being the collection of many years. Theſe the avaricious proconſul ſeized; and leſt any of the rich vaſes and ornaments ſhould be embezzled, he ſpent a great deal of his time in ſeeing the money counted, and the gold and ſilver veſſels weighed before him [f]. Having thus ranſacked all the temples and ſacred places within the limits of his province, which Gabinius himſelf, his predeceſſor, had ſpared, he began to load the Syrians with ſuch taxes as reduced them to beggary. He commanded all the cities of his province to furniſh him each with a certain number of men, and then diſcharged them for a ſum of money. No one could obtain juſtice without a large bribe, nor redeem themſelves from the inſolence of the ſoldiers, without advancing a large ſum to the general. In ſhort, there was not any means of amaſſing money, how unjuſt or oppreſſive ſoever, which he did not uſe, as if he had been ſent, not to govern, but to plunder the province. In the mean time, the military diſcipline was entirely neglected, the ſoldiers lived in their quarters without any order, and the whole army gave themſelves up to idleneſs, debauchery, and all manner of effeminate pleaſures. We are told, that as Craſſus was going out of the temple of Hierapolis, which he had plundered, his ſon, who walked before, ſtumbled at the threſhold, and falling pulled down his father with him. This was interpreted by the ſoothſayers as a very bad omen; but the entire neglect of military diſcipline was the ſureſt preſage of the misfortunes, which afterwards befel both his ſon and the whole army.

His interview with the Parthian ambaſſadors.

Crassus having thus ſpent the winter, early in the ſpring drew together his troops out of their ſeveral quarters, in order to purſue the war which he had begun with the

[f] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 748. Plin. l. v. c. 23. Plut. & Dion. ibid.

the Parthians. As Orodes their king was a very warlike prince, he had, during the winter, aſſembled a numerous army; but, before he entered with it upon action, he ſent embaſſadors to the Roman general, to know for what reaſon he made war upon him. The embaſſadors arrived in Syria while Craſſus was aſſembling his troops, and being introduced to him, firſt put him in mind of the alliance which the Parthians had concluded with Sylla and Pompey, and then told him, that if he was ſent againſt the Parthians by the people of Rome, they did not pretend he ſhould diſobey his orders, ſince in that caſe a war muſt enſue, which could not be terminated but by the final ruin of one of the empires; but if Craſſus, as they had been informed, had undertaken this war, contrary to the inclinations of the people of Rome, to ſatiate his private intereſt, that the king their maſter, pitying his old age, would ſuffer the Romans he had left in Meſopotamia, where they were rather beſieged than in garriſon, to retire unmoleſted. Craſſus, without alledging any pretence for his invading the Parthian dominions, anſwered this ſpeech with a rodomontade, ſaying, that they ſhould have his anſwer at Seleucia. Hereupon the chief of the embaſſadors, by name Vageſes or Vahiſes, ſmiling and ſhewing him the palm of his hand, ſaid, "You ſhall "ſooner, O Craſſus, ſee hair grow here, than be maſter "of Seleucia;" and, without adding a word more, retired and acquainted his maſter, that he muſt prepare for war [g].

Orodes finding, on the return of his embaſſadors, that the proconſul was bent on a war, immediately took the field, and dividing his troops into two bodies, marched in perſon with one to the frontiers of Armenia, to make a diverſion there, the king of that country having raiſed a conſiderable army to reinforce the Romans. The other he ſent into Meſopotamia, under the command of the brave Surena, or Surenas. This general, if we may depend on the character Plutarch gives us of him [h], had all the qualifications that form a conſummate hero. He was deſcended from one of the moſt antient and illuſtrious families of Parthia, and had derived from his anceſtors the right of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation: To this illuſtrious birth he is ſaid to have joined an extraordinary wiſdom and diſcretion, tho' he was but

The character of Surenas the Parthian general.

[g] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. Plut. Dio, ibid.

[h] Plut. in Craſſo.

thirty years of age, and to have surpassed in valour and prowess all men of his time. His valour kept the princes and nations of Asia in awe, and prevented their entering into a confederacy against the formidable power of Parthia. Orodes was indebted to him, as we have hinted above for his crown. The taking of Seleucia, when held by Mithridates, was chiefly owing to him; for he was the first who mounted the ramparts of that capital, struck terror into the enemy's troops, and made them fly before him. His stature was majestic, his air graceful, and his behaviour towards all extremely obliging. In wealth, power, and authority, he was, next to the king, the first man in the kingdom. His equipage, when he travelled, consisted of a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, a thousand horsemen completely armed for his guard, and besides, a great number of light-armed troops, which with his domestics, amounted to ten thousand more. He is said to have united the luxury of an Asiatic with the intrepidity of a conqueror; for he carried with him whatever could contribute to his pleasures, and at the same time was ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers; being always at the head of his troops, he commanded in the most perillous and desperate enterprizes. Tho' his courage was such as to brave death in a breach or battle, yet he was not ashamed to paint his face and perfume his hair, after the manner of the effeminate Medes; whereas the Parthians marched against their enemy with their hair in disorder, and making as hideous a figure as they could, to strike the more terror [i].

Surenas retakes most of the cities of Mesopotamia.

But, to resume the thread of our history, Orodes having divided his army into two bodies, Surenas marched with that which was under his command into Mesopotamia, where he soon retook most of the cities which Crassus had made himself master of the year before. Hereupon several Roman soldiers, who garrisoned the other places, making their escape out of Mesopotamia fled to Crassus, and filled his camp with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy. They told their fellow soldiers, that the Parthian troops were very numerous, brave, and well-disciplined; that it was impossible to overtake them when they fled, or escape them when

[i] Plut. ibid. & Appian in Parthic.

when they pursued; that their defensive arms were proof against the Roman darts, and their offensive weapons so sharp, that no buckler was fence against them, &c. Crassus looked upon this account only as the effect of a panic and cowardly fear; but the common soldiers, and many of the chief officers, were so disheartned at it, that he quæstor Caius Cassius, the same who afterwards conspired against Cæsar, and most of the legionary tribunes, advised Crassus to suspend his march, and deliberate with more leisure on the enterprize, before he proceeded farther in it. But Crassus obstinately persisted in his former resolution, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, being confirmed therein by the arrival of Artabazes king of Armenia, who brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his guard, and promised to send to the proconsul ten thousand cuirassiers and thirty thousand foot, whenever he should stand in need of them. At the same time he advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of Mesopotamia, but to take his rout over the mountains of Armenia. The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that as Armenia was a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the main strength of their army consisted, would prove there entirely useless; and besides, that if he took this rout, his army should be plentifully supplied with all necessaries: whereas, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, he would be perpetually harassed by the Parthian horse, and often be obliged to lead his army through sandy deserts, where he would be distressed for want of water and all other provisions. This was the best advice that could be given him, and the reasons for it were unanswerable; but Crassus, despising all that was said to him, told Artabazes, that as he had left many valiant Romans to garrison the towns, which he had made himself master of the last year in Mesopotamia, he was obliged to take that rout, lest they should be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; but as to the auxiliaries the king of Armenia had offered him, he willingly accepted them, and desired Artabazes to send them to him with all possible expedition. Thus Crassus, hearkening to no advice but what tended to his ruin, set out on his march for Mesopotamia. Dion Cassius, a judicious historian and at the same time an experienced warrior, observes here, that the Romans under the command of Crassus were on all occasions, either ignorant

Crassus despises the advice of the king of Armenia.

of what was neceſſarily to be done, or in no condition to execute it; and adds, that one would have thought they had been blinded and perſecuted by ſome divinity, ſince they could neither make uſe of their minds nor bodies. This divinity was, no doubt, the true God, tho' unknown to Dion, who thus revenged the robbing and profaning of his holy temple at Jeruſalem.

Enters Meſopotamia, contrary to the advice of all his officers.

THE proconſul, being greatly encouraged by the proſpect of the reinforcement promiſed him by the king of Armenia, began his march, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, advanced to the frontiers of Meſopotamia. He had under his command ſeven legions, four thouſand horſe, and a great many auxiliaries, the whole army amounting to forty thouſand men and upwards. With theſe he paſſed the Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, in the province of Comagene (E), and again entered Meſopotamia. Plutarch, Dion Caſſius, and Julius Obſequens ſpeaks of many prodigies, by which the gods declared before-hand, that they did not approve of this expedition, and gave him warning of the ill-ſucceſs that would attend it. While the troops were paſſing the Euphrates, the ſky was all on a ſudden overcaſt, and ſo dreadful a ſtorm aroſe, that the ſoldiers were filled with fear and conſternation. The inceſſant claps of thunder, the flaſhes of lightening that followed one another, and the violent wind which blew in the ſoldiers faces, ſeemed to have been ſent by the gods, on purpoſe to put a ſtop to their march. Part of the bridge was broke down by the wind and lightening, while the army was paſſing. The horſe which Craſſus uſed to ride in battle, fell into the river, and was drowned with the groom who led him. The golden eagle, which was the chief ſtandard of the army, is ſaid to have turned about of itſelf on the ſtaff on which it was fixed.

Many

(E) Strabo and Pliny place the city of Zeugma in Comagene, a province of Syria, and tell us, that it was ſo called from a bridge built here over the Euphrates, the word Ζευγμα in the Greek tongue ſignifying a bridge. This bridge was, according to Dion Caſſius and Stephanus, the work of Alexander the Great. But it is not at all probable, that Alexander ſhould have gone ſo far as Comagene to croſs the Euphrates; and beſides, Arrian tells us, that he led his army over that river at Thapſacus, after having repaired a bridge there, which had been deſtroyed by the Perſians, in order to prevent him from entering Meſopotamia.

Many other ſtandards were, by the violence of the wind, blown into the river and loſt. While Craſſus was offering the uſual ſacrifices for the purifying of the troops, he let fall the entrails of the victim, which the prieſts had, according to cuſtom, put into his hands. From this event the ſoldiery drew bad preſages; but the general, deriding their ſuperſtition, told them, That they had no occaſion to be afraid, for his arms ſhould not ſlip out of his hands in the ſame manner [k].

THE army having thus croſſed the Euphrates and entered the enemy's country, Caſſius adviſed the proconſul to advance to ſome of the towns in which he had left garriſons, and there reſt and refreſh his troops, till he had got certain intelligence of the number, ſtrength, and power of the enemy; but, if he did not approve of this counſel, he thought the beſt thing he could do was to march along the Euphrates to Seleucia; for, by keeping cloſe to that river, he would avoid being ſurrounded by the Parthians, and at the ſame time be plentifully ſupplied, by means of his ſhips, with all neceſſary proviſions. Craſſus ſeemed to approve of this advice, and was ready to come into it, when Abgarus king of Edeſſa, of whom we have ſpoke in the end of the ninth volume, arrived at the Roman camp, and prevailed upon the proconſul to follow a quite different plan. Abgarus, as he had formerly ſerved under Pompey, was well known in the Roman army, and looked upon by the ſoldiery as a friend; but in reality was a traitor, and ſent by Surenas, with whom he kept a private correſpondence, on purpoſe to bring about the deſtruction of Craſſus; and this part he acted ſo well, that the ruin of the Roman army was chiefly owing to him. In the firſt interview he had with the Roman general, he told him, that he wanted wings and feet more than arms againſt a nation that was ready, on his approach, to withdraw with their moſt valuable effects into Scythia and Hyrcania; that they had not courage enough to look the Romans in the face; that the name of Craſſus had already ſpread a general terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining of a complete victory, than to march directly up to them and give them battle. He offered himſelf for a guide to lead them the ſhorteſt way to the enemy; and Craſſus, blinded with his flattering ſpeeches, gave entirely into the ſnare, and followed the traitor, who

Betrayed by Abgarus king of Edeſſa.

[k] Plut. & Dion. ibid.

who had ſo ſtrongly inſinuated himſelf in his favour, that he would hearken to no-body but him. Under the conduct of this crafty and treacherous guide, they firſt entered into a vaſt green plain, divided by many rivulets; and their march proved very eaſy croſs this delicious country: but the farther they advanced, the worſe the roads grew, inſomuch, that they were obliged at laſt to climb up mountains and rocks, which brought them to a dry and ſandy plain, where they could neither find food to ſatisfy their hunger, nor water to quench their thirſt. Then Abgarus began to be ſuſpected by the tribunes and other officers, who earneſtly preſſed their general to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains. At the ſame time an expreſs arrived from Artabazes, acquainting Craſſus, that Orodes had invaded his kingdom at the head of a mighty army, and that he was obliged to keep his forces at home for the defence of his own dominions. The ſame meſſenger adviſed the proconſul, in his maſter's name, to avoid by all means the barren plains, where his troops would periſh with hunger, and to take to the mountains and approach Armenia, that they might join their forces againſt the common enemy; but all was to no purpoſe, for Craſſus, inſtead of giving ear either to the wiſe counſels of his own officers, or of a king, who was a ſincere and hearty friend to the Romans, blindly and obſtinately followed the advice of the treacherous Abgarus, or rather his own ill fate; nay, he flew into a violent paſſion againſt the meſſenger ſent him by Artabazes, for the treacherous advice he had given him [1]. Caſſius could not hear this mad anſwer without the greateſt indignation; but Abgarus endeavoured to ſoften him, by promiſing to lead the army very ſoon into a delicious and fruitful country beyond the deſarts, which would make them amends for the fatigue they had undergone. As to Craſſus, he gave no other anſwer to the complaints of his troops, than that they could not expect to meet with the delights of Campania in the moſt remote parts of the world.

The painful march of the Roman army.

Thus they continued their march for ſome days croſs a deſart, the very ſight of which was ſufficient to throw them into the utmoſt deſpair; for they could not perceive, either near them, or at a diſtance, the leaſt tree, plant, or brook, not ſo much as a hill, or a ſingle blade of graſs; nothing was to be ſeen all around them, but huge heaps of burning ſand. The Romans had ſcarce got through this deſart, when word was

[1] Plut. Dion. ibid. Appian. in Parthic.

was brought them by their ſcouts, that a numerous army of Parthians was advancing full march to attack them; for Abgarus, under pretence of going out on parties, had often conferred with Surenas, and concerted meaſures with him for deſtroying the Roman army. Upon this advice, which occaſioned great confuſion in the camp, the Romans being quite exhauſted and tired out with their long and troubleſome march, Craſſus drew up his men in battalia, following at firſt the advice of Caſſius, who was for extending the infantry as wide as poſſible, that they might take up the more ground, and by that means prevent the enemy from ſurrounding them; but Abgarus aſſuring the proconſul, that the Parthian forces were not ſo numerous as was repreſented, he changed this diſpoſition, and believing only the man who betrayed him, drew up his troops in a ſquare, which faced every way, and had on each ſide twelve cohorts in front. Near each cohort he placed a troop of horſe to ſupport them, that they might charge with the greater ſecurity and boldneſs. Thus the whole army looked more like one phalanx, than troops drawn up in manipuli, with ſpaces between them, after the Roman manner. The general himſelf commanded in the centre, his ſon in the left wing, and Caſſius in the right. In this order they advanced to the banks of a ſmall river called the Baliſſus, the ſight of which was very pleaſing to the ſoldiers, who were much harraſſed with drought and exceſſive heat. Moſt of the officers were for encamping on the banks of this river, or rather rivulet, to give the troops time to refreſh themſelves after the fatigue of ſo long and painful a march, and in the mean time to procure certain intelligence of the number and diſpoſition of the Parthian army; but Craſſus, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried on by the inconſiderate ardour of his ſon and the horſe he commanded, only allowed the legions to take a meal ſtanding; and before this could be done by all, he ordered them to advance, not ſlowly and halting now and then, after the Roman manner, but as faſt as they could move, till they came in ſight of the enemy, who, contrary, to their expectation, did not appear either ſo numerous or ſo terrible as they had been repreſented. But this was a ſtratagem of Surenas, who had concealed his men in convenient places, ordering them to cover their arms, leſt their brightneſs ſhould betray them, and ſtarting up at the firſt ſignal attack the enemy on all ſides. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for Surenas no ſooner gave the ſignal, than the Parthians, riſing as it were

The imprudent conduct of Craſſus.

The Roman army attacked by the Parthians.

were out of the ground, with dreadful cries and a moſt frightful noiſe, advanced againſt the Romans, who were greatly ſurprized and diſmayed at that ſight, and much more ſo, when the Parthians, throwing off the covering of their arms, appeared in ſhining cuiraſſes and helmets of burniſhed ſteel, finely mounted on horſes, covered all over with armour of the ſame metal. At their head appeared young Surenas in a rich dreſs, and was the firſt who charged the enemy, endeavouring with his pike men to break through the firſt ranks of the Roman army; but finding it too cloſe and impenetrable, the cohorts ſupporting each other, he fell back and retired in a ſeeming confuſion; but the Romans were much ſurprized, when they ſaw themſelves ſuddenly ſurrounded on all ſides, and galled with continual ſhowers of arrows. Craſſus ordered his light-armed foot and archers to advance and charge the enemy; but they were ſoon repulſed, and forced to cover themſelves behind the heavy-armed foot. Then the Parthian horſe advancing near the Romans, diſcharged ſhowers of arrows upon them, every one of which did execution, the legionaries being drawn up in ſuch cloſe order, that it was impoſſible for the enemy to miſs their aim. As their arrows were of an extraordinay weight, and diſcharged with incredible force and impetuoſity, nothing was proof againſt them. The two kings advanced in good order to repulſe them, but to no effect; for the Parthians ſhot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they faced the enemy; ſo that the Romans, whether they kept their ground, or purſued their flying enemy, were equally annoyed with their fatal arrows.

The Romans galled by the arrows of the Parthians.

THE Romans, as long as they had any hopes that the Parthians, after having ſpent their arrows, would either betake themſelves to flight, or engage them hand to hand, ſtood their ground with great reſolution and intrepidity, ; but when they obſerved that there were a great many camels in their rear loaded with arrows, and that thoſe who emptied their quivers wheeled about to fill them anew, they began to loſe courage, and loudly to complain of their general for ſuffering them thus to ſtand ſtill, and ſerve only as a butt to the enemy's arrows, which, they well ſaw, would not be exhauſted till they were all killed to a man. Hereupon Craſſus ordered his ſon to advance at all adventures, and attack the enemy with thirteen hundred horſe, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts.

Young Craſſus advances againſt the enemy.

But

But the Parthians no ſooner ſaw this choice body, for it was the flower of the army, marching up againſt them, but they wheeled about, and betook themſelves, according to their cuſtom to flight. Hereupon young Craſſus crying out as loud as he could, They fly before us, puſhed on full ſpeed after them, not doubting but he ſhould gain a complete victory; but when he was a great diſtance from the main body of the Roman army he perceived his miſtake, for thoſe, who before had fled, facing about, charged him with incredible fury. Young Craſſus ordered his troops to halt, hoping that the enemy, upon ſeeing their ſmall number, would not be afraid to come to a cloſe fight; but herein he was likewiſe greatly diſappointed, for the Parthians, contenting themſelves to oppoſe his front with their heavy armed horſe, ſurrounded him on all ſides, and keeping at a diſtance, diſcharged inceſſant ſhowers of arrows upon the unfortunate Romans, thus ſurrounded and pent up. The Parthian cavalry, in wheeling about, raiſed ſo thick a duſt, that the Romans could ſcarce ſee one another, much leſs the enemy; nevertheleſs they found themſelves wounded with arrows, tho' they could not perceive whence they came. In a ſhort time the place where they ſtood was all ſtrown with dead bodies. Some of the unhappy Romans finding their entrails tore, and many overcome by the exquiſite torments they ſuffered, rolled themſelves on the ſand with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner. Others endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, only made their wounds the larger, and encreaſed their pain. Moſt of them died in this manner, and thoſe who outlived their companions, were no more in a condition to act; for when young Craſſus exhorted them to march up to the enemy, ſome ſhewed him their wounded bodies, others their hands nailed to their bucklers, and ſome their feet pierced through and pinned to the ground; ſo that it was equally impoſſible for them either to attack the enemy, or defend themſelves. The young commander therefore, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy, advanced at the head of the cavalry againſt their heavy-armed horſe. The thouſand Gauls, whom he had brought with him from the weſt, charged the enemy with incredible boldneſs and vigour; but their lances did little execution on men armed with cuiraſſes, and horſes covered with tried armour. However, they behaved with great

Is reduced to great ſtreights.

great reſolution; for ſome of them taking hold of the enemies ſpears and cloſing with them, threw them off their horſes on the ground, where they lay without being able to ſtir, by reaſon of the great weight of their armour; others diſmounting crept under the enemies horſes, and thruſting their ſwords into their bellies, made them throw their riders. Thus the brave Gauls fought tho' greatly harraſſed with heat and thirſt, which they were not accuſtomed to bear, till the moſt of their horſes were killed, and their commander dangerouſly wounded. They then thought it adviſeable to retire to their infantry, which they no ſooner joined, than the Parthians inveſted them anew, making a moſt dreadful havock of them with their arrows. In this deſperate condition, Craſſus ſpying a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance, led the remains of his detachment thither, with a deſign to defend himſelf in the beſt manner he could, till ſuccours ſhould be ſent him from his father. The Parthians purſued him, and, having ſurrounded him in his new poſt, continued ſhowering arrows upon his men, till moſt of them were either killed or diſabled, without being able to make uſe of their arms, or give the enemy proofs of their valour.

YOUNG Craſſus had two Greeks with him, who had ſettled in the city of Carrhæ. Theſe touched with compaſſion in ſeeing ſo brave a man reduced to ſuch ſtreights, preſſed him to retire with them to the neighbouring city of Iſchnes, which had declared for the Romans; but the young Roman rejected their propoſal with indignation, telling them, that he would rather die a thouſand times, than abandon ſo many valiant men, who ſacrificed their lives for his ſake. Having returned this anſwer to his two Greek friends, he embraced and diſmiſſed them, giving them leave to retire and ſhift for themſelves in the beſt manner they could. As for himſelf, having now loſt all hopes of being relieved, and ſeeing moſt of his men and friends killed round him, he gave way to his grief, and not being able to make uſe of his arm, which was ſhot through with a large barbed arrow, he preſented his ſide to one of his attendants, and ordered him to put an end to his unhappy life. His example was followed by Cenſorinus a ſenator, by Megabacchus an experienced and brave officer, and by moſt of the nobility who ſerved under him. Five hundred common ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and the reſt cut in pieces.

His death.

THE

The Parthians, having thus cut off or taken the whole detachment commanded by young Craſſus, marched without delay againſt his father, who, upon the firſt advice that the enemy fled before his ſon and was cloſely purſued by him, had taken heart, the more becauſe thoſe, who had remained to make head againſt him, ſeemed to abate much of their ardour, the greateſt part of them having marched with the reſt againſt his ſon. Wherefore having encouraged his troops, he retired to a ſmall hill in his rear, to wait there till his ſon returned from the purſuit. Young Craſſus had diſpatched frequent expreſſes to his father, to acquaint him with the danger he was in; but they had fallen into the enemies hands, and been by them put to the ſword. Only the laſt, who had eſcaped with great difficulty, arrived ſafe, and informed him that his ſon was loſt, if he did not ſend him an immediate and powerful reinforcement. This news threw Craſſus into the utmoſt conſternation; a thouſand affecting thoughts roſe in his mind, and diſturbed his reaſon to ſuch a degree, that he ſcarce knew what he was doing. However, the deſire he had of ſaving his ſon and ſo many brave Romans, who were under his command, made him immediately decamp and march to their aſſiſtance; but he was not gone far, before he was met by the Parthians, who, with loud ſhouts and ſongs of victory, gave, at a great diſtance, the unhappy father notice of his misfortune. They had cut off young Craſſus's head, and, having fixed it on the point of a lance, were advancing full ſpeed to fall on the father. As they drew near, Craſſus was ſtruck with that diſmal and affecting ſight but on this occaſion behaved like a hero; for tho' he was under the deepeſt concern, he had the preſence of mind to ſtifle his grief, for fear of diſcouraging the army, and to cry out to the diſmayed troops, "This misfortune is entirely mine; the loſs of one man "cannot affect the victory: let us charge, let us fight "like Romans; if you have any compaſſion for a father "who has juſt now loſt a ſon, whoſe valour you admired, "let it appear in your rage and reſentment againſt theſe "inſulting barbarians". Thus Craſſus ſtrove to reanimate his troops; but his efforts were unſucceſsful: their courage was quite ſunk, as appeared from the faint and languiſhing ſhout which they raiſed, according to cuſtom, before the action. When the ſignal was given, the Parthians keeping to their old way of fighting, diſcharged clouds

The whole Parthian army falls upon Craſſus.

clouds of arrows on the legionaries, without drawing near them, which did ſuch dreadful execution, that many of the Romans, to avoid the arrows, which occaſioned a long and painful death, threw themſelves like men in deſpair, on the enemy's heavy-armed horſe, ſeeking from their ſpears a more quick and eaſy kind of death. Thus the Parthians continued plying them inceſſantly with their arrows till night, when they left the field of battle, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his ſon.

Deſperate conditions of the Romans.

THIS was a melancholy night for the Romans. Craſſus kept himſelf concealed from the ſoldiery, lying not in the generals tent, but in the open air, and on the bare ground, with his head wrapped up in his paludamentum or military cloke, and was, in that forlorn condition, ſays Plutarch, a great example to the vulgar of the inſtability of fortune; to the wiſe, a ſtill greater of the pernicious effects of avarice, temerity, and ambition. Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Caſſius, approached him, and endeavoured to raiſe him up and conſole him; but ſeeing him quite ſunk under the weight of his affliction and deaf to all comfort, they ſummoned a council of war, compoſed of all the chief officers, wherein it was unanimouſly reſolved, that they ſhould decamp before break of day, and retire, without ſound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of Carrhæ, which was held by a Roman garriſon. Agreeable to this reſolution, they began their march as ſoon as the council broke up; which produced dreadful outcries among the ſick and wounded, who, perceiving that they were to be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, filled the camp with their complaints and lamentations; but their cries and tears tho' very affecting, did not ſtop the march of the others, which indeed was very ſlow, to give the ſtragglers time to come up. There were only three hundred light horſe, under the command of one Egnatius, who purſued their march without ſtopping. Theſe arriving at Carrhæ about midnight, Egnatius, calling to the centinels on the walls, deſired them to acquaint Coponius, governor of the place, that Craſſus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without ſaying a word more or letting them know who he was, continued his march with all poſſible expedition to the bridge of Zeugma, which he paſſed, and by that means ſaved his troops, but was much blamed for abandoning his general.

HOWEVER,

Crassus gets to Carrhæ.

However, the message he sent to Caponius was of great service to Crassus; for that commander, wisely conjecturing, from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that some misfortune had befallen Crassus, immediately ordered his garrison to stand to their arms, and marching out met Crassus, and conducted him and his army into the city; for the Parthians, tho' informed of his flight, did not offer to pursue him, observing therein the superstitious custom which obtained among them and the Persians, not to fight in the night; but, when it was day, they entered the Roman camp, and having put all the wounded, to the number of four thousand, to the sword, dispersed their cavalry all over the plain in pursuit of the fugitives. One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the main body of the army, with four cohorts, missed his way and was overtaken by the enemy, at whose approach he withdrew to a neighbouring hill, where he defended himself with great valour, till all his men were killed, except twenty, who made their way through the enemy sword in hand, and got safe to Carrhæ [m]; but Vargunteius himself lost his life on this occasion.

In the mean time Surenas, not knowing whether Crassus and Cassius had retired to Carrhæ, or taken a different rout, in order to be informed of the truth and take his measures accordingly, dispatched a messenger, who spoke the Roman language, to the city of Carrhæ, enjoining him to approach the walls, and acquaint Crassus himself or Cassius, that the Parthian general was inclined to enter into a treaty with them, and demanded a conference. Both the proconsul and his quæstor Cassius spoke from the walls with the messenger, and accepting the proposal with great joy, desired that the time and place for an interview might be immediately agreed upon. The messenger withdrew, promising to return quickly with an answer from Surenas; but that general no sooner understood that Crassus and Cassius were in Carrhæ, than he marched thither with his whole army, and, having invested the place, acquainted the Romans, that, if they expected any favourable terms, they must deliver up Crassus and Cassius to him in chains. Hereupon a council of the chief officers being summoned, it was thought

[m] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. Oros. l. vi. c. 13.

thought expedient to retire from Carrhæ that very night, and ſeek for another aſylum. It was of the utmoſt importance, that none of the inhabitants of Carrhæ, ſhould be acquainted with their deſign till the time of its execution; but Craſſus, whoſe whole conduct evidently ſhews that he was blinded, as Dion Caſſius obſerves, by ſome divinity, imparted the whole matter in confidence to one Andromachus, chuſing him for his guide, and relying injudiciouſly on the fidelity of a man whom he ſcarce knew. Andromachus immediately acquainted Surenas with the deſign of the Romans, promiſing at the ſame time, as the Parthians did not engage in the night, to manage matters ſo, that they ſhould not get out of his reach before day-break. Purſuant to his promiſe, he led them through many windings and turnings, till he brought them into deep marſhy grounds, where the infantry were up to the knees in mire. Then Caſſius, ſuſpecting that their guide had led them into thoſe bogs with no good deſign, refuſed to follow him any longer, and returning to Carrhæ, took his rout towards Syria, which he reached with five hundred horſe. Octavius, with five thouſand men under his command, being conducted by truſty guides, gained the mountains, called, by Plutarch and Appian, Sinnaci, and there intrenched himſelf before break of day. As for Craſſus, he was ſtill entangled in the marſhes, when Surenas, at the riſing of the ſun, overtook him, and inveſted him with his cavalry. The proconſul had with him four cohorts and a ſmall body of horſe; and with theſe he gained, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the ſummit of another hill within twelve furlongs of Octavius, who, ſeeing the danger that threatened his general, flew to his aſſiſtance, firſt with a ſmall number of his men, but was ſoon followed by all the reſt, who, being aſhamed of their cowardice, quitted their poſt, tho' very ſafe, and, charging the Parthians with great fury, diſengaged Craſſus, and obliged the enemy to abandon the hill. Upon the retreat of the enemy, they formed themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and, placing Craſſus in the middle, made a kind of rampart round him with their bucklers, reſolutely proteſting, that none of the enemy's arrows ſhould touch their general's body, till they were all killed fighting in his defence. Surenas, loath to let ſo fine a prey eſcape, ſurrounded the hill, as if he deſigned to make a new attack; but finding his Parthians very backward, and not doubting but the Romans, when night came on, would purſue their march and get out of his reach, he had recourſe again to artifice, and declared before ſome priſoners, whom he

Caſſius gets ſafe into Syria.

Craſſus, betrayed by his guide, is overtaken by the enemy.

he ſoon after ſet at liberty, that he was inclined to treat with the proconſul of a peace, and that it was better to come to a reconciliation with Rome, than to ſow the ſeeds of an eternal war, by ſhedding the blood of one of her generals. Agreeable to this declaration, Surenas, as ſoon as the priſoners were releaſed, advanced towards the hill, where the Romans were poſted, attended only by ſome of his officers, and, with his bow unbent and open arms, invited Craſſus to an interview. So ſudden a change ſeemed very ſuſpicious to the proconſul, who therefore declined the interview, till he was forced by his own ſoldiers to intruſt his life with an enemy, whoſe treachery they had all experienced; for the legionaries, flocking round him, not only abuſed him in an outrageous manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the propoſals made him by the Parthian general. Seeing therefore that his troops were ready to mutiny, he began to advance, without arms or guards, towards the enemy, after having called the gods and his officers to witneſs the violence his troops offered him, and entreated all who were preſent, but eſpecially Octavius and Petronius, two of the chief commanders, for the honour of Rome their common mother, not to mention, after his death, the ſhameful behaviour of the Roman legionaries. Octavius and Petronius could not reſolve to let him go alone, but attended him down the hill, as did likewiſe ſome legionaries keeping at a diſtance. Craſſus was met at the foot of the hill by two Greeks, who, diſmounting from their horſes, ſaluted him with great reſpect, and deſired him in the Greek tongue to ſend ſome of his attendants, who might ſatisfy him, that Surenas, and thoſe who were with him, came without arms. Hereupon Craſſus ſent two brothers of the Roſcian family; but Surenas, having cauſed them to be ſeized, advanced to the foot of the hill mounted on a fine horſe, and attended by the chief officers of his army. Craſſus, who waited for the return of his two meſſengers, was ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf prevented by Surenas in perſon, when he leaſt expected it. The Parthian general, perceiving as he approached Craſſus, that he was on foot, cried out in a ſeeming ſurpriſe, "What "do I ſee? a Roman general on foot, and we on horſe-"back! Let a horſe be brought for him immediately. "You need not be ſurpriſed, replied Craſſus, we are come "only to an interview, each after the cuſtom of his coun-"try. Very well anſwered Surenas, there ſhall be hence-

Invited by Surenas to an interview

" forth a laſting peace between king Orodes and the people " of Rome; but we muſt ſign the articles of it on the " banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans do not always " remember your conventions." Craſſus would have ſent for a horſe; but a very ſtately one, with a golden bit and richly capariſoned, was brought to him by a Parthian; which Surenas preſenting to him, " Accept this horſe from " my hands, ſaid he, which I give you in the name of my " maſter king Orodes." He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when ſome of the king's officers, taking Craſſus by the middle, ſet him up upon the horſe, which they began to whip with great violence before them, in order to make him quicken his pace. Octavius offended at this inſult, took the horſe by the bridle; Petronius, and the few Romans who were preſent, ſeconded him, and flocking all around Craſſus, ſtopped his horſe. The Parthians endeavoured to repulſe them and clear the way for the proconſul; whereupon they began to juſtle and puſh one another with great tumult and diſorder. At laſt Octavius, drawing his ſword, killed one of the king's grooms; but at the ſame time another coming behind Octavius, with one blow laid him dead at his feet. Both parties fought with great reſolution, the Parthians ſtriving to carry off Craſſus, and the Romans to reſcue him out of their hands. In this ſcuffle moſt of the Romans, who came to the conference, were killed, among the reſt Craſſus himſelf; but whether by a Roman or a Parthian is uncertain. Some writers tell us, that he fell by the hand of one Promonæthros or Manarthes, a Parthian; but others, with Livy [n], Florus [o], and Sextus Rufus [p], leave it in doubt, whether he was killed by his own men, to prevent his falling alive into the ene or's hands, or by the Parthians. However that be, his head and right hand were immediately cut off in order to be ſent to Orodes in Armenia, and his mangled body left unburied, to be devoured by the wild beaſts. Upon his death, the reſt of the army either ſurrendered to the enemy, or diſperſing in the night, were purſued and put to the ſword. The Romans loſt in this campaign at leaſt thirty thouſand men; of which twenty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. The latter continued in captivity among the Parthians, and

Inſulted by the Parthians.

And killed.

His whole army deſtroyed.

[n] Liv. l. cvi. [o] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. [p] Sext. Ruf. in brev.

and contracting ignominious marriages, to the ſhame of Rome, as Horace emphatically expreſſes it (F), grew old on the lands and under the ſtandards of the barbarians. The ſtandards of the vanquiſhed legions were carried to Seleucia, and there ſhewn for many years as ſights; and from this time the Romans looked upon the war with the Parthians as the moſt important of all their wars, the revenging of the death of Craſſus and the recovering of their enſigns being ever after the chief object of their application; but how they ſucceeded herein, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. This battle is called by the Latin authors the battle of Carrhæ, becauſe it was fought at a ſmall diſtance from that city, and was, without all doubt the moſt terrible blow, after the battle of Cannæ, which the Romans ever received.

SURENAS, having thus entirely defeated the Roman army, ſet out on his march to Seleucia, ſpreading a report, that Craſſus was ſtill alive, and that he intended to ſhew him to the numerous inhabitants of that great metropolis. His deſign was to entertain them with a comical ſcene, which he projected on his march. There was among the Roman captives one Caius Paccianus, who greatly reſembled the proconſul Craſſus. This man Surenas cauſed to be dreſt after the Parthian manner, and having placed him on a ſtately horſe, made him enter Seleucia at the head of the army, with twelve lictors carrying before him their faſces and axes. The guards of this mock conſul were mounted on camels, each of them having an empty purſe hanging at his girdle. The bloody heads of ſeveral Roman ſoldiers, ſtuck on ſpears, ſerved for trophies, and revived in the minds of the citizens of Seleucia the joy, which the firſt news of the late victory had occaſioned in that city. This odd train was followed by a company of lewd women, who with ſeveral ſongs ſtigmatized

(F) The words of Horace are:

Mileſne Craſſi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? & hoſtium
(Proh Curia inverſique mores!)
Conſenuit ſocerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo Marſus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Veſtæ,
Incolumi Jove & urbe Roma (19)?

(19) Horat. carm. l. iii. od. 5.

matized the memory and character of Craſſus. When the ſhew was over, Surenas produced, in the preſence of the ſenate of Seleucia, a collection of laſcivious tales, then known by the title of the Mileſian fables, which a Parthian ſoldier had found in rifling the baggage of a young Roman, whom Plutarch calls Ruſtius. The general took occaſion from thence to inveigh againſt the debauchery of the Romans, who put ſuch infamous books into the hands of their youth, and corrupted their minds with lewd fables, inſtead of forming their bodies for the exerciſe of war [q].

WHEN the battle of Carrhæ was fought, king Orodes was, as we have hinted above, in Armenia, where he had concluded a peace with Artabazes; for the king of Armenia, on the return of the expreſſes he had ſent to Craſſus, perceiving by the falſe meaſures he had taken, that the army under his command muſt have been infallibly loſt, had entered into a treaty of friendſhip with the Parthian, and cemented it by giving one of his daughters in marriage to Pacorus the ſon of Orodes. While the two kings were ſolemnizing their new alliance with expenſive and public feaſts, Styllaces or Syllaces, a Parthian officer, whom Surenas had ſent with the news of his late victory, and the head of Craſſus as a proof of it, arrived in the capitol of Armenia. The two kings were at table, and Jaſon, a tragedian of Trallis, was ſinging ſome ſongs out of the Bacchis of Euripides, when the meſſenger was introduced, and preſented Orodes with the head of Craſſus, ſaying, "Surenas ſends you the "head of the Roman general, who has been cut in pieces "with his whole army." The tranſports of joy which Orodes felt, at this ſight and theſe words, are not to be expreſſed. The lords of both kingdoms, who attended their ſovereigns, raiſed loud and repeated ſhouts of joy; and Syllaces was ordered to give a more particular and diſtinct account of that memorable action: which when he had done, Orodes commanded melted gold to be poured into Craſſus's mouth, reproaching him thereby with avarice, which had been always his predominant paſſion [r].

The head of Craſſus ſent to Orodes.

SURENAS did not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory; for Orodes, growing jealous of his glory and great authority among the Parthians, cauſed him to be put to death ſoon after [s], placing Pacorus, his favourite ſon, at the head of the army in his room. The young prince, agreeable to his

Surenas put to death.

[q] Plut ibid. [r] Flor. l. iii. c. 11. Sext. Ruf. in brev. Dio. Caſs. l. xl. [s] Dio. Cass. ibid.

his father's directions, marched into Syria, which the Parthians expected to find without defence, after the late defeat of the Roman army; but Cassius, the only general officer who survived the defeat of Crassus, meeting them on the frontiers, at the head of five hundred horse, who had escaped with him out of Mesopotamia, and some Asiatic levies, gave them so warm a reception, that they thought it advisable to retreat to their own territories, and there raise more forces for a second invasion. Accordingly they repassed the Euphrates, and, having spent the winter in making new preparations, early in the spring they crossed the Euphrates anew, and re-entered Syria with a very numerous army, under the conduct of Orsaces, an old and experienced commander; for Pacorus the king's son, being then but fifteen years of age, had only the name of general. Orsaces reduced without opposition, such places as lay in his way; and being master of all the country between the Euphrates and the city of Antioch, closely besieged that Metropolis, Cassius having shut himself up in it, as not having sufficient forces to keep the field and make head against so powerful an enemy. In the mean time Cicero, to whom the province of Cilicia had been assigned, being informed by Antiochus king of Comagene, that Cassius was besieged in Antioch by the Parthians, and that the king of Armenia was ready to fall upon Cappadocia, drew together what forces he could, and with them marched to the eastern borders of his province lying next to Armenia, with a design to prevent the Armenians from invading Cappadocia, and to be at the same time near at hand to assist Cassius, in case the Parthians should pursue the siege of Antioch with vigour. He likewise sent another body of troops to mount Amanus with the same view, which falling in with a great party of Parthian horse, that had entered Cilicia through the streights of that mountain, cut them off all to a man. The news of this defeat and of Cicero's approach to Antioch greatly encouraged Cassius and his men to make a vigorous defence, and so disheartened the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and marching to Antigonia, another city in that neighbourhood, attempted to reduce it; but as they were quite unacquainted with the manner of managing sieges, their chief force consisting in cavalry, they were attended with no better success there, and were soon obliged to retire. Cassius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, drew them into an ambuscade, in which

The Parthians invade Syria.

But are driven out with great loss by Cicero and Cassius.

great numbers of them were cut off, with Orſaces their leader. Thoſe who had the good luck to eſcape repaſſed the Euphrates with Pacorus; but returned again with new forces towards the end of the ſummer, and wintered in Cyrrheſtica, a northern province of Syria [t].

Return, and beſiege Antioch.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, the Parthians took the field, and marching to Antioch, beſieged that city a ſecond time, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus with all his forces in it; for the province of Syria had been allotted to him, and Caſſius, who had defended it before without any legal commiſſion, was now returned to Rome. As Bibulus was no warrior, he did not ſo much as make one ſally, but kept his troops within the walls, ſuffering the enemy to carry on their works without the leaſt moleſtation. He would not even acquaint Cicero, who was ſtill in Cilicia, with the danger he was in; nay, he was heard to ſay, that he had rather be reduced to the utmoſt extremity, than ſeem to ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance. However, his lieutenants wrote both to Cicero and to Thermus prætor of Aſia, ſoliciting them to haſten to their relief; but, before their arrival, Bibulus effected by craft what he dared not attempt by force; for having by his emiſſaries encouraged Ordonopantes, a nobleman of Parthia, who had been diſguſted by Orodes, to raiſe a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, the army before Antioch was recalled to ſuppreſs it; by which means the ſiege of Antioch was raiſed, and all Syria delivered from the danger it was in of falling under the power of the Parthians [u].

The ſiege raiſed.

We find no further mention made of the Parthians from this time to the breaking out of the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, when the latter ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from Orodes; which that prince was willing to grant on condition that Syria was delivered up to him; but Pompey refuſing to comply with his demand, he not only denied him the ſuccours he required, but, after the battle of Pharſalia, put in irons Lucius Hirtius, whom Pompey had ſent to him to implore his aſſiſtance anew, or at leaſt to obtain for him leave to ſhelter himſelf in the Parthian

[t] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. & de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. Dio. Caſs. l. xl. Plut. in Cicer. & Cic. ad familiar. l. iii. epiſt 2. & l. xv. epiſt. 1, 2, 3, 4. & l. v. ad Attic. epiſt. 18, 20

[u] Cic. ad famil. l. ii. epiſt. 17. & l. xii. epiſt. 19. & ad Attic. l. vi. epiſt. 6. l. vii. epiſt. 2. &c. Dio. Caſs. ibid.

thian dominions [w]. But, for all this, Cæſar had no ſooner got the better of Pompey's party, and ſettled his affairs at Rome, than he began to make great preparations, with a deſign to invade Parthia and revenge the defeat and death of Craſſus at Carrhæ; but when all things were ready for this expedition, Cæſar was killed, and the Parthians by his death delivered from a war, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to them [x]. Not long after, the eaſtern provinces being allotted to Marc Antony, in the famous partition of the Roman empire between him, Octavianus, and Lepidus, the cities of Syria, being grievouſly oppreſſed with the taxes Marc Antony laid on them, roſe up in arms, and, having killed thoſe who were ſent to gather them invited the Parthians to their aſſiſtance, aſſuring them, that they were all to a man ready to join them and drive out the Romans. On this invitation the Parthians paſſed the Euphrates with a mighty army, under the command of Pacorus and Labienus, a Roman general of Pompey's party. He was the ſon of Titus Labienus, who had been Cæſar's lieutenant in Gaul, and one of his chief favourites; but afterwards ſiding with Pompey, became one of his moſt inveterate enemies, and was ſlain fighting againſt him in the battle of Munda. His ſon, purſuing the ſame intereſt, had been ſent by Brutus and Caſſius, a little before the battle of Philippi, to beg ſuccours of the Parthian king, which he was ſoliciting when that battle happened. The bad ſucceſs which attended his friends on that occaſion having diſcouraged him from returning, he continued in Parthia; and, having prevailed on Orodes to undertake this war, was ſent with Pacorus to command under him [y]. On his entering Syria, he was met by Saxa, Antony's lieutenant, whom he overthrew in a pitched battle, obliging him to ſhelter himſelf in Cilicia. After this victory, having divided his army into two bodies, he marched with one after Saxa into Cilicia, where he killed him, over-ran all Aſia Minor; and having obliged Plancus, Antony's other lieutenant in thoſe parts, to fly to the iſlands, ſubjected all the places as far as the Helleſpont and Ægean ſea [z]. At the ſame time Pacorus, with the other part of the army, reduced all Syria and Phænice, as far as Tyre, which was the only city that held out againſt him, being defended by the Romans, who from

The Parthians invade Syria, under the command of Pacorus and Labienus.

Their conqueſts in Syria, Phœnice, and Aſia Minor, &c.

[w] Dio. l. xli, xlii. [x] Plut. in Cæſ. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. Dio, Caſs. l. xlii. & xliii. [y] Dio. Caſs. ibid. Euſeb. in chron. Appian. in Parthic. Plut. in Anton.
[z] Dio. Caſs. ibid. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 5.

from all parts had flocked thither as to a place of refuge. Thus the Parthians made themselves masters of all Syria, Asia Minor, and Phœnice, except Tyre, and exercised their power even in Judæa, where they plundered Jerusalem, drove Hycanus from the throne, and placed Antigonus on it in his room, in the manner we have related in the history of the Jews.

Ventidius sent against them.

BUT they did not long enjoy their new conquests; for Antony, after his reconciliation with Octavianus, having sent Ventidius, one of his lieutenants, against them, that general was attended with such success, that the Parthians were soon obliged to quit all they had taken and repass the Euphrates; for Ventidius managed matters with such expedition, that, arriving in Asia much sooner than expected, he surprized Labienus before he was in a condition to withstand him, having no Parthian troops with him, but only a few Roman deserters and a small body of raw and undisciplined Asiatics, gathered up in Syria, Phœnice, and Asia Minor; wherefore, not daring to stand the approach of a Roman army, he retired as fast as Ventidius advanced, till he got to mount Taurus, where he encamped so advantageously, that he could not be forced to a battle, and then sent to Pacorus for assistance. Pacorus sent immediately the flower of his army to the relief of Labienus,

Gains great advantages over them.

but the Parthians, despising the Romans on account of their late victories over them, engaged Ventidius before Labienus could join them, and were entirely defeated. The news of this defeat so disheartened those who were with Labienus, that they all abandoned him, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. Ventidius pursued them, slew some of them, and took the rest into his service. As for Labienus, he made his escape in a disguise; but after having sculked about for some time in Cilicia, from one hiding place to another, he was at last discovered by Demetrius, governor of Cyprus, taken, and put to death [a]. After this victory, Ventidius, having made himself master of all Cilicia, marched to mount Amanus, which parted that province from Syria; and there met another army of Parthians, who, under the command of Pharnapates, one of Pacorus's lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into Syria, in order to obstruct his further progress; but, Ventidius falling upon them, cut most of them

Labienus taken, and put to death

[a] Dio, l. xlviii. p. 380, 381. Appian. in Parthic.

them in pieces, killed their general, and having gained a second victory as considerable as the former, pursued his march, without any further opposition, into Syria. Hereupon Pacorus, having assembled all his forces, made what haste he could to the Euphrates, which he repassed, leaving the Romans masters of all the countries on this side of that river [b].

Antony, who in the mean time was diverting himself with his new wife Octavia at Athens, being informed of the victories gained by Ventidius, made great rejoicings in that city; but hearing at the same time that Pacorus was making vast preparations for another invasion, he resolved to head his army in person, and not suffer his lieutenant to reap the whole glory of the war: wherefore early in the spring he left Athens with all his forces, and marched towards the east; but, before he got thither, Ventidius had gained a third victory over the Parthians, far more glorious than the other two. It was obtained in the following manner: Ventidius fearing left the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, should pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together from their different quarters, had recourse to the following stratagem: there was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the character of an ally, who was entirely addicted to the interest of the Parthians, with whom Ventidius well knew he kept a private correspondence, communicating to them all the intelligence he could get of the counsels and designs of the Romans. This man's treachery Ventidius resolved to improve to his own advantage; for taking the first opportunity that offered of conversing with him, and seeming to repose in him an entire confidence, he told him, that he had heard with much concern, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but to enter Syria another way, at a passage much below the former; for if they pass at Zeugma, said he, the country on this side of the Euphrates is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but, in case they take the lower passage, the country being there all plain and level, they will have so great an advantage over us, that it will be impossible to make head against them. This conference was no sooner over, than the treacherous Chaunæus, for so he is called by Appian, conveyed a full account of it to the

[b] Dio, Appian. ibid. Liv. epit. l. cxxvii. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Plut. in Anton.

the Parthians, with whom it had the desired effect; for Pacorus, instead of keeping the road to Zeugma, took the other rout, and in that march lost forty days; during which time Ventidius being joined by Silo, Antony's lieutenant in Palestine, and by all the legions which were quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, found himself in a condition to give them a warm reception when they entered Syria. As they met with no opposition either in passing the river or advancing into Syria, they ascribed that inactivity to fear, and therefore, with great boldness, went directly to attack the Romans in their camp, on the top of a steep hill. This Ventidius expected, and therefore sallying out upon them at the head of his legionaries, as they were ascending the hill, easily put them in disorder, by the advantage of the ground, and pursued them with great slaughter into the plain, where they rallied and made a most vigorous resistance, the victory being doubtful, till Pacorus was killed, fighting with incredible bravery at the head of the Parthian horse. His death was followed by the flight of the whole army, every one striving to regain the bridge, in order to retire into their own country; but Ventidius with a strong detachment of horse, getting to the Euphrates before them, cut off their retreat; so that only a small number of them escaped by flight, and retired into the dominions of Antiochus king of Comagene; the rest was all put to the sword [c]. This victory which fully revenged the death of Crassus and the Romans who were killed with him, was gained on the same day of the year, on which, fourteen years before, the famous battle of Carrhæ was lost.

Pacorus killed, and his army entirely cut off by Ventidius.

ORODES, when he heard of the defeat of his army, and the death of his son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that, for some days, he abstained from all food, not being able to utter a single word the whole time; and when he recovered the use of his tongue, he acted and spoke in such manner, as plainly shewed, that sorrow had got the better of his reason; for nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus, his dear Pacorus; sometimes he talked to him as if he had been present, commended his gallant behaviour, and launched out on the happiness of a father who was blessed with such a son. At other times, remembering that he was

[c] Liv. l. cxxviii. Flor. iv. c. 9. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 751. Vell. Patercul ii. c. 78. Joseph. l. xiv. c. 27. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Justin. l. ii. c. 4. Plut. in Anton. Frontin. stratagem. l. i. c. 1. & l. ii. c. 2. Dion, l. xlix.

was dead, he burſt into a flood of tears, and was ready to lay violent hands on himſelf: And indeed never was grief more juſt; for this was the moſt terrible blow the Parthian monarchy had ever received, and the loſs of the young prince was as great as that of the army, he being commended by all the antients as the moſt worthy perſon for juſtice, clemency, valour, and all other princely qualities, that the royal family of Arſaces ever produced. He ſo endeared himſelf to the Syrians, during the ſhort time he lived among them, that they never expreſſed more affection for any of their native ſovereigns, than they did for him, tho' deſcended from a family, which had brought many calamities on their country [d].

HAD Ventidius purſued the advantages of this victory, he might have driven the Parthians quite out of Meſopotamia and Babylonia, and extended the boundaries of the Roman empire to the Tigris; but, as he was afraid of giving umbrage to Antony, with whoſe jealous temper he was well acquainted, he contented himſelf with reducing thoſe places in Syria and Phœnice, which had revolted from the Romans in the late war. Purſuant to this plan, he was with his whole army in Comagene, making war upon Antiochus king of that country, for ſiding with the Parthians, when Antony arriving took the command of the army upon himſelf and diſmiſſed Ventidius. His pretence for this was, that Ventidius deſerved a triumph, and ought to go to Rome to aſk it of the ſenate; but the true motive that prompted him to act in this manner was, that he envied him the great glory he had acquired, and the reputation he was in with the army; for Antony was one of thoſe, who cannot bear to be ſerved by perſons of ſuch talents as are capable of eclipſing their own; he was therefore glad to get rid of him, and never employed him afterwards, tho' he often ſtood in need of ſo able and experienced a general. Ventidius, on his return to Rome, was received there with all poſſible marks of honour, and granted a triumph, with the general applauſe of the whole city. In his triumph two very remarkable circumſtances concurred; the one, that he was the only Roman who ever triumphed over the Parthians, no one having, either before or after him, attained to that honour. The other circumſtance, no leſs remarkable, was, that he triumphed after having been led in triumph himſelf; for, in the ſocial war, being made a captive at the taking Aſculum,

Antony diſmiſſes Ventidius, and takes the command of the army on himſelf.

Ventidius obtains a triumph.

[d] Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4.

lum, the chief city of Picenum, by Strabo the father of Pompey the Great, he was, with his father and mother, who carried him in her arms, led before the triumphal chariot of that general. Afterwards his family being brought to poverty by the ruin of their city, he was obliged, when grown up, to betake himſelf to a mean and ſordid employment for his livelihood; for at firſt he was only a muleteer, and being uſed to provide mules to carry the baggage of ſuch Roman magiſtrates as were ſent to govern foreign provinces, Cæſar employed him in this capacity when he firſt went into Gaul; and having on that occaſion obſerved in him a great quickneſs of apprehenſion and activity, took him with him into his province, and put him in the way of riſing to great preferments; for he firſt gave him a ſmall command in the army, from which he raiſed himſelf, by his diſtinguiſhed merit, through all the ſtations of the camp to the higheſt poſt in the army, and became one of Cæſar's chief generals in all the wars he waged afterwards. Upon his death he ſided with Antony, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at Mutina and Peruſia, and was at laſt ſent as Antony's lieutenant into the eaſt, where he gained the victories over the Parthians which we have mentioned [e].

In the mean time Orodes, being in ſome degree recovered from the diſtraction of mind, which the death of his ſon Pacorus had occaſioned, appointed Phrahates the eldeſt, but the moſt wicked, of all his children, to ſucceed him in the throne, admitting him at the ſame time to ſhare the regal power with himſelf. Phrahates no ſooner ſaw himſelf veſted with the ſovereign authority, than he cauſed all his brothers by the daughter of Antiochus Euſebes, king of Syria, to be put to death, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they were of a more noble deſcent than himſelf. As this was highly reſented by his father, he attempted to put him to death alſo, by giving him a potion of the poiſonous juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine againſt the dropſy, which grief had brought upon the king, the cruel and unnatural ſon cauſed him to be ſtifled in his bed, and ſoon after diſpatched all his brothers, who were thirty in number. The ſame cruelty he exerciſed over the nobility and all the reſt of the royal family, not ſparing his eldeſt ſon, leſt the diſcontented Parthians ſhould place him, as he was already of age, on the throne. Hereupon many of the chief lords

Orodes barbarouſly murdered by his ſon Phrahates.

of

[e] Plut. Appian. Dion Caſs. ibid, A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 63. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Plin. l. vii. c. 43.

of Parthia, quitting their own country, took refuge in Syria, under the protection of Antony. Among theſe was one Monæſes, a man of great diſtinction, who having gained the confidence of Antony, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with the Parthians his countrymen [f].

Antony undertakes a war againſt the Parthians. Year of the flood 2963. Before Chriſt 36.

As Antony had, by means of his lieutenant Publius Canidius, reduced the Armenians, Albanians, and Iberians, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount Caucaſus, he was eaſily perſuaded to embarque in a war, which he had long deſigned, all the Romans, who ſerved under him, earneſtly preſſing him to revenge the death of Craſſus and their countrymen, who had periſhed with him at Carrhæ. Accordingly he began to make vaſt preparations for ſo great an undertaking; and as he formed all his ſchemes for the carrying of it on by the advice of Monæſes, in order to attach him the more to his ſervice, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, imitating therein the generoſity of Xerxes towards Themiſtocles; and moreover promiſed to place him on the throne of Parthia, on his conquering that country. But in the mean time Phrahates, dreading the advantage which the enemy might draw from the advice of ſo wiſe and able a counſellor, who was well acquainted with the country, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to invite him home, on ſuch terms as the baniſhed Parthian thought fit to accept. This greatly provoked Antony; but nevertheleſs he did not think it adviſeable to uſe any violence with him, for fear of diſcouraging others from revolting: he therefore diſmiſſed him with great civility, and ſent embaſſadors with him to Phrahates to treat of a peace, hoping by that means to divert him from making the neceſſary preparations for a war, and to fall upon him before he was in a condition to withſtand him; but herein he was greatly diſappointed, for, on his arrival at the Euphrates, which he intended to paſs and enter the Parthian dominions on that ſide, he found all the paſſes ſo well guarded on the other bank, that he thought it adviſeable to march off to the left, with a deſign to reduce Media, and from thence invade Parthia. This plan had been ſuggeſted to him before by Artabazes king of Armenia, who, falling out with Artavaſdes king of Media, had preſſed Antony to take that rout, with no other view but to diſtreſs the Median his rival. Antony had rejected it when firſt propoſed, intending to invade the Parthian dominions by the neareſt cut

Invades Media.

over

[f] Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4. Dio. Caſſ. l. xlix. Plut. in Cr.

over the Euphrates; but not ſucceeding in that, he fell in with the propoſal of the Armenian, who in the end betrayed him; for, inſtead of conducting him the ſtreight way from Zeugma on the Euphrates to the river Araxes, which parted Media from Armenia, and was about 500 miles diſtance from the place whence he firſt ſet out, he led him over rocks and mountains ſo far about, that the army had marched a thouſand miles and upwards, before they reached the borders of Media [g], where they intended to begin the war; ſo that they were not only greatly fatigued, but had not ſufficient time, the year being already far ſpent, to put in execution the deſign on which they were come. However, as Antony was in great haſte to get back to Cleopatra, he left behind him moſt of the baggage of the army, and three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams and other military engines for ſieges, ordering Statianus, one of his lieutenants, with a body of ten thouſand men, to guard them, and bring them by ſlower marches after the army. With the reſt of the forces he haſtened forward, and marched three hundred miles more, without allowing his men any reſpite, till he arrived at Praaſpa, or as others call it, Phraata, the capital of Media, which he immediately inveſted; but, as the place was well fortified, he was ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake in leaving behind him his battering rams and other military engines; for without them he could make no progreſs in the ſiege: and when the Median and Parthian forces came up with him, they did not think it worth their while to attack him, but purſued their march, with a deſign to prevent Statianus from joining him with the heavy carriages, without which they well knew, he could never make himſelf maſter of the city. Statianus did not expect them, and therefore, being attacked before he had time to draw up his men, was cut off, with the whole body under his command, which amounted to ten thouſand men. All the baggage and military engines were taken, and among the reſt a battering ram eighty foot long. Polemo, king of Pontus, was made priſoner, and with him a few Romans, to whom the Parthians gave quarter in the end of the ſlaughter; but all the reſt were put to the ſword [h].

His long and fatiguing march.

Beſieges Phraata.

Statianus cut off, with ten thouſand Romans.

STATIANUS, on his firſt diſcovering the enemy, had diſpatched an expreſs to Antony, who made all the haſte he

[g] Dio. Caſs. & Plut. ibid. Strabo, l. xi. & xvi. [h] Strabo, l. xi. p. 523. Dion Caſs. p. 407. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 82. Plut. in Anton.

he could to his aſſiſtance; but nevertheleſs came too late, and found, on his arrival, Statianus and all his men dead on the field of battle: but as no enemy appeared, he took courage, imagining they had fled at his approach, and returned to the ſiege, where he was daily haraſſed by the garriſon within, and by the enemy's army without. If he ſent out ſmall parties to forage, they were generally cut off by the Parthian cavalry; and if he detached large bodies, thoſe who remained were not able to ſtand the repeated ſallies of the numerous garriſon. To obviate theſe inconveniences, Antony attempted to draw the enemy to a general engagement, and twice ſucceeded therein, but without reaping from thence any advantage; for tho' he put the enemy to flight in both engagements, yet the loſs they ſuſtained was very inconſiderable, the Parthians preventing, by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, the evil conſequences which generally attend ſuch defeats. In the laſt he thought his victory complete, and purſued it to the utmoſt; but in the end found that he had killed only eighty of the enemies men, and taken thirty priſoners during the whole action. However, he continued before Phraata till his proviſions were near ſpent, and the forage round the country quite conſumed; when he began to think of a retreat, ſeeing he had loſt all hopes of making himſelf maſter of the beſieged city; but as he was to march three hundred miles through the enemy's country, for at that diſtance Phraata lay from the borders of Armenia, before he raiſed the ſiege, he ſent embaſſadors to Phrahates to acquaint him, that the Roman people was willing to grant him a laſting peace, provided he would return the ſtandards and priſoners taken at Carrhæ. Phrahates received the embaſſadors ſitting on a golden throne, and after having bitterly inveighed againſt the avarice and unbounded ambition of the Romans, told them, that he would not by any means part with the ſtandards and captives taken at Carrhæ, but would allow Antony to retire unmoleſted, provided he withdrew immediately from before Phraata. Antony who was reduced to great ſtreights, no ſooner received this anſwer, than he raiſed the ſiege, and began his march towards Armenia, hoping that Phrahates would be as good as his word; but he was therein greatly diſappointed, for the Parthian army haraſſed him the whole way, and fell upon him eighteen times with all their forces, before he reached the Araxes, which was the boundary of the Median territories. 'Tis true, he always repulſed

Antony raiſes the ſiege of Phraata.

Haraſſed by the Parthians in his retreat.

repulſed them, but not without great loſs on his ſide; whereas that of the Parthians, as being all horſemen, was very inconſiderable, by reaſon of their quick retreats. The Romans were very fortunate in their guide, who being a native of Mardia, a country bordering on Media and Armenia, was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, and conducted them with great fidelity. However, the army was thrice in imminent danger of being entirely cut off by ambuſcades, which they could not poſſibly have eſcaped, had they not received notice of them from the enemy's quarters. Monæſes twice forewarned Antony of them by a meſſenger ſent to him for that purpoſe, in return for the kindneſs ſhewn him during his baniſhment. The other time he had his intelligence from an old Roman ſoldier, who had continued among the Parthians ever ſince the battle of Carrhæ, and came to the Roman camp to acquaint his countrymen with the danger. This painful march laſted twenty-ſeven days, during which time they were not only inceſſantly haraſſed by the Parthian arrows, but greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the parties that went out to forage being generally cut off, and their beaſts of burden either dead, or employed in carrying the ſick and wounded. A quart of wheat was ſold in the camp for fifty drachmas, and barley-loaves for their weight in ſilver. At laſt they were reduced to live upon ſuch roots and herbs as they found in the fields, which occaſioned many diſtempers among them. When the famine firſt began to rage in the camp, ſome to avoid it fled to the enemy, but were by the Parthians cruelly murdered in the ſight of the reſt; which put a ſtop to their deſerting, and proved very advantageous to Antony, who would have been left alone, had the enemy treated kindly ſuch as took refuge with them. Antony ſeeing his men dying every day in great numbers, was often heard to cry out, O, the ten thouſand! admiring the conduct of Xenophon, who marched a far longer way through the enemy's country, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, led his men ſafe home. At length the army began to mutiny, and falling upon thoſe who had any gold or ſilver, plundered and murdered them, rifled Antony's baggage, ſeized on his money and plate, and committed many other diſorders. Hereupon the general, quite diſheartened, retired to his tent, and calling one of his freed-men, ordered him to kill him, and after his death to cut off his head and conceal it, leſt it ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and be inſulted as that of Craſſus had been; but the Mardian guide, coming in-

Reduced to great ſtreights.

to

to his tent in the mean time, prevailed upon him to forbear uſing any violence on himſelf, by aſſuring him, that the worſt of the march was over, and that he was at a ſmall diſtance from the river Araxes, beyond which the Parthians would not purſue him. Accordingly he arrived a few days after at that river, and croſſed it, without being diſturbed in the leaſt by the enemy. The ſoldiers ſeeing themſelves at length out of the enemy's reach and in a place of ſafety, fell down on the ground, and kiſſed it, embracing one another with tears of joy [h].

ANTONY committed, without all doubt, many miſtakes in the management of this war, but none in his retreat; for all the antients do him the juſtice to own, that he conducted it with as much art and ſucceſs as it was capable of. He loſt indeed a great many men; for on his reviewing his forces after he had paſſed the Araxes, he found twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe miſſing; but the greater part of theſe had periſhed by the hardſhips of the campaign, and very few by the enemy's ſwords. The greateſt error he committed in this fatal undertaking, was his obſtinately purſuing his march, after he had, with the utmoſt difficulty, got back into Armenia; for inſtead of putting the remainder of his army into winter quarters, and allowing them time to refreſh themſelves after ſo long and fatiguing a march, as he was in haſte to get back to Cleopatra, he continued his march, tho' winter was far advanced, through Armenia, which was then covered with ſnow, and, in that mountainous country, loſt eight thouſand more of his men, who periſhed by reaſon of the hard ſeaſon and exceſſive cold; ſo that according to the moſt moderate calculation, he loſt in all two-and-thirty thouſand men [i]. Florus tells us [k], that he did not bring back the third part of his army, which, at his firſt ſetting out on this deſtructive undertaking, conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men. He was not indeed overcome in battle, as Craſſus had been; but, if we compare the loſſes of both generals, we ſhall find Antony's expedition to have been the moſt unfortunate of the two; and yet, on his return into Egypt, he had the confidence to aſſume ſuch honours as were due only to conquerors.

His great loſs.

ANTONY was ſcarce returned from this expedition, when the kings of Media and Parthia, falling out about the booty

[h] Plut. Dio, Caſs. Juſtin. Flor. ibid. [i] Plut. & Dio. Caſs. ibid. [k] Flor. l. iv. c. 10.

they had taken on the defeat of Statianus, the former sent an embassy to him, offering to join him with all his forces against the latter. Antony accepted this offer with great joy, the more because he was informed at the same time, that the Parthians, not able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of their king, had taken up arms against him, and were greatly divided among themselves. These circumstances offered him a favourable opportunity of making amends, by a new expedition, for the miscarriages of the former. Accordingly he resolved to lay hold of it, and leaving Egypt hastened into Syria, there to make the necessary preparations for a second invasion: but Cleopatra feigning that his absence had thrown her into a languishing distemper, and that she could not live without him, he was so infatuated as to believe her, and, giving over all thoughts of revenging his late losses, to drop the enterprize and return to the embraces of his beloved queen [k]. However, he sent such a body of Romans to the assistance of Artavasdes, king of Media, as enabled him to gain a complete victory over Phrahates king of Parthia; but the ensuing year a war breaking out between Antony and Octavianus, the former not only recalled the troops he had sent to the assistance of Artavasdes, but also retained those which Artavasdes had sent him in their room; by which means the king of Media was entirely defeated in a second battle, and taken prisoner by Phrahates, who pursuing his victory, reduced all Media and likewise Armenia, restoring to that throne Artaxias the son of Artabazes, who had been driven from it by Antony, as we have related in the history of Armenia.

Resolves on a second expedition against the Parthians; but is diverted from it by Cleopatra.

Media reduced by Phrahates.

Civil dissensions among the Parthians.

PHRAHATES, elated with this success, began to oppress his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner, whereupon the Parthian nobility, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and placed on it in his room Tiridates, one of their own body; but the next year Phrahates returned into Parthia at the head of a numerous army, and, having overcome his rival, in a pitched battle, recovered his crown. Tiridates took refuge in Syria, where Octavianus found him after the death of Antony, and was warmly solicited by him to lend him his assistance against Phrahates. At the same time embassadors arrived from Phrahates on the same errand. Octavianus received them both in a very friendly manner, without intending to help either, but rather to egg them on against each other with fair

[k] Plut. in Anton. Dion Cass. l. xlix. p. 411.

fair promiſes, and by that means to waſte and weaken the power and ſtrength of that formidable empire. With this view he gave Tiridates leave to continue in Syria, till he ſhould be in a condition to make head againſt his rival, accepting from him a ſon of Phrahates, who had fallen into his hands. This ſon he carried with him to Rome, where he kept him as an hoſtage [l]. Not long after, Tiridates returned into Parthia and drove out Phrahates; but was ſoon driven out by him again in his turn. Phrahates was aſſiſted by the Scythians, who not only reinſtated him in his kingdom, but ſupported him in it with a mighty army. Hereupon Tiridates, with the leading men of his party, fled to Rome, to implore the aſſiſtance and protection of Auguſtus, promiſing to hold the kingdom of him, provided he was reſtored to it by his means. Phrahates hearing he had fled to Rome, diſpatched embaſſadors thither after him, to obviate his deſigns, and to demand of Auguſtus the delivery of his rebellious ſubjects and the releaſe of his ſon, whom Tiridates had put into his hands. Auguſtus received Tiridates, as well as the embaſſadors, with particular marks of eſteem; but anſwered, that he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phrahates, nor lend either of them aſſiſtance againſt the other. However, to gratify both in ſomething, he gave Tiridates leave to continue at Rome, ordering him, out of the publick treaſury, a maintenance ſuitable to his rank; and ſent back Phrahates his ſon, on his promiſing to reſtore the captives and ſtandards that had been taken from Craſſus and Antony [m]. This Phrahates then promiſed to do, but could not prevail upon himſelf to perform, till the coming of Auguſtus into Syria, which happened three years after; when, dreading a foreign war, as he was greatly hated by his ſubjects on account of his cruelty, he ſent embaſſadors to him, to conclude an alliance with the people of Rome; and on this occaſion it was that he ſent back all the captives and enſigns, which the Parthians had taken in their wars with Craſſus and Antony. At the ſame time he agreed to ſuch terms of peace as Auguſtus thought fit to propoſe, and gave four of his ſons, with their wives and children, as hoſtages for the performance of them [n]. The

Phrahates reſtores to Auguſtus the enſigns and priſoners taken from Craſſus and Antony.

[l] Dion Caſs. l. li. p. 456. Plut. ibid. Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 5.
[m] Juſtin. ibid. Dion Caſs. l. liii. [n] Liv. l. cxxxix. Flor. l. iv. c. ult. Strabo, l. ii. p. 288. & l. xvi. p. 748. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 91. Juſtin. l. xlii. c. ult. Dio, l. liv. p. 522. Eutrop. l. vii. Oros. l. vi. c. 21.

enſigns Auguſtus cauſed to be hung up in a temple, which he built and conſecrated to Mars twice the revenger, and appointed Circenſian ſports to be annually ſolemnized in memory of his victory at Philippi, (for before that battle he had vowed the temple to Mars) and of his recovering the Roman enſigns from the Parthians [o]. Juſtin obſerves here [p], that Auguſtus did more by the greatneſs of his name, than any other could have done by a long and expenſive war; but Tacitus [q] tells us, that Phrahates, was induced to comply with the demands of Auguſtus, not for fear of him, but becauſe he diſtruſted his own ſubjects. Strabo [r] and Joſephus [s], agreeing with Tacitus, relate the matter in the following manner: A very beautiful Italian woman, by name Thermuſa, having been formerly ſent by Auguſtus to Phrahates as a preſent, the king kept her at firſt as his concubine; but afterwards, on her bringing him a ſon, married her and declared her queen. In this ſtation ſhe gained an abſolute aſcendant over him, which ſhe made uſe of to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon. With this view ſhe propoſed to Phrahates the delivering up of his other ſons, who were four in all, to the Romans; and he readily came into the propoſal, as not thinking himſelf ſafe againſt his diſcontented ſubjects, ſo long as there were any of the royal race of Arſaces of an age fit to govern. On this conſideration, when hoſtages were demanded by Auguſtus, for ſecuring the terms of their agreement, he delivered up to him his four ſons, Saraſpades, Ceroſpades, Phrahates, and Vonones, two of their wives, and four of their ſons. Theſe were all carried to Rome, where they remained many years; but Thermuſa's ſon, by name Phraatices, was bred up at home, and appointed to ſucceed his father. The Parthians were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the family of Arſaces, that Phrahates well knew they could bear with him, notwithſtanding their hatred to him, as long as they had no other of the ſame race to ſet up in his room; and therefore, not for fear of Auguſtus, but for his own ſafety readily yielded up to him his four ſons, who, being of an age to govern, gave him no ſmall jealouſy. But what he thus projected for his ſafety, proved at laſt his ruin; for as ſoon as Phraatices was of age, Thermuſa, impatient to ſee him on the throne, poiſoned her huſband, to make room for

Phraatices.

[o] Vide Ovid. faſt. l. v. & Horat. l. iv. od. ult. [p] Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 5. [q] Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 1. [r] Strabo, l. vi. p. 288. [s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

for him the ſooner [t]. But he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when the Parthians, diſdaining to be governed by ſo wicked a parricide, roſe up in arms, and drove him from it into baniſhment, where he periſhed ſome years after [u]. In his room they placed one Orodes, who was of the royal family of Arſaces, but generally hated on account of his cruel and ſavage temper. However, they preferred him to the ſons of Phraatices, who, by their father, were deſcended from the Italian concubine Thermuſa; but not being able to bear his unheard of cruelties, they killed him ſoon after at a banquet [w]. Upon his death they diſpatched embaſſadors to Rome, entreating Auguſtus to ſend one of the ſons of Phrahates to rule over them. The emperor readily granted them Vonones, who was received at firſt with great demonſtrations of joy; but, as he betrayed a great inclination to the Romans and affected their dreſs and manners, the Parthians grew ſoon weary of their new king, and diſdaining to obey, as they expreſſed it, a Roman ſlave, had recourſe to Artabanus king of Media, who was likewiſe of the race of Arſaces, inviting him to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Parthia. Artabanus willingly complied with their requeſt; but being met on the frontiers by Vonones, was by him defeated, tho' he had a conſiderable army with him, and obliged to fly back into Media, where he raiſed new forces, and in a ſecond engagement obtained a complete victory over Vonones, who took ſhelter in Armenia, where he was kindly received, and entertained by ſome of the chief lords of that country. But Artabanus threatening to invade Armenia, Vonones thought fit to retire from thence, after having ſolicited in vain the aſſiſtance of Tiberius, by a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to Rome for that purpoſe. From Armenia the unhappy prince withd w into Syria, and there delivered himſelf up to Creticus Silanus governor of that province, who, in regard he had been brought up at Rome, ſuffered him to live at Antioch, with the pomp and title of a king. He was afterwards removed by Germanicus from Antioch to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, whence he made his eſcape, tho' kept under a ſtrict guard; but being ſoon after retaken, he was killed by one Remmius a Roman ſoldier [x]. Germanicus had removed him from Anti-

Orodes II.

Vonones.

Artabanus.

[t] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749. Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [u] Joſeph. ibid. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Suet. in Tiber. & Oct. c. 21. Joſeph. ibid. Tacit, annal. l. ii. c. 2 & 4.

och to Pompeiopolis at the requeſt of Artabanus, and alſo becauſe he was in high favour with Cneius Piſo, to whoſe wife Plancina he made rich preſents, having brought with him into Syria immenſe treaſures [y].

ARTABANUS, having now no competitor to contend with, began to treat his ſubjects with great cruelty, whereupon ſome Parthian lords, among whom were Sinnaces a man of great power and credit, and an eunuch named Abdus, entering into a plot againſt him, ſent privately to Rome for Phrahates, the ſon of king Phrahates, who, as we have related above, had been delivered by his father to Auguſtus as a hoſtage. The deputies repreſented, that the Parthians were ready to revolt; that they wanted only a leader; that a deſcendant of Arſaces, ſupported by Rome and ſeen on the banks of the Euphrates, would occaſion an immediate and general inſurrection. Tiberius, who had ſucceeded Auguſtus, was glad of ſo favourable an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances in Parthia; for Artabanus, elated with the ſucceſs that had attended him in his wars with the neighbouring nations, had not only ſeized on Armenia, and appointed his eldeſt ſon Arſaces king of that country, but ſent a proud meſſage to the governor of Syria, demanding the treaſures which Vonones had left there and in Cilicia, and claimed all the countries which had been poſſeſſed by Cyrus, and ſince by Alexander. Tiberius therefore, overjoyed at the thoughts of humbling the haughty Parthian, immediately diſpatched Phrahates to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince arriving in Syria, and there diſuſing the Roman way of living, to which he had been many years accuſtomed, and reſuming the Parthian cuſtoms, was ſeized, on that ſudden change, with a violent diſtemper, which put an end to his life. At the ſame time the plot was diſcovered, and the chief promoters of it either privately put to death, for Artabanus was afraid to uſe open violence, or ſo narrowly watched, that they could not meet, without being obſerved, to conſult together about the neceſſary meaſures. However, Tiberius did not abandon the enterprize; but putting Tiridates, another prince of the royal family of Parthia, in the room of Phrahates, wrote to Mithridates Iberus, requeſting him to invade Armenia with his brother Pharaſmanes king of Iberia, and by that means to draw Artabanus out of his own kingdom.

[y] Tacit. ibid.

dom. Mithridates, purſuant to the directions of Tiberius, entered Armenia, at the head of a numerous army of Iberians, and made himſelf maſter of Artaxata, the metropolis of that kingdom. At the ſame time his brother Pharaſmanes, having recourſe to treachery, ſuborned ſome of the ſervants of Arſaces to murder him. Artabanus no ſooner heard of the invaſion of Armenia and the death of his ſon, but he diſpatched his other ſon Orodes, with a mighty army, againſt the enemy, and at the ſame time ſent to hire auxiliaries in Sarmatia and the neighbouring countries. Pharaſmanes, on the other hand, having joined the Albanian forces to his own, and receiving great ſupplies from Sarmatia, marched to the aſſiſtance of his brother, and meeting with Orodes, offered him battle; which he declining, Pharaſmanes, beſieged him in his camp, and reduced him to ſuch ſtreights, that he was obliged at laſt to put all to the iſſue of an engagement, which proved very bloody, the Parthians behaving with their uſual bravery. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end Pharaſmanes, having attacked and wounded Orodes, and report being thereon ſpread through the Parthian army that he was killed, the Parthians retired in diſorder, and left Pharaſmanes maſter of the field. This victory was attended with the conqueſt of Armenia, which Pharaſmanes over-ran without oppoſition, the Parthians flying every where before him. In the mean time, Artabanus, having raiſed another army, marched in perſon againſt the united forces of Mithridates and Pharaſmanes; but was attended with no better ſucceſs than his ſon Orodes, his army being entirely defeated, and himſelf obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the Carmanians and Hyrcanians [z]. Artabanus driven from the throne.

UPON the retreat of Artabanus, Lucius Vitellius governor of Syria, advanced with his legions to the banks of the Euphrates; and having croſſed that river on a bridge of boats, cauſed Tiridates, whom he had brought with him, to be proclaimed king of Parthia. The new king was immediately joined by a great many Parthian lords, among whom were Ornoſpades, Sinnaces, and Abdageſes. Ornoſpades, brought with him a ſtrong body of horſe, and Abdageſes all the enſigns of royalty, which had been committed Tiridates.

to

[z] Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 36. Joſeph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

to his care. When Vitellius found the Parthians incline to receive Tiridates, thinking it enough to have countenanced them, he repaſſed the Euphrates with his legions and retired into Syria. He was no ſoner gone, than Phrahates and Hiero, two men of great power and authority among the Parthians, out of envy to Abdageſes, who governed the new king and his whole court, returned to their old allegiance, and recalled Artabanus, who was, at his firſt appearing, joined by all thoſe who hated Abdageſes. The Scythians likewiſe, the Dahæ and the Sacæ, declared in his favour, and ſent him powerful ſupplies; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to take the field; which he did accordingly, at the head of a very numerous and well-diſciplined army. Tiridates, who had ſpent his whole time in beſieging a fortreſs, whither Artabanus, had conveyed his treaſures and concubines, did not think it adviſeable to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; and therefore retired into Meſopotamia, with a deſign to recruit his army in the country of the Elymæans and Armenians, and then try the fortune of a battle; but in his march he was abandoned by the greateſt part of his troops, who either retired home, or fled to Artabanus; inſomuch that not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe within the Parthian dominions, he retired into Syria, leaving his competitor in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown [a]. But it was not long ere new diſturbances obliged him to quit the kingdom a ſecond time. The nobility, not being able to bear his cruelties and haughty behaviour, conſpired anew againſt him, and taking up arms, obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the dominions of Izates king of the Adiabenians, who not only received and entertained him in a manner ſuitable to his rank, but, by his kind offices, prevailed upon the Parthian nobility to receive him again, after he had, by a ſolemn oath, promiſed to forgive all thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him. The Parthians had placed one Cinnamus on the throne in his room, who was by the ſame Izates perſuaded to reſign, of his own accord, the regal power and authority to the baniſhed prince. Artabanus, being thus reſtored to his kingdom by the mediation of Izates, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received at his hands, beſtowed on him the rich country of Niſibis, and allowed him to wear a ſtrait tiara, and to lie in a golden bed; which were privileges peculiar to the kings

Artabanus reſtored.

[a] Tacit. ibid. c. 41, 42, 43, 44. Joſeph. ibid. c. 6. Dion Caſſ. l. lviii. p. 537. Suet. in Tiqer. 66.

kings of Parthia [b]. From this time he governed with great equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, died greatly lamented by all his ſubjects, leaving behind him ſeven ſons, viz. Darius, Bardanes, Gotarzes, Orodes, Vologeſes, Pacorus, and Tiridates. By his laſt will he appointed Bardanes to ſucceed him, who, forgetful of the obligations his family owed to Izates, made war upon him, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he refuſed to join him againſt the Romans. His monſtrous ingratitude, towards a prince who had ſo well deſerved of the Parthian nation, was highly reſented by the chief lords of his kingdom, who taking up arms againſt him, killed him, and raiſed his brother Gotarzes to the throne [c]. This is the account which Joſephus [d] gives, in a few words, of the acceſſion to the crown, and reigns of Bardanes and Gotarzes; but Tacitus, diſagreeing with that writer, relates the matter in a quite different manner [e]. According to him, Gotarzes and Bardanes were not the ſons, but the brothers of Artabanus, who was ſucceeded by Gotarzes, a moſt cruel prince, and therefore ſo hated by his ſubjects, that they called Bardanes to the throne. Bardanes, as he was a man of great reſolution and activity, marched in two days three thouſand furlongs, and arriving at Cteſiphon, ſurprized and drove Gotarzes from the throne. With the ſame expedition he overran the chief provinces of the Parthian empire, and was every-where received with loud acclamations. Seleucia was the only city that refuſed to ſubmit to him, which he cloſely beſieged; but while he was waſting his time before that place, Gotarzes unexpectedly arrived at the head of a numerous army of Dahans and Hyrcanians, which obliged Bardanes to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to the plains of Bactria, where he encamped with a deſign to venture a battle in the open fields. Gotarzes followed him; but while the two armies were ready to engage, Gotarzes received private intelligence of a conſpiracy formed by the chief men of the kingdom againſt himſelf, and alſo his brother, to whom he immediately imparted it. Hereupon the two competitors had an interview, in which, tho' at firſt diſtruſting each other, they were at laſt thoroughly reconciled, both of them ſwearing on the altars not to moleſt one another, but to turn their arms againſt their common

Bardanes.

Gotarzes.

Gotarzes driven out by Bardanes.

[b] Joſeph. ibid. [c] Idem ibid. Zonar. l. iii. Philoſtrat. l. i. & iii. de vita Apollon. [d] Joſeph. ibid. [e] Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 8.

Gotarzes resigns the crown to his brother Bardanes.

mon enemies; nay, Gotarzes, judging Bardanes more worthy of the crown than himself, an instance of equity and moderation seldom to be met with, resigned it to him; and, in order to remove all ground of jealousy, retired into the most remote parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes leaving Bactria, returned to the siege of Seleucia, which voluntarily submitted to him, after he had attempted in vain to reduce it by force. Being now sole master of the whole Parthian empire, he formed a design of recovering Armenia; but Vibius Marsus, or, as we read in Josephus, Cassius Longinus, governor of Syria, threatening him with war, in case he made any attempts upon that kingdom, he thought it advisable to drop the enterprize [f].

In the mean time, Gotarzes, repenting his resignation, and being recalled by the nobility, who, in time of peace, were ever plotting changes in the government, raised new forces, and advanced at the head of a powerful army as far as the river Charinda, where he was met and entirely defeated by Bardanes, who elated with that victory, attacked and reduced all the countries lying between that river and the Gindes, which parts the Dahans from the Arians. There he was obliged to halt, the Parthians, tho victorious, refusing to follow him into countries so remote from their own. Having therefore erected monuments with pompous inscriptions, importing that none of the Arsacidæ before him, had exacted tributes from those nations, he returned home, loaded with the spoils of the countries he had conquered. The glory he acquired in this expedition inspired him with such pride, that he became quite insupportable to his subjects, especially to the nobility, who, thereupon conspiring against him, killed him at a hunting match when he was not attended, as usual, by his guards, as not apprehending any treachery or danger. He was according to Tacitus, a prince endued with excellent qualities, and would have been one of the greatest kings that ever reigned in Parthia, had he studied to be as much beloved by his subjects, as he was feared by his enemies [g].

Bardanes murdered.

Upon the death of Bardanes, new disputes arose among the nobility about the electing of a king to succeed him; some declaring for Gotarzes, and others for Meherdates, the grandson of Phrahates, by whom he had been delivered to the Romans as an hostage. At last the party of Gotarzes prevailed, who was no sooner placed on the throne, than he bega

Gotarzes.

[f] Tacit. ibid. c. 8, & 9. Joseph. ibid. [g] Tacit. ibid.

began to uſe all ſorts of cruelty on his ſubjects, eſpecially on thoſe who had adhered to Meherdates; whereupon they had private recourſe to the emperor Claudius, ſoliciting him to ſend them Meherdates, ſince they could no longer bear with Gotarzes, whoſe cruelties had rendered him odious to all his ſubjects. Claudius readily complied with their requeſt, and having exhorted Meherdates to govern with equity and moderation, bleſſings, ſaid he, unknown to Barbarians, and hence the more likely to pleaſe them, he diſmiſſed him, together with the embaſſadors, and at the ſame time wrote to Caius Caſſius, governor of Syria, enjoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the Euphrates. As ſoon as Meherdates arrived in Syria, Caſſius, agreeable to his inſtructions, drew together his legions, and marched with him to Zeugma, where the river was then fordable. There he encamped, and being joined by Abgarus king of Edeſſa and ſuch of the Parthian chiefs as privately favoured Meherdates, he exhorted, in their preſence, the new king to preſs on the execution of his deſign without delay, leſt the Parthians ſhould in the mean time change their mind, as it had often happened, and cooling in their affections to him, retire home, or join his competitor. This advice, the beſt that could be given to him, was fruſtrated by the treachery of Abgarus, who had, in appearance, eſpouſed the intereſt of Meherdates, but was in reality entirely attached to Gotarzes; and therefore detained the young king many days at Edeſſa, tho' Carrhanes, a leading man among the Parthians, and a ſincere friend to Meherdates, preſſed him by frequent meſſages, to advance with all poſſible expedition, and aſſured him, that if he only ſhewed himſelf, he would be joined by great multitudes; but Meherdates neglecting the advice of his friends, followed that only of the treacherous Abgarus, who prevailed upon him to march a great way about, and, inſtead of entering Meſopotamia, tho' he was on the borders of that country, to paſs through Armenia, which, as winter was already begun, was in great part covered with ſnow. As they came down into the champain country, wearied with the deep ſnow and ſteep mountains, Carrhanes joined them with his forces. Thence they croſſed the Tigris, paſſed thro' the country of the Adiabenians, and advancing to the city of Ninos, the antient ſeat of the kings of Aſſyria, made themſelves maſters of that place, as they did likewiſe of the ſtrong caſtle of Arbela, ſo famous in hiſtory on account of the ſignal victory gained there by Alexander over Darius. In the mean time Gotarzes,

Meherdates ſet up againſt him by the Parthian nobility, and ſupported by the emperor Claudius.

Meherdates betrayed by Abgarus king of Edeſſa.

tarzes, having offered ſacrifices on mount Sambulos to the gods of the place, eſpecially to Hercules, came and encamped in the plain, with the river Carma between him and the enemy. Meherdates endeavoured by daily inſults and haughty meſſages, to draw him to a battle; but he declined it, ſoliciting in the mean time, by his emiſſaries, the friends of Meherdates to abandon and betray him: and herein he was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for; for firſt Izates king of the Adiabenians, and afterwards Abgarus king of the Edeſſans, went over to him, with all the forces under their command. Meherdates ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken by his allies, and muſtering thoſe who remained, reſolved, as his only recourſe, to commit the iſſue to chance, and riſque a battle, which Gotarzes no longer avoided, his army being now as much ſtrengthened as his enemy's was weakened. Both parties engaged with the utmoſt fury, and the victory continued doubtful, till Carrhanes, having put to flight one of the enemy's wings and purſuing it too far, was ſurrounded by a body of reſerve, which prevented him from returning to the aſſiſtance of Meherdates; who thereupon, being entirely defeated, and ſo hemmed in that he could not make his eſcape, ſurrendered himſelf to one Parrhaces, a dependent of his father's, by whom he was immediately loaded with fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes looking upon him not as one of the race of Arſaces, but as a Roman and foreigner, ordered his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the Romans, but granted him his life to ſhew his clemency [h].

His army defeated and himſelf taken priſoner.

Not long after Gotarzes died, and was ſucceeded by Vonones, at that time governor of Media, whoſe reign was ſhort and inglorious; for he did nothing which writers have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. Upon the death of Vonones, the crown of Parthia devolved upon Vologeſes, the ſon of Gotarzes according to Joſephus, of Vonones according to Tacitus. In the very beginning of his reign he invaded Armenia with a powerful army, and having, without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two chief cities of that kingdom, he obliged Rhadamiſtus the Iberian, who had uſurped the crown, to ſave himſelf in Iberia. Upon his retreat, Vologeſes declared his brother Tiridates king of Armenia, having before appointed his other brother, by name Pacorus, king of Media;

Vonones.

Vologeſes.

[h] Idem ibid. & l. xii. c. 14.

dia; for Tiridates and Pacorus had yielded the crown of Parthia to him, tho' born of a Greek concubine; whence they thought it incumbent upon him to procure a crown for thoſe, who had ſo generouſly parted with one for his ſake. But while he was in Armenia, a plague breaking out in his army, occaſioned chiefly by want of proviſions, he was forced to relinquiſh his conqueſts and retire into his own dominions. Hereupon Domitius Corbulo entering Armenia, drove out Tiridates, with the few Parthian forces that had continued with him, and placed on that throne Tigranes the Cappadocian, as we have related in the hiſtory of Armenia. This affront Vologeſes could not brook, and therefore having, publickly and with great ſolemnity, crowned Tiridates king of Armenia, he diſpatched Monæſes, one of his generals, with a ſtrong body of choſen horſe and Adiabenian auxiliaries, enjoining him to drive out Tigranes, and recover Armenia, which had been long held by, and therefore belonged to, the princes of the family of Arſaces. As for himſelf, he dropped his expedition againſt the Hyrcanians, who had lately revolted; and, having drawn together a mighty army, began to make the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent on the Roman provinces. Corbulo, whom Nero had charged with the defence of Armenia, was no ſooner acquainted with the meaſures taken by Vologeſes, than he ſent two legions to the aſſiſtance of Tigranes, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus, with private injunctions to act rather with caution than eagerneſs and diſpatch; for he was more deſirous, as Tacitus obſerves, of keeping a war on foot, than bringing it to a ſpeedy concluſion; beſides he had wrote to Nero, that another general was neceſſary to defend Armenia, ſince Syria was threatened with a terrible ſtorm from Vologeſes. In the mean time, he poſted the remaining legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and having raiſed new forces in the province, placed guards at all the paſſes, and erected forts over the ſeveral fountains to prevent the enemy from having any water in that dry and ſandy country.

His wars with the Romans.

WHILE Corbulo was thus buſied in ſecuring Syria, Monæſes advanced by long marches towards Armenia, hoping to ſurprize Tigranes: but with all his expedition, he found that prince well guarded againſt him; for he had furniſhed the ſtrong city of Tigranocerta with all manner of proviſions and warlike ſtores, and retired into it with all his forces. Monæſes, after having attempted in vain to reduce

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it, withdrew, and began to lay waſte the country. Here upon Corbulo, who was unwilling to engage in a war with the Parthians, leſt he ſhould loſe the reputation he had hitherto gained, ſent embaſſadors to Vologeſes, to expoſtulate with him for falling upon a Roman province, for beſieging a king who was a friend and ally of the Roman people, and for ravaging a country which Rome had taken under her protection. At the ſame time he gave him to underſtand, that if he did not forthwith abandon the ſiege of Tigranocerta, he would look upon it as an infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the Parthians and Romans, and in his turn invade the Parthian territories. Vologeſes, as he did not care to provoke Corbulo, who had acquired great fame by his military exploits, anſwered with great moderation, that he would ſend embaſſadors to Rome, to beg of Nero the kingdom of Armenia, and to renew the alliance made by his anceſtors with the people of Rome. Agreeable to this anſwer he immediately diſpatched meſſengers to Monæſes, ordering him to raiſe the ſiege of Tigranocerta; and retired himſelf with all his forces into the heart of his dominions, to wait there for the return of the embaſſadors he had ſent to Rome. The emperor Nero received them in a very obliging manner, but refuſed to renew his antient alliance with the Parthians, unleſs they renounced all pretenſions to the crown of Armenia. This anſwer ſo incenſed Vologeſes, that he immediately drew again all his forces together, with a deſign to invade Syria; but finding the banks of the Euphrates ſtrongly guarded by Corbulo, he turned all his efforts againſt Armenia; where he gained thoſe advantages over Ceſennius Petus, which we have related at length in the hiſtory of that kingdom. However he conſented at laſt, dreading the conſequence of a war with the Romans, that his brother Tiridates ſhould go in perſon to Rome, and there receive the crown of Armenia as a gift from Nero; which he did accordingly. By this means the antient alliance between the two empires was renewed, and the affairs of the eaſt ſettled in peace [i]. From this time no further mention is made of Vologeſes, till the beginning of the reign of Veſpaſian, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, offering to aſſiſt him with forty thouſand Parthian horſe [k]. Veſpaſian, as he was already ſettled on the throne, did not accept of the ſuccour offered him; but renewing all the antient treaties with the Parthians

[i] Tacit ibid. [k] Tacit. hiſt. l. vi.

Parthians, diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, loaded with preſents, and maintained, during the reign of Vologeſes, a good underſtanding with the Parthian nation. Vologeſes, being now diſengaged from all foreign and domeſtic wars; applied himſelf to the building of a city, which, from his own name he called Vologeſocerta, or the city of Vologeſes; but was prevented by death from completing the work he had begun.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Artabanus III. who, falling out with Veſpaſian, eſpouſed the cauſe of the counterfeit Nero, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of Rome. However, the emperor did not think it adviſeable to reſent the affront, for fear of kindling a new war in the eaſt, the kingdom of Parthia being at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and the Roman provinces greatly weakened by a late irruption of the Alani, a barbarous people of Scythia, inhabiting the countries bordering on the river Tanais and the lake Meotis. Artabanus had formed a deſign of invading Armenia; but died before he could put it in execution [l]. Upon his death, his ſon Pacorus II. was raiſed to the throne; but all we know of him is, that he entered into an alliance with Decebalus king of the Daci, and maintained, during the whole time of his reign, which is ſaid to have been very long, a ſtrict friendſhip with the Romans [m]. He was ſucceeded by his brother Coſdroes, who invading Armenia, drove out Exadares, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor Trajan, and in his room placed his eldeſt ſon Parthamaſiris on the throne. As this was an open infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two empires, Trajan haſtened into the eaſt, with a deſign to humble the Parthians, who, relying on their victories formerly gained over the Romans, were daily raiſing new diſturbances in Syria and Armenia, and making incurſions into the Roman provinces bordering on their dominions. His arrival in Armenia was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that he reduced the whole country, almoſt without oppoſition, and took Parthamaſiris himſelf priſoner. Animated with theſe ſucceſſes, he entered Meſopotamia; and having there beſieged and taken the ſtrong city of Niſibis, after many ſkirmiſhes and encounters, he made himſelf maſter

Artabanus III.

Pacorus II.

Coſdroes.

[l] Xiphilin, in Othone.

[m] Suidas, voce Ωλιτην. Plin. epiſt. l. x.

ter of that opulent country, never before ſubject to Rome. From Meſopotamia, which he reduced to a Roman province, he returned, in the beginning of the winter, into Syria, whence he acquainted the ſenate with the ſucceſs that had attended his arms againſt the Parthians, and was by them honoured with the ſirnames of Armenicus and Parthicus [n].

EARLY in the ſpring, he took the field again; but was warmly oppoſed by Coſdroes, whom he found encamped on the banks of the Euphrates, with a deſign to diſpute his paſſage; which he did with ſuch vigour, that the emperor, after having ſeveral times attempted to ford that river, and been always repulſed with great ſlaughter, was obliged to cauſe boats to be built on the neighbouring mountains, which he privately conveyed from thence on carriages to the water-ſide; and having in the night-time formed a bridge with them, he paſſed his army the next day, but not without great loſs and danger, the Parthians haraſſing his men the whole time with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows, which did great execution. Having gained the oppoſite bank, he advanced boldly into Aſſyria, the Parthians flying every where before him, and made himſelf maſter of Arbela. Thence he purſued his march, ſubduing with incredible rapidity, countries, where the Roman ſtandards had never been diſplayed before. Babylonia, or the province of Babylon, voluntarily ſubmitted to him. The city itſelf was, after a vigorous reſiſtance, taken by ſtorm; by which means he became maſter of all Chaldea and Aſſyria, the two richeſt provinces of the Parthian empire. From Babylon he marched to Cteſiphon, the metropolis of the Parthian monarchy, which he beſieged and at laſt reduced. But as to the particulars of theſe great conqueſts, we are quite in the dark, this expedition, however glorious to the Roman name, being rather hinted at, than deſcribed, by the writers of thoſe times. While Trajan was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, Coſdroes, having recruited his army, marched into Meſopotamia, with a deſign to recover that country, and cut off all communication between the Roman army and Syria. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts, and moſt of the cities, driving out the garriſons left by Trajan, opened their gates to him. Hereupon the emperor

[n] Sext. Ruf. in breviar. Theodos. Min. Spartian. in Trajan.

peror detached Lucius and Maximus, two of his chief commanders, into Meſopotamia, to keep ſuch cities in awe as had not revolted, and to open a communication with Syria. Maximus was met by Coſdroes, and having ventured a battle, his army was entirely defeated and himſelf killed. But Lucius, being joined by Euricius and Clarius, two other commanders ſent by Trajan with freſh ſupplies, gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy, and retook the cities of Niſibis and Seleucia, which had revolted. And now Trajan, ſeeing himſelf poſſeſſed of all the beſt and moſt fruitful provinces of the Parthian empire, but at the ſame time being well appriſed that he could not, without a vaſt expence, maintain his conqueſts, nor keep in awe ſo fierce and warlike a people at ſuch a diſtance from Italy, reſolved to ſet over them a king of his own chooſing, who ſhould hold the crown of him and his ſucceſſors, and acknowledge them as his lords and ſovereigns. With this view he repaired to Cteſiphon, and having there aſſembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name Parthanaſpates, king of Parthia, obliging all who were preſent to pay him their allegiance. He choſe Parthanaſpates, becauſe that prince had joined him at his firſt entering the Parthian dominions, conducted him with great fidelity, and ſhewn on all occaſions an extraordinary attachment to the Romans. Thus the Parthians were at laſt ſubdued, and their kingdom made tributary to Rome. But they did not long continue in this ſtate of ſubjection; for they no ſooner heard of Trajan's death, which happened ſoon after, than, taking up arms, they drove Parthanaſpates from the throne and recalling Coſdroes, who had retired into the country of the Hyrcanians, openly revolted from Rome. Adrian, who was then commander in chief of all the forces in the eaſt, and ſoon after acknowledged emperor by the army, did not care, tho' he was at that time in Syria with a very numerous army, to engage in a new war with the Parthians; but contented himſelf with preſerving the antient limits of the empire, without any ambitious proſpects of farther conqueſts: therefore, in the beginning of his reign, he abandoned thoſe provinces beyond the Euphrates, which Trajan had conquered, withdrew the Roman garriſons from Meſopotamia, and, for the greater ſafety of other places, made the Euphrates the boundary of, and barrier in, thoſe parts, poſting his legions along the banks of that river. Some writers are of opinion, that he did this out of a ſecret envy to his uncle Trajan's glory and reputation; but others

commend it as a very politic and prudent action, the maintaining of those distant conquests being attended with many inconveniencies, and no advantages, to the empire. Before he left Antioch to return to Rome, in order to keep the Parthians quiet, he dismissed their prisoners without ransom, and among the rest, the daughter of Cosdroes, who had been taken by Trajan. Cosdroes, in return for these favours, never offered to disturb the Romans in the possession of the provinces bordering on his dominions; but shewed himself always ready to assist them, as his best friends and allies [o].

Vologeses II. COSDROES died after a long reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son Vologeses; in whose reign the Alani breaking into Media, then subject to the Parthians, committed there great devastations; but were prevailed upon, with rich presents sent them by Vologeses, to abandon that kingdom and return home. Upon their retreat, Vologeses, having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon Armenia, surprized the legions there, and having cut them in pieces all to a man, entered Syria, defeated with great slaughter Attilius Cornelianus, governor of that province, and advanced, without opposition, to the neighbourhood of Antioch, putting every-where the Romans, and those who favoured them, to the sword. Hereupon the emperor Verus, by the advice of his collegue Antoninus, sirnamed the Philosopher, leaving Rome, hastened into Syria, and, having driven the Parthians out of that province, ordered Statius Priscus to invade Armenia, and Cassius, with Martius Verus, to enter the Parthian territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. Priscus made himself master of Artaxata, and in one campaign drove the Parthians, tho' not without great loss on his side, quite out of Armenia. Cassius, on the other hand, having in several encounters defeated Vologeses, tho' he had an army of four hundred thousand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all those provinces which had formerly submitted to Trajan, took Seleucia, burnt and plundered the famous cities of Babylon and Ctesiphon, with the stately palaces of the Parthian monarchs, and struck terror into the most remote provinces of that great empire. On his return, he lost above half the number of his forces by sickness and famine

[o] Theodos. Min. in frag. Spartian. Xiphilin. ibid. Paul. Diacon. hist. miscell.

mine; ſo that, after all, the Romans, as Spartianus obſerves, had no great reaſon to brag of their victories and conqueſts. However, Antoninus Verus, who had never ſtirred, during the whole time of the war, from Antioch and Daphne, took upon him the lofty titles of Parthicus and Armenicus, as if he had juſtly acquired them in the midſt of his pleaſures and debaucheries [p]. We are told, that ſome of Caſſius's ſoldiers, in pillaging the temple of Apollo at Babylon, found under ground a ſmall golden coffer, which, upon their opening it, caſt forth ſuch peſtilential vapours, as infected all thoſe who were preſent, and by their means the reſt of the army. As Verus, on his return to Italy, took Caſſius's forces along with him, he carried the plague into all the provinces thro' which he paſſed, and ſpread the infection through Italy, whence it was communicated to the moſt remote parts of the empire, and every-where attended with great mortality. After the revolt and death of Caſſius, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in the hiſtory of the Roman emperors, Antoninus the Philoſopher repaired into Syria, to ſettle the affairs of that province, and was, on his arrival, met by embaſſadors from Vologeſes, who, having recovered moſt of the provinces ſubdued by Caſſius, and being unwilling either to part with them, or engage in a new war, ſollicited the emperor to confirm him in the poſſeſſion of them, promiſing to hold them of him, and to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Rome. To theſe terms Antoninus readily agreed, and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two empires, which Vologeſes did not long enjoy, being ſoon after carried off by a diſtemper, and not murdered by his own ſubjects, as we read in Conſtantinus Manaſſes, who calls him Belegeſes.

UPON his death Vologeſes III. the ſon of his brother Sanatruces and grandſon of Coſdroes, was raiſed to the throne. Vologeſes III. He ſided with Niger againſt the emperor Severus, who thereupon, having ſettled matters at home, marched with his forces againſt him, and advancing to the city of Ctefon, whither he had retired, laid cloſe ſiege to that metropolis. Vologeſes made a moſt gallant defence; but the city, after a long ſiege and much bloodſhed on both ſides, was at length taken by aſſault. The king's treaſures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands; but Vologeſes himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape,

[p] Euſeb. in chron. Zonar. l. iv. Oros. hiſt. miſcel. Theodos. l. ibid.

which was a great diſappointment to Severus, who imm diately diſpatched an expreſs to acquaint the ſenate w the ſucceſs that had attended him in his expedition, agai the only nation that was then formidable to Rome. ſent likewiſe a particular deſcription of the countries, citi rivers, and mountains he had paſſed, and of the battles had fought, all drawn and painted upon tables; for wh the ſirnames of Parthicus, Arabicus, and Adiabenicus w decreed him. But he had no ſooner croſſed the Euphra than Vologeſes recovered all the provinces, except Meſo tamia, which he had reduced. Theſe expeditions were ry chargeable to the Romans, and coſt them much blo without their reaping any advantages from them; for they had not ſufficient forces to keep in awe the prov ces they had ſubdued, the inhabitants, greatly attache the family of Arſaces, never failed to return to their tient obedience, as ſoon as the Roman armies were w drawn. Vologeſes was ſoon after engaged in a war, more troubleſome and deſtructive, with his brother A banus, who, encouraged by ſome of the diſcontented bles, attempted to rob him of the crown, and place i his own head. Vologeſes gained ſeveral victories over brother and rebellious ſubjects; but died before he c reſtore the empire to its former tranquility.

Artabanus IV.

ARTABANUS, who had a numerous army at his de on, did not meet with any oppoſition in ſeizing the th vacant by the death of his brother, tho' Tiridates had a ter title to it, as being his elder brother. He had ſc ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, when the emperor C calla, deſirous to ſignalize himſelf, as ſeveral of his pr ceſſors had done, by ſome memorable exploit againſt Parthians, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to him, deſiring his da ter in marriage. Artabanus, overjoyed at this propoſal, wh he thought, would be attended with a laſting peace betw the two empires, received the embaſſadors with all po marks of honour, and readily complied with their req Soon after Caracalla ſent a ſecond embaſſy, to acquain king, that he was coming to ſolemnize the nuptials: wh upon Artabanus went to meet him, attended with the f er of the nobility, and his beſt troops, all unarmed an moſt pompous habits; but this peaceable train no ſoone proached the Roman army, than the ſoldiers, on a ſi given them, falling upon the king's retinue, made a terrible ſlaughter of the unarmed multitude, Artabanus

Treachery of the emperer Caracalla.

ſelf eſcaping with great difficulty. The treacherous Caracalla, having gained by this exploit great booty, and, as he thought, no leſs glory, wrote a long and boaſting letter to the ſenate, aſſuming the title of Parthicus, for this piece of treachery, as he had before that of Germanicus, for murdering in like manner ſome of the German nobility. Artabanus, reſolving to make the Romans pay dear for their inhuman and barbarous treachery, raiſed the moſt numerous army that had ever been on foot in Parthia, croſſed the Euphrates, and entered Syria, putting all to fire and ſword; but Caracalla being murdered before this invaſion, Macrinus, who had ſucceeded him, met the Parthians at the head of a mighty army, compoſed of many legions, and all the auxiliaries of the ſtates of Aſia. The two armies no ſooner came in ſight of each other, but they engaged with the utmoſt fury. The battle continued two days, both Romans and Parthians fighting ſo obſtinately, that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either ſide, tho' both retired, when night had put an end to the conteſt, crying, Victory, victory. The field of battle was covered all over with dead bodies, there being already above forty thouſand killed, including both Romans and Parthians; nevertheleſs Artabanus was heard to ſay, that the battle was only begun, and that he would continue it, till either the Parthians or Romans were all to a man cut in pieces. But Macrinus, being well appriſed, that the king came highly enraged againſt Caracalla in particular, and dreading the conſequences which would attend the deſtruction of his army, ſent a herald to Artabanus, acquainting him with the death of Caracalla, and propoſing an alliance between the two empires. The king, underſtanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the propoſals of peace and amity, upon condition, that all the priſoners, who had been taken by the treachery of Caracalla, ſhould be immediately reſtored, and a large ſum of money paid him to defray the expences of the war. Theſe articles being performed without delay or heſitation, Artabanus returned into Parthia, and Macrinus to Antioch [q].

Artabanus invades Syria.

An obſtinate engagement between the Parthians and Romans

As Artabanus loſt on this occaſion the flower of his army, Artaxerxes, a Perſian of a mean deſcent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolting from the Parthi-

The Perſians revolt.

[q] Theodos. Min. ubi ſupra, Zonar. l. iv. Sozomen. hiſtor. tripart. l. iii. c. 1.

ans, prevailed upon his countrymen to join him, and attempt the recovery of the ſovereign power, which, he ſaid, they had been unjuſtly deprived of, firſt by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Parthians, formerly their vaſſals. Artabanus, upon the news of this revolt, marched with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom to ſuppreſs it; but being met by Artaxerxes, at the head of a no leſs powerful army, a bloody battle enſued, which is ſaid to have laſted three days. At length the Parthians, tho' they behaved with the utmoſt bravery, and fought like men in deſpair, were forced to yield to the Perſians, who were commanded by a more experienced leader. Moſt of their troops were cut off in the flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death by Artaxerxes's orders. The Parthians, having loſt in this fatal engagement both their king and their army, were forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and become vaſſals to a nation, which had been ſubject to them for the ſpace of four hundred and ſeventy-five years. Thus was this gallant and warlike nation ſubdued at laſt, and the empire once more transferred to the Perſians; whoſe kings reigns, till they were in their turn reduced by the Arabs, will be the ſubject of the following ſection. However, the royal family of Arſaces did not end in Artabanus, but continued to reign in Armenia, till the time of the emperor Juſtinian, holding that kingdom of the Perſian monarchs, to whom the Arſacidæ of Armenia were tributaries. Among theſe we find the following princes mentioned in hiſtory, Arſaces, Teridates, Artavaſdes, Teridates II. Arſaces II. Paras, Tigranes, and Arſaces III. all deſcended from Arſaces, brother to Artabanus IV. the laſt king of Parthia. But of Armenia, and the princes who reigned there, after that country became ſubject to the Perſians, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the next ſection.

Defeat the Parthians, kill their king, and put an end to the Parthian empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

SECT. I.

The hiſtory of the Perſians, from their recovering the empire from the Parthians, to their being ſubdued by the Arabs.

According to the Greek and Latin Authors.

THE reader hath before ſeen, after what manner, and how long, the Perſians were ſubject to the Parthian princes. We are here to ſpeak of their atchievements after they had again rendered themſelves independent; and not only ſo, but lords alſo of many ſpacious provinces, and the firſt nation in the eaſt. As we have no regular hiſtory of Perſia by any Greek or Latin writer, what we offer to the reader in this ſection, is collected, as carefully as might be, from ſuch as have occaſionally mentioned the Perſian affairs. Theſe paſſages we have digeſted in their natural order; and, if there be any omiſſions, they will be ſupplied in the next article, wherein we ſhall treat of the ſame period from the Oriental hiſtorians (A).

A

(A) There is no branch of the Univerſal Hiſtory which more clearly evinces the general uſefulneſs of this work, or the peculiar ſymmetry of its parts, than this before us. All the general hiſtories, that have been publiſhed in our own, or in other modern languages, are ſtrangely deficient in this article. We have either a looſe, unſatisfactory account of the paſſing of the empire of the eaſt from the Parthians to the Perſians, and from them to the Arabians; or we have ſuch a chronological table of their kings, as that inſerted in our text, with a few remarks thereon from Scaliger's chronicon, or ſome other collection; and ſo we are hurried to another ſubject. It muſt be owned, that there are ſome particular relations which promiſe fairer, and perform more, than is either expected or done by the compilers of general

A TABLE of the Perſian kings.

	Years.	Months.
Artaxares	14	10
Sapores	31	
Ormiſdates	1	10 days.
Varanes	3	
Varanes II.	17	
Varanes III.	00	4
Narſes	7	9
Miſdates	-	-
Sapores II.	70	
Artaxerxes	4	
Sapores III.	5	
Varanes IV. or Cermanſaa	11	
Iſdigertes	21	
Varanes V.	20	
Varanes VI.	17	4
Perozes	20	
Valens	4	
Cavades	11	
Zambades	8	
Cavades	30	
Coſroes	48	
Hormiſdas	8	
Coſroes II.	39	
Sirões	1	
Acheſyr	00	2
Sarbaras	00	6
Bornarim	00	7
Hormiſdas	10	

Artaxares Year of Chriſt, 230.

ARTAXARES, or, as he is ſometimes called, Artaxerxes, the reſtorer of the Perſian kingdom, was not only a private

ral hiſtories; but then we can very truly affirm, that even theſe fall very far ſhort of the following account. The learned (1) Bizarus, whoſe hiſtory of the Perſian affairs is deſervedly eſteemed the beſt extant, takes all he hath relating to this period from a very few Latin and Greek authors; ſo that, for very want

(1) Rerum Perſicarum hiſtoria, initia gentis, mores, inſtituta, reſque geſtas ad hæc uſque tempora complectens: auctore Petro Bizaro Sentinate, fol. Francofurti, A. D. 1601.

private perſon, but of ſpurious birth, as we are informed by Agathias (B). His mother was married to one Pabecus or

want of materials, he is forced to draw in the Roman affairs, and other matters ſtill more foreign; nay, he once digreſſeth ſo far as to mention William the Conqueror, and compliment Queen Elizabeth (2). One might ſay much more as to other compendiums of Perſian hiſtory (3); but we deſire not to prejudice the works of others, or to give any more than a fair account of our own.

We have divided the hiſtory of this period into two parts. The firſt is compoſed of ſuch materials as the Latin and Greek writers furniſh, particularly that noble collection which goes under the name of the Byzantine hiſtorians, whence we have taken ten times as much as hath appeared in any modern language, and, by aſſembling a multitude of divided paſſages, have preſented the public with ſomething that looks like a connected hiſtory. Whereas Bizarus found himſelf ſo deſtitute of matter, that, in his hiſtory of the Perſian affairs, he makes the reigns of the Roman emperors his rule, and refers the ſeries of Perſian monarchs to a table. The ſecond part is truly taken from Oriental writers; but more eſpecially from Mirkhond, and what is related therein is ſo neceſſary a ſupplement to what the firſt part contained, that, without it, there would not only have remained a viſible imperfection, but, in many places, it would have been unintelligible; becauſe the Greek writers, out of a perverſe humour, wilfully miſrepreſent the manners, cuſtoms, and literature of the Oriental nations. The compariſon therefore of theſe diſtinct hiſtories will illuſtrate each of them, and enable the intelligent reader perfectly to comprehend both; whereby this wide chaſm will be in ſome meaſure filled up, and this period of Perſian hiſtory no longer remain, as it hitherto hath done, under an impenetrable obſcurity.

(B) As we have taken the foregoing table chiefly from Agathias, and as we have generally preferred his authority, wherever he ſpeaks deciſively, it is neceſſary we ſhould ſay ſomething of the merit of this author. He was a native of Marina, and addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of the law; and as thoſe who dedicated their time to the acquirement of that ſcience, ſtudied moſtly in colleges, he came from thence to be called Scholaſticus (4), which the learned Voſſius will have to ſignify the ſame as advocatus (5). He was a poet and an hiſtorian; but it is in his laſt capacity only that we have to do with him. He was, it ſeems, ſo

(2) Hiſt. rer. Perſic. l. v. p. 137. (3) Bartholm. Keckermannus, de monarch. Perſar. Tom. II Oper. ejuſd. author. in fol. Genev. 1614. Reinec. comment. de reb. Perſic. ap. hiſt. Jul. Schicard. catal. reg. Perſar. (4) Agath. Scholaſt. præfat. ad hiſt. (5) De hiſtor. Græc. l. ii. p. 270.

or Pabec, who was either a tanner or a ſhoemaker, but withal a perſon well ſkilled in judiciary aſtrology. It happened, that one Saſanus, or Saſan, a military officer, travelling through the country of the Caduſians, took up his lodging in the houſe of this Pabec, tho' it was a very mean one. Pabec, by his art, perceiving, that a perſon begotten by this ſtranger, would become the head of a moſt potent family, and alſo arrive at regal honours, he began to fret within himſelf, becauſe he had neither ſiſter, daughter, nor couſin in the houſe. At length, his ambition getting the better of his ſenſe of ſhame, he cauſed his wife to go to bed to Saſan, who begat on her Artaxares. When afterwards Artaxares came to be king, Pabec and Saſan each claimed him for a ſon; whereupon the ſtory became public, and it was agreed, that he ſhould be ſtyled the ſon of Pabec of the ſeed of Saſan [a]. Artaxares from his youth addicted himſelf to a military life, and having attained to great ſkill and no leſs reputation in the wars, he projected the delivery of his countrymen from the Parthian yoke. In purſuance of this deſign, he wrought them to a general revolt; and having in three battles routed, and in the laſt ſlain the Parthian monarch, he aſſumed the double diadem and the pompous title of king of kings. He was, as all authors agree, a man of great abilities and undaunted ſpirit, or, in other words, a perſon of great courage and unbounded ambition [b].

He

[a] Agath. Scholaſt. hiſt: de reb. geſt. Juſtinian. imperat. edid. Pariſ. l. ii. p. 65. l. iv. p. 134. [b] Herodian. hiſt. l. vi. Æl. Lamprid. in vit. Aurel. Alexand. Sever. Oros. hiſt. l. vii. c. 11. Nicephor. hiſt eccleſ. l. i. 6. Gregor. Abul-Phar. hiſt. dynaſt. dyn. 7. p. 186.

ſo pleaſed with Procopius's memoirs of the Perſic wars, that he reſolved to continue them, which he did in the hiſtory we yet have, divided into five books. In the fourth of theſe he takes occaſion to mention one Sergius, who was ſo well ſkilled in the Perſian tongue, as to be on that account in great favour with Coſroes the firſt. This man making ſeveral journies into Perſia, and having many opportunities of converſing with the learned of that nation, procured, by their favour, the peruſal of the royal annals from whence he made many extracts, which, at his earneſt deſire, he communicated to Agathias. Theſe were, in that hiſtorian's opinion, of ſo great weight, that he preferred them to the memoirs of Procopius, differing ſom him to follow them

He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he formed a design of restoring the Persian empire to its antient glory; and having caused the necessary preparations to be set on foot, he gave notice to the Roman governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he conceived himself to have a just and unquestionable title, as the successor of Cyrus, to all the Lesser Asia, which he commanded them immediately to quit, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the antient Parthian kingdom, which was already his. Alexander Severus was at this time the possessor of the Roman empire, a very youth, under the tutelage of his mother, and one who had hitherto dwelt always at Rome; he was therefore unwilling to engage in a war, especially if it might be avoided; and for that reason sent letters to Artaxares, importing, that he would do wisely to keep within bounds, and not, out of vain hopes of conquest, to enterprize new wars, which might not be attended with the same success as formerly; that, in the present case, he ought to consider he was not to deal with barbarians, or a nation unused to war, but with the Romans, whose emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Severus, had often vanquished the Parthians. The Persian king had little regard to these letters, on the contrary, he began to raise a great army and to attack the fortified posts of the Romans, on the river Euphrates, making such a progress in the reduction of the adjacent provinces, that the emperor Alexander, how unwilling soever he might be, was constrained to raise an army, and to march towards Mesopotamia, in order to give a check to the Persian power [c].

Asserts his right to all the provinces of the antient Persian empire.

Artaxares was employed in the siege of Nisibis or Antiochia, when he received the news of Alexander's marching towards him; upon which he thought proper to raise his siege,

Sends an insolent message to the emperor Alexander.

[c] Herodian. & Æl. Lamprid. ubi supra.

them; which shews, that he was thoroughly convinced of their authority. From these extracts he drew up a short, but very perspicuous and exact, account of all the Persian monarchs from Artaxares, who recovered the kingdom from the Parthians, to Cosroes, with whom himself was cotemporary (6). It is from this short account that we have taken the dates, and such other material circumstances, as, we thought, could not be had with the same probability of exactness from other historians, who wrote from later and less authentic memoris.

(6) Agath. Schol. hist. l. iv. p. 140, 141.

ſiege, that he might recruit and refreſh his army. He ſe
however, deputies or embaſſadors, if we may be allowed
call four hundred perſons by that title, whom he ſelected
their extraordinary ſtature and great ſtrength; and hav
furniſhed them with rich habits and fine horſes he g
them commiſſion, when they ſhould be introduced to
emperor's preſence, to ſpeak thus: "The great king Arta
"res commands the Romans and their prince to depart
"of all Syria and Aſia Minor, and to reſtore to the Perſi
"all the countries on this ſide of the Ægean and Pontic ſe
"as of right deſcending to them from their anceſtors [d]."

His meſſengers rigorouſly treated.

THESE heralds or embaſſadors performed their commiſſi
very exactly; which ſo highly irritated Alexander, w
was otherwiſe a prince of the gentleſt diſpoſition, that
ordered all their equipage to be taken from them, and ſe
them into Phrygia, where he aſſigned them farms, wh
they might cultivate for their ſubſiſtence. This done,
advanced into Meſopotamia, which he recovered in a gr
meaſure without fighting. Hiſtorians differ ſo much in t
accounts they give us of the ſubſequent parts of this w
that it is almoſt impoſſible to reconcile them. We ſha
however, relate what appears to us moſt probable, and g
our readers our reaſons in a note.

Gives battle to, and is beaten by, the Romans.

ARTAXARES advanced with his forces into Meſopotam
as ſoon as he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to give the
nemy battle. His army conſiſted of a hundred and twen
thouſand horſe, ten thouſand heavy armed ſoldiers, eig
teen hundred chariots with ſcythes, and ſeven hundred el
phants. Alexander, however, did not decline fightin
An engagement enſued in which the Romans were victo
ous, and Artaxares was compelled to retire into the heart
his dominions, where, with great aſſiduity, he appli
himſelf to the recruiting and reſtoring of his army. On t
other hand, the Roman emperor divided his forces in
three bodies, the firſt, marching through Armenia, h
orders to penetrate into Media; the ſecond marched ov
the marſhes, to enter the Parthian dominions on the oth
ſide; the third, which was the greateſt, and which t
emperor comanded in perſon, was to have fallen into t
heart of Artaxares's dominions; and if this ſcheme h
been thoroughly executed, in all probability, the Perſi
pow

[d] Zonar. hiſt. ad. A. C. 230. [e] Herodian & A
Lamprid. ubi ſupra.

power would not only have been weakened, but even brought to the very verge of destruction[f].

Restores his affairs by firmness and vigilance.

The body of troops which passed through Armenia, underwent great difficulties, and with very much fatigue arrived at last in Media. Artaxares quickly marched against them with a formidable army; but was not able to do much, for the country being uneven, the Roman foot had the better of his cavalry. While he was considering how these evils might be surmounted, he received advice of the other body of Romans breaking into his territories, which, in some measure, frustrated all his designs; however, having left guards sufficient to secure the passes, he marched with his forces against the new invaders. These troops finding no enemy to oppose them, plundered all the country, and proud of their spoils, would no longer be restrained under discipline; nay, at last they became so scandalously licentious, that they slew their commander in chief, Flavius, for endeavouring to restrain them, and for being more careful of their safety than they were themselves. In this situation the Persian king fell upon them, and rather destroyed than defeated them. The Roman emperor in the mean time, being under feminine counsels, failed to perform the share he had taken to himself in this enterprize; which was the ruin of his army, the remains of which having joined the corps under his command, he returned first to Antioch and then to Rome, where he triumphed, and was styled Parthicus and Persicus, with very little reason (C). Artaxares made the best use of his absence

[f] Zonar. ubi supra. Herodian. l. vii.

(C) Nothing can be more opposite than the account given by Herodian and Ælius Lampridius of the Persian war. We will give a concise account of what is said by each of them, and leave it to the intelligent reader to decide as he pleases. Herodian affirms, that, in the fourteenth year of Alexander Severus, letters came from the presidents of Syria and Mesopotamia, purporting, that Artaxerxes king of Persia had made an inroad into Mesopotamia, and threatened to invade Syria, claiming all the continent opposite to Europe, from the Ægean sea to the Pontis, as the antient patrimony of the Persians. Upon this, after writing letters to no purpose to persuade the Persian to be quiet, the emperor Alexander marched into the east, where he divided his army, as we have related in our text, and by failing to perform what himself had undertaken, brought them all into a miserable situation; for which the army was so grievously offended

ſence, recovering what he had loſt, reſtoring the gl
of the Perſian name; and having reigned with much
putation, died with honour and in peace, after enjoy
the kingdom twelve years, or, as others ſay, fifteen ye
abating two months [g].

Sapores. Year of Chriſt, 242.

He was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon Sapores, Sapor, a prince equally famous for ſtrength of body
abilities of mind, fierce and intractable in his nature,
vetous of glory, haughty, inſolent, and cruel. He

[g] Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 134.

offended with the emperor, that they openly ſaid, he had
foully betrayed them. Upon this he led them back to Anti
where he refreſhed the remains of them, diſtributed amo
them large ſums of money; and perceiving, that the Rom
who were ſlain in Perſia, by ſelling their lives dear, had exce
ingly weakened the enemy, he had thoughts of invading t
territories again, when he had advice of the German rebelli
which compelled him to return into Italy (7). On the ot
hand, we are expreſly told by the writer of the life of Alexan
Severus, addreſſed to Conſtantine the Great, that the Perſ
were entirely defeated, and a great number made priſon
He likewiſe informs us, that he tranſcribed from the journa
the ſenate, a ſpeech of the emperor's after his return, wh
hath abundance of extraordinary particulars. Amongſt oth
the emperor aſſures the ſenate, that Artaxerxes was not imp
perly ſtyled the great king; that he brought ſeven hundred
phants into the field, of which three hundred were taken
two hundred killed; that the Romans had cut to pieces an a
of one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe, had ſold a multit
of Perſian priſoners, and that he had defeated the Perſians in
plains where Craſſus had been overcome by the Parthians.
affirmed the ſame thing in groſs to the people of Rome, and
thereupon complimented with the title of Conqueror of
Parthians and Perſians (8). This author mentions Herodi
account, and alſo ſome other accounts leſs favourable to
emperor Alexander than his; but he thinks the authorities c
by himſelf ſufficient to weigh down all they ſay. Howe
Herodian, we know, wrote only of ſuch things as happe
within his own life time, and made it a rule with him to m
every thing give way to truth. As for the author of this
addreſſed to Conſtantine, ſome will have him to be Ælius L
pridius, and again others attribute it to Spartianus (9);
whoever writ it, it hath much the air of a panegyric, or at
of an apology.

(7) Herodian. hiſt. l. vi. c. 6——16. (8) Æl. Lamp
in vit. Alex. Seve. (9) G. J. Voſſ. de hiſt. Latin. l. ii. p.

no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he began to meditate a new war with the Romans, to which he was encouraged by a traitor, who dwelt in his court. The name of this man was Cyriades, the ſon of another Cyriades, an eminent commander in the Roman army. This profligate ſon of whom we are ſpeaking, began his exploits with robbing his own father. He was naturally a voluptuous man; and therefore, as ſoon as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of this treaſure, he withdrew into Perſia, where he lived in that ſplendor and luxury, for which he had ſacrificed his honour. In conjunction with Odomaſtes, a Perſian general, he waſted the adjoining provinces, and having at laſt prevailed on the king himſelf to take the field, Cyriades, with the deſerters, who, for the ſake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of Antioch and Cæſarea Philippi, both of which they were ſo lucky as to make themſelves maſters of; whereupon Cyriades took firſt the title of Cæſar, and then called himſelf emperor, acquiring by degrees, dominions, revenues, and forces, not altogether unworthy of that title [h].

His dominions invaded by the Romans.

THE young emperor Gordian, when he had ſettled the affairs of the empire in the weſt, reſolved to reſcue the eaſt alſo from the tyranny of pſeudo-emperors, as well as from the terror of the Perſian arms. With this view he marched into Syria, at the head of a great army; and as long as his father-in-law, whom ſome writers call Myſitheus, others Timeſcles, lived, every thing went well. The Perſian found himſelf conſtrained to withdraw into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking Charra or Haran in Meſopotamia; but while he was preparing to puſh his conqueſts ſtill farther, he was murdered by the treachery of Philip, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law [i].

Makes an advantageous peace.

THIS Philip, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign authority, made peace with Sapor, and abandoned Meſopotamia and Armenia to him again. Part of theſe provinces, on the news of the ſenate's diſapproving his conduct, he recovered again, without ſhewing any regard to his

[h] Trebell. Pol. in hiſt. trigint. tyran. [i] Herodian. hiſt. l. vii. Jul. Capitolin. de vita Gordian. tert. Zoſim. hiſt. A. C. 243. Zonar. hiſt. A. C. 244.

his treaty; and, leaving a a ſufficient number of troops t ſecure the frontiers, marched back into Italy. As ſoo as the Roman army was withdrawn, Sapor and Cyriade renewed their incurſions; and the latter, growing ſtronge than ever, began, in all reſpects, to be treated as an em peror. Indeed the Roman affairs were in ſuch miſerabl confuſion, that many, who would otherwiſe have oppoſe Cyriades, were now glad to be ſheltered under his pro tection. At length, however, things began to take new turn. Valerian, tho' he was ſeventy years old whe he was advanced to the empire, yet ſpared no pains t reduce all the numerous provinces thereof to a proper de gree of obedience. While he was thus employed, firſt i the weſt, and then in the north, Sapor, with a numerou army, broke into the Roman territories, burnt and pil laged the country; and at length advancing as far as Edeſ ſa, beſieged it in form, one Demoſthenes, who command ed therein, making a gallant reſiſtance [k].

Takes the emperor Valerian priſoner.

VALERIAN no ſooner received advice of this, than h poſted with the troops about his perſon to its relief. H approach gave new ſpirits to the diſtreſſed inhabitants o the Roman provinces, and diſpoſed them to take all th neceſſary ſteps for compelling the Perſians to retire int their own dominions. The ſoldiers of Cyriades mutinie againſt him, put him to death, and declared for Valerian Sapor, however, confiding in the ſtrength of his army continued ſtill before Edeſſa, in the neighbourhood where of an action happened, in which Valerian was taken pri ſoner, whether by his own temerity, or the treachery o one of his commanders, cannot be well determined. Th gave a mortal wound to the Roman affairs in the eas where Sapor gained continual advantages, and uſed his fo tune with an inſolence not to be endured. This at leng drove the people to deſpair; ſo that, firſt under the com mand of Calliſtus, afterwards under that of Odenatu prince of Palmyrene, they took arms, and not only pro tected themſelves from any further inſults, but alſo, und the command of the laſt-mentioned general, defeated th Perſian, and took part of his baggage, with all his co cubines, which determined him to retire into his own d minio

[k] Jul. Capitolin. in vita Gordian. Trebell. Pol. hiſt. trig tyran. Zonar. hiſtor. A. C. 253. Zoſim. hiſt. A. C. 252.

minions. In his march he is ſaid to have made uſe of the bodies of his unfortunate priſoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the paſſage of his carriages over ſuch rivers as lay in his way. On his return into Perſia, he was ſollicited by the kings of the Caduſians, Armenians, Bactrians, and other nations, to ſet the emperor Valerian at liberty; but to no purpoſe. On the contrary, he uſed him the worſe, treated him daily with indignities, ſet his foot upon his neck when he mounted his horſe, and, as ſome writers ſay, after ſeveral years confinement, cauſed him to be flayed alive [1] (D).

Treats him inhumanly, and is ever after unfortunate.

FROM this time forwards the affairs of Sapor wore but an indifferent aſpect. Odenatus, fluſhed with victory, at the head of a gallant army, and cloathed with the character of preſident over the Roman provinces in the eaſt, bridled the Perſians, and made them frequent viſits in their own territories. Twice this general advanced as far as the city of Cteſiphon, ſeated on the banks of the Tigris, all the countries between Palmyra and that river being under his obedience. On his death his wife, the celebrated Zenobia, continued to oppoſe the Perſians, and with ſucceſs, till ſhe was conquered and made priſoner by the emperor Aurelian, who vindicated the honour of the Romans on this ſide, and took ample vengeance for the ill treatment of Valerian. Much ſpoil, many priſoners, and one of the king's chariots, Aurelian carried with him

[1] Trebell. Pol. in vita Valerian. Agath. Schol. l. iv. p. 133. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. vii. p. 128.

(D) There is nothing more confuſed, nothing for which it is more difficult to account, than the manner by which Valerian fell into the hands of Sapor, and his treatment afterwards. Trebellius Pollio, who wrote the life of this emperor, expreſſes himſelf doubtfully as to the conduct of Marcianus, whether it was treacherous, or unfortunate only; but, as to the emperor himſelf, he is poſitive, that, after he was made priſoner, Sapor made uſe of him as a footſtool when he mounted his horſe. The ſame writer hath preſerved three letters; one from king Belſotus; another from Balenus king of the Caduſii; and a third from Artabazes king of Armenia, to the Perſian monarch, in favour of Valerian, who, he ſays, died in his captivity at a very advanced age (10). Zonaras affirms, that however Valerian was taken

(10) In vita Valerian.

him into Italy, and with them graced his triumph a Rome [k]. Sapores, however continued to enlarge his do minions at the expence of his barbarous neighbours, an having reigned, with great variety of fortune, thirty-on years, died, and left the kingdom to his ſon. An eaſter writer informs us, that Aurelian made peace with Sapore and gave him his daughter in marriage, in whoſe train wer two Greek phyſicians, who firſt brought the writings Hippocrates into the eaſt [l]. In the reign of this monarch flouriſhed, according to the ſame writer, the famous here tic Manes, whoſe opinions ſo long diſturbed the church [m] (E)

HOR

[k] Trebell. Pol. in vit. Gallien. Odenat. Zenob. & Saturnin
[l] Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. 7. p. 138. [m] Agath. Schol. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopiſc. in vit. Aurelian. Gregor. Abul-Pha dynaſt. p. vii. 130.

taken, whether fighting in his own defence, or voluntarily yield ing himſelf up, he was afterwards treated with the utmoſt indig nity. He likewiſe ſays, that he was carried into the heart Perſia, and was ſo unhappy as to be an eye-witneſs of the ma ſacring of the Romans, in order to fill up the hollow ways wit their carcaſſes; and this, ſays he, was the end of Valerian (11 Zoſimus relates things more paticular. He informs us, th Valerian, finding his army much weakened by ſickneſs, an diſtruſting the fidelity of moſt of his officers, endeavoured firſt negociate, and then to buy, a peace from Sapor; who refuſi to treat with any, but the emperor, he imprudently went confer with him, attended only by his ordinary guards, and was ſurprized, put into chains, and carried away priſoner in the inland parts of Perſia, where he died of extreme old ag (12). Agathias aſſerts, that Valerian was not only treated wi the utmoſt ignominy after he was made priſoner by Sapor, b that at length he ordered him to be flay'd alive; which was a cordingly performed (13). Cedrenus ſays, that Valerian, wi twenty thouſand men, were made priſoners by Sapor at the ba tle of Cæſarea; and that his ſkin being pulled over his ears, died in miſerable torture (14). To cite more authors would tedious, as well as to no purpoſe; for we do not pretend to aſce tain any fact, but to ſhew, that the death of Valerian is ve uncertain; and this we have already ſufficiently done

(E) The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians are not agreed at what ti Manes flouriſhed. However, as Cedrenus (15), who wrote compe

(11) Hiſt. A. C. 259. (12) Hiſt. A. C. 259, 260. (1 Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 133. (14) Hiſt. comp. p. (15) Idem, p. 259.

HORMISDAS ſucceeded Sapores, of whom we have little to ſay. It was during his reign that the Palmyrenians were fooliſh enough to take arms again, in order to free themſelves from the Romans, or rather, as other parts of the Roman empire had done, to aſſert a right of making emperors. They caſt their eyes on one Antiochus, whom they arrayed in purple and ſaluted emperor; but Aurelian did not leave them long at liberty to carry on this ſcheme. He returned with his victorious army, reduced Palmyra, and dyed the cloaths of his ſoldiers, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, in the blood of its inhabitants. As for Antiochus, he took no notice of him at all. And for Hormiſdas, Hormiſdas. Year of Chriſt, 273.

compend of hiſtories from good memoirs, places him under the reign of Sapor, we may as well ſpeak of him here as any-where elſe. Concerning him and his doctrines we are told in general, that one Terebinthus, an arch heretic, having fled out of Paleſtine into Perſia, and being there received into the houſe of a widow, took the name of Buda, pretended to have been born of a virgin, to have been brought up in the mountains, and to have received a command to teach men a new religion, or at leaſt new notions in religion. He being either killed by the people, or by an evil ſpirit that he converſed with in this woman's houſe, left behind him in her hands four treatiſes, containing the ſum of his doctrines. This woman having bought a ſlave called Cabricus, when a boy of ſeven years old, cauſed him to be carefully educated, and, when ſhe died, left him all ſhe had. By this means the writings of Terebinthus or Buda coming into his hands, he read, conſidered them, and reſolved to paſs for ſomebody as well as his maſter. The firſt thing he did, was to change his name from Cabricus to Manes; then he began to propagate his opinions, which were taken principally from the writings of Zoroaſter and the Gnoſtics. Part of the ſcriptures he rejected, part he retained, but magnified his own writings above all. He aſſerted two principles, the one good, and the other evil. He ſpoke reſpectfully of Jeſus Chriſt, yet denied that he ſuffered and roſe again, affirming, that the Jews crucified a phantom. He gave himſelf at ſometimes out for the Meſſiah; at others, for the comforter. He choſe twelve apoſtles and ſeventy-two diſciples, who diſcharged their offices faithfully, ſpreading his notions far and wide, ſome of them penetrating into China (16). As for Manes himſelf, he was according to the manner of thoſe times, a perſon of conſiderable learning; for he drew a map of the world, and wrote a treatiſe of its uſe. He likewiſe

(16) Epiphan. hær. 6. Auguſt. 46. Theodoret. lid. hær. fab. 10. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. vii p. 130.

miſdas, he had not interfered, and therefore Aurelian not trouble his country; he had the good fortune cor quently to die in peace, after having ſat on the thron year and ten days [n].

Varanes I. Year of Chriſt 274. VARANES the firſt ſucceeded him. Of him we kn very little more than that he reigned three years, duri which ſpace we find not that he enterprized any thing gainſt the Romans, or they againſt him. In truth, t empire was at this time in a very indifferent condition; f after the death of Aurelian, the Roman forces in Syria a Meſopotamia were very unquiet. At length Saturninus himſelf up for emperor, but with no great good luck; y as he was a man of probity and an excellent commander, kept the Perſians within their limits; ſo that the prince, whom we are ſpeaking, never had any opportunity of ex ting himſelf [o].

Varanes II. Year of Chriſt 277. VARANES the ſecond aſcended the throne on t death of the former king of the ſame name. He had firſt ſome thoughts of invading the Roman provinces; b he quickly found, that the ſtate of things was changed; fo on the firſt motion of his troops, the emperor Probus a vanced in perſon into the eaſt. Upon this Varanes deſiſt fr

[n] Agath. Schol. hiſt. l. iv. p. 134. Flav. Vopiſc. in vita Au lian. Zoſim. hiſt. A. C. 274. [o] Agath. Scholaſt. ubi ſup Flav. Vopiſc. in vita Saturnin. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. p. 134.

likewiſe compoſed a large book of enigmatical figures, whic he pretended, contained a ſeries of revelations to the end of t world (17). In the end, he is ſaid to have loſt himſelf in th whirlpool which ſwallows up moſt impoſtors, the affectation working of miracles. He would needs undertake to cure t king of Perſia's ſon, who laboured under a mortal diſeaſe; b he failed in his attempt, the young prince died, and he w impriſoned. He made his eſcape afterwards, and for ſome ti wandered about, and was concealed by his diſciples. At leng he was apprehended by the king of Perſia's officers, and, ſome ſay, was crucified by the order of Sapor, tho', as oth affirm, he was flayed alive (18). However, his opinions did periſh with him; for his ſect flouriſhed afterwards in Perſia, a was encouraged by ſome of its kings.

(17) Herbelot. Artic. Ertenk. Giagrafiah. (18) Cedr compend. p. 260. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra.

rom his enterprize, and, hearing of the emperor's great ucceſs, ordered Narſes, who commanded for him in Armenia, to ſend deputies to compliment Probus, to make im preſents, and to treat of peace. The emperor received hem very haughtily, refuſed the preſents they brought him, nd wrote an anſwer to the letter of Narſes to this purpoſe: That all he had was his; that he wondered how he could end him ſuch trifles: wherefore, to him, who might perhaps eſteem them, he had ſent them back, as well knowng how to have all that he poſſeſſed, when the Romans hould deſire it. However, he granted them peace at this ime, and terrified them ſo much with his power, that the Perſians were afraid to make their uſual excurſions for ſome ime [p]. At length Varanes took heart, and began to think f recovering ſome of the provinces which his anceſtors had oſt; but, before he was able to do any thing, he found imſelf diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions; and, before theſe were calmed, Probus, aſſembling a great army, began his narch towards the eaſt. Varanes conceived himſelf delivered rom this misfortune, when he heard that the army, in a ſedi-ion, had killed the emperor; but he was miſtaken; for Carus is ſucceſſor, after ſubduing ſeveral barbarous nations, ſhortly after entered Meſopotamia, and carrying all before im advanced beyond Cteſiphon, as if he intended an abolute conqueſt of that province. The fears of the Perians were, however, ſoon over; for the emperor Carus lied in the firſt march he afterwards made, either by an llneſs under which he had long laboured, or by his tent's eing ſet on fire by lightening. What was ſtill more happy or the Perſians was a notion, the Romans took from thence, hat fate had aſſigned Cteſiphon for the bounds of their emire, which they were never to paſs but to their hurt (F).

[p] Flav. Vopiſc. in vita Prob. Eutrop. hiſt. Rom. l. ix. M. A. Caſſiodor. chron. xxxi.

(F) There is nothing ſo valuable in an hiſtorian as truth, and et there is nothing more frequently wanting. We generally ſteem thoſe authors moſt, who lived neareſt the times of which hey wrote; and yet we are as often deceived by them as by any thers. A deſire of praiſing immoderately thoſe of whom they rite, too often influences hiſtorians to repreſent things otherwiſe han they apprehended them. Vopiſcus, in his life of the emeror Carus, affects a great deal of candour and impartiality, ſpecially in reſpect to the death of that emperor, which had been

Soon after Numerianus, the son of Carus, was also slain and the Roman army, under the command of Diocleſian returned into Italy. Varanes gained hereby some reſpite which he employed in ſtrengthening his frontiers; but when on the news of the diſturbances which had happened in the Roman empire, he began to think of invading its provinces Diocleſian ſuddenly returned into Armenia, with a great body of forces, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Perſians, that they were afraid to undertake any thing. A little after died Varanes, after an unfortunate reign of ſeventeen years, leaving the kingdom to his ſon [q].

Varanes III. Year of Chriſt 294.

VARANES the third reigned no more than four months. He is dignified by hiſtorians with the title of Seganſaa. Agathias hath given us the reaſon of this appellation. He tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the Perſian monarchs to incorporate the nations they ſubdued into the body of their ſubjects, not by removing them hither or thither, but by allowing them to live, as formerly, under their own laws themſelves adding to their titles that which the antient princes of the country bore. Varanes the ſecond having, a little

[q] Flav. Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. & Car. Zonar. hiſt. A. C. 28[illegible] Sext. Aurel. Victor. in Car. Agath. Scholaſt. p. 134. Grego[illegible] Abul- Phar. dynaſt. 7. p. 131.

been generally ſuppoſed ominious to the empire. He expir[illegible] in his camp before Cteſiphon blaſted, as the report went, by lightening; whence it was inferred, that the Romans ſhould never penetrate farther than this city. It was built by the Parthians on the eaſt bank of the Tigris, and was a very populous place; and beſides, the country beyond it was quite unknown to the Romans, as well as very improper for their manner of making war which probably gave birth to this opinion. However, Vopiſcus was reſolved to deſtroy it, in order to which he produces a letter from Calphurnius, ſecretary to Carus, wherein he gives a very ambiguous account of that emperor's death. He ſays it happened after the greateſt clap of thunder which was heard during the ſtorm; that his ſervants, for grief, ſet fire to his tent which occaſioned the report that he was burnt by lightening; whereas, according to the beſt account this writer could get, he died of his ſickneſs. Vopiſcus then mentions the notion that Cteſiphon was fatal to the Roman empire, and that the death of Carus was thought a judgment for attempting to paſs farther. But, ſays he, let cowardice make uſe of ſuch arts to cover it the brave will ever deſpiſe them. The moſt excellent Cæſar Maximian will never believe this; but, on the contrary, will attempt

e before his death, overcome this nation, his took the ti-
e of Seganſaa or Seganſhâh, which, Agathias expreſly tells
s, ſignified king of the Segani or Segeſtani [r].

NARSES ſucceeded next, a prince of high ſpirit, who Narſes.
eſigned, no leſs than Artaxares, the founder of the Year of
ew Perſian monarchy, had done, the reduction of Chriſt 294.
ll the Perſian provinces, held at this time either by the
arbarous nations, or conquered by the Romans. It is cer-
ain, that never did a fairer opportunity offer for the ex-
cution of this vaſt deſign, than at the entrance of this
rince's reign. The Roman empire was in ſuch diſtracti-
n, that tho' there were two emperors, yet they found the
veight to heavy for them, and therefore created two Cæſars
o ſhare the burden of government. War was kindled in
very corner of the empire, when Narſes, with a great ar-
ny, broke into Meſopotamia, and in a ſhort time recovered
noſt of the places which had been heretofore in the hands
of his anceſtors. But it was not long before Diocleſian ſent
Galerius, one of the Cæſars, with a numerous army to An-
ioch, to check the progreſs of the Perſian. Narſes did not
decline an engagement; but his ſucceſs was not equal
to his courage, either in this, or in a ſecond battle. Galeri-
us being conqueror in both, paſſed the river Tigris, and
advanced into the very heart of the king of Perſia's domi-
nions. Narſes, tho' he retired continually, yet kept
a ſtrict eye upon the enemy, beſeeching his own troops
not to look upon his conduct as timorous, but to be
aſſured, that he would take an opportunity of vindica-
ing their honour, and revenging the loſs he had ſuſ-
tained

[r] Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 135.

ttempt and finiſh the conqueſt of the Perſians, and pene-
rate beyond them (18). Would it not have been better, if, in-
tead of this flouriſh, he had told us, that, immediately after
he death of Carus, his army, under the command of his ſon
Numerianus, was attacked and beaten by the Perſians, and there-
by forced to retire into the Roman provinces again (19)? Yet
he ſays nothing of this, either here, or in the life of Nume-
ianus (20), whom ſome writers affirm to have been taken and
put to death by the Perſians after their victory (21).

(18) In vita Car. (19) Zonar. hiſt. A. C. 283. (20)
Flav. Vopiſc. in vita Numerian. (21) Gregor. Abul-Phar.
lynaſt. 7. p. 132.

tained. He was as good as his word; for Galerius, el
ted with ſucceſs, abating of his uſual care and circumſpec
on, Narſes took advantage thereof, and falling upon the R
man army while they were upon their march, gave them
total a defeat, that ſcarce any remains of them could be a
terwards drawn together. Galerius himſelf with much a
eſcaped, and making haſte to the army of Diocleſian, pr
pared to give the emperor the beſt account he could of h
misfortune. Diocleſian uſed him but very indifferentl
ſhewed a high diſlike of his conduct, and in a manner r
fuſed to truſt him with another army. At length, howeve
the zealous importunities of Galerius prevailed, and, levi
being made with all poſſible expedition, he was ſent wi
freſh forces againſt Narſes. The Perſian king had, in th
interval, made the beſt uſe of his victory, retrieving no
only the cities and country which he had loſt, but al
bringing into the field a numerous army, compoſed eſpecia
ly of choſen horſe, to maintain the conqueſts he had mad
in caſe the Romans ſhould once more diſpute them [s].

Conſtrained to ſubmit to the Romans.

GALERIUS acted now as Narſes had before; he adde
prudence to fortitude, and depended no leſs on his own con
duct, than on the courage of his forces. He went with
few of his friends to view the Perſian army, and having hap
pily performed this exploit, he returned to his own, whic
he diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to attack the Perſians at un
awares, whereby he gained a complete victory. Narſes him
ſelf was wounded, and forced to fly with a ſmall remnant o
his army into the mountains. His baggage, treaſure, papers
all fell into the hands of Galerius, as did likewiſe his ſiſters
his queen, his concubines, and children. In vain he ende
voured to repair his misfortune; the ſpirits of his ſubject
were effectually damped by this blow, inſomuch, that h
found it impoſſible to collect another army capable of takin
the field againſt the victorious Romans, who were ſhortly
after joined by Diocleſian and his army, who, at the time
of the engagement lay encamped at Antioch, in order t
have ſuſtained Galerius, in caſe any thing amiſs had befalle
him. Overcome therefore with the reflection of his misfor
tunes, Narſes, to rid himſelf of theſe troubleſome neighbours
conſented to give up five of his provinces; on which condi
tion peace was granted him and his queen reſtored; but a
for

[s] Zonar. hiſt. A. C. 297. Eutrop. hiſt. Rom. l. ix
Agath. Scholaſt. ubi ſupra.

for their ſiſters, his concubines, and the other perſons of quality, who were taken in the battle, they were carried to Rome, and there led in triumph. The grief of this broke the heart of Narſes, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity about ſeven years [t].

He was ſucceeded by Miſdates, otherwiſe called Hormiſdas the ſecond, who wore the diadem ſeven years and five months, but without doing any thing remarkable. As he was long in a declining condition, and had no iſſue, the nobility of Perſia were under the utmoſt concern for the conſequences of his diſeaſe, without a ſucceſſor declared. At length it appeared, that the queen was with child; upon which a council of the magi was ſummoned, and they were required to inform the nobles whether the queen was with child of a ſon or a daughter. The magi anſwered, Of a ſon. Hereupon the diadem was placed upon the queen's great belly, and all the nobility ſwore allegiance on the faith of the foregoing prediction to the ſon ſhe ſhould bear. The king dying in the interim, the public peace was preſerved by this expedient; and at the end of nine months the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was a king before he was born [u]. This was

Miſdates or Hormiſdas, Year of Chriſt 301.

Sapores, or Sapor the ſecond, who governed the dominions of his anceſtors long and happily. The account we have given in the laſt reign is ſtrongly controverted, and it muſt be allowed, that there are more teſtimonies alledged againſt it than can be urged in its ſupport. Yet we have given it the preference, for a reaſon which will appear at the bottom of the page, and which we are perſuaded, will induce the readers to be of the ſame mind (G). This prince if

Sapor II. Year of Chriſt 308.

[t] M. A. Caſſiodor. chron. xxxiii. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 268. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. vii. p. 132. Zonar. Eutrop. Agath. ubi ſupra. [u] Agath. Scholaſt. lib. iv. p. 134.

(G) There are ſeveral paſſages in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus (22), Zoſimus (23), Socrates (24), and other writers, which ſeem to intimate, that Sapor was not a poſthumous child, but born in his father's life-time, and educated by his direction. They alſo ſpeak of one Hormiſdas, who fled to the emperor Conſtantine, as if he had been brother to this prince. Now, if theſe facts were true, it would follow, that what is above related muſt

(22) Hiſt. lib. xvii, xviii., xix. (23) Hiſt. lib. ii. (24) Hiſt. eccleſ. lib. ii..

if we may credit an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, was educa
under the care of an eunuch named Uztazades, who
ſecretly a chriſtian. Whoever had the care of his educati
certain it is, that he became a very great prince, if we may
ſtow that character on one who was no very good man.
was a zealous aſſerter of the dignity of the Perſian dia
and purſued ſteadily that deſign which Artaxares had firſt

muſt be falſe. But if it be conſidered firſt, that the rela
found in theſe authors are ſo worded, as that they may be m
to ſuit with either fact: that, ſecondly, there is nothing
preſly ſaid of the manner in which Sapor came to the cro
and that, thirdly, theſe writers appear to be frequently very
differently inſtructed as to the hiſtory of Perſia, and ſcarce at
acquainted with its religion: we muſt confeſs, that no gr
ſtreſs can be laid on what they deliver, much leſs on what is
ferred from their accounts. On the other hand, what Agathi
relates, he had from the Perſian records, and the Perſian reco
are the beſt evidence for Perſian affairs (25). But beſides, th
is another reaſon which ſo ſtrongly corroborates what Agath
tells us, that one can ſcarce entertain any doubt of the truth
the fact mentioned by Agathias. Sapor ſucceeded in the Per
throne about the ſame time that Conſtantine became emper
and he reigned ſeventy years. In the fifteenth year of his rei
Hormiſdas retired into the Roman dominions. Now if Horm
das had been the brother of Sapor, and had been a man be
the death of his father, we muſt conceive that Sapor was w
in a few years as old as he, otherwiſe he could not have b
his rival. But this would ſtretch the life of Sapor to an inc
dible extent, and would alſo involve us in new difficulties.
is therefore better to acknowledge Agathias's account, wh
concurs exactly with the moſt remarkable events recorded by
ther hiſtorians. As to the ſtory of Hormiſdas, it runs th
He is ſaid to have been a prince of the blood-royal of Per
and that coming in when his father celebrated his birth
feaſt, he obſerved that the nobility did not riſe to ſalute h
Upon which he threatened, that if ever he came to the crow
he would treat them as Marſyas the Phrygian was treated. M
of the Perſian lords knew not what to make of this; but one
them told the reſt the ſtory of Marſyas, who, for contendi
with Apollo, was by him flayed alive. This irritated them
much againſt the prince Hormiſdas, that they not only exclud
him from the ſucceſſion, but cauſed him alſo to be cloſely im
priſoned; whence, however, he eſcaped by the contrivance
his wife; and flying to the emperor Conſtantine, met with
favo

(25) De reb. geſt. Juſtian. lib. iv. p. 134.

foot, viz. of uniting all the territories of the antient rſian kings under his obedience. But he did not purſue s deſign, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, openly, d at the head of armies: if he had, in all probability he ould not have been more fortunate than they; for the rſian militia were by no means able to combat the regu- forces of the Romans. This prudent monarch took ite different meaſures; he encouraged the barbarous peo- dwelling on the frontiers of the Roman provinces to vage and harraſs them; this he did more openly, when affairs of the Romans were in confuſion, and with eater ſecrecy, when they were better eſtabliſhed. He tended his own dominions towards the eaſt, and towards e north; he encreaſed his revenues, by encouraging in- ſtry and trade among his ſubjects; he diſciplined his rces, and above all things affected a mighty eſteem and neration for the civil and religious conſtitution of his untry [x].

THIS laſt mentioned diſpoſition induced him to perſecute e chriſtians, who were repreſented to him, by the magi, d the Jews ſettled in his dominions, as men of deteſta- e principles, bad ſubjects to their governors, and avowed emies of religion, that is, of its fundamental articles. It

Perſecutes the chriſtians in his dominions.

[x] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xvii. Euſeb. in vit. Conſtant. Sozomen. t. eccleſ. lib. ii.

vourable reception, which he very well deſerved, by the di- ence and fidelity which he manifeſted on all occaſions in the vice of the Romans (26). There is certainly a ſtrong air of ble in the firſt part of this narration; for that a Perſian prince ould be acquainted with the ſtory of Apollo and Marſyas, muſt pear ſtrange, if not incredible. Again, that ſo raſh and cruel prince ſhould, in getting out of priſon, leave all his ill qualities hind him, and come a perfect wit and hero (for ſo theſe writers int him afterwards) to the court of Conſtantine (27); this ely is very wonderful alſo; and therefore ſtripping off theſe arvellous appendages, if we credit the bare matter of fact, that ormiſdas, a prince of the blood royal of Perſia, fled to the mans, and behaved well in their ſervice; it will anſwer all ſonable purpoſes, and the current of our hiſtory receive no erruption.

(26) Zoſim. hiſt. lib. ii. A. C. 324. (27) Zonar. hiſt. C. 340.

It is ſaid, that he put Simeon biſhop of Cteſiphon, and ny other eccleſiaſtics, to death, and that he even cut the head of the eunuch before mentioned, notwithſtan he had been his governor, and his father's old and fa ful ſervant. One great crime objected to the chriſt was, their regard for Conſtantine, then emperor of Ro His power was too great for Sapores to think as yet of tacking him openly; he therefore ſent a ſolemn embaſſ Conſtantinople to compliment that prince, and to re that peace which had for ſo many years ſubſiſted betw the two empires, directing his miniſters privately to quire into the ſtrength of the Romans, and to buy quantity of arms, of which his ſubjects ſtood in g need. The emperor, though well informed of the de of Sapores, received his miniſters very graciouſly, gra their requeſts, and at their return charged them with a ter for the king of Perſia their maſter. Of this letter th are two copies extant, the one more full and correct the other. The intent of the epiſtle was to perſuade Sap to treat the chriſtians with greater lenity. The argum made uſe of therein are juſt and natural, delivered in guage becoming the writer, and him to whom it was dreſſed (H). In all probability, it had its effects; for

(H) Sozomen hath given us a long account of the cruel pe cution raiſed againſt the Perſian chriſtians by Sapor; but this writer intimates, that the whole was not only excited, managed alſo, by the magi. Thoſe who are deſirous of ente farther into this matter, may find in the works of this hiſto a very copious account, not only of the general perſecut but of the principal martyrs, their quality, and behaviour Euſebius, in his life of Conſtantine, affords us a conciſe of the perſecution; but then he gives us the letter of the em ror at large; whereas Sozomen gives us only an extract o In this letter the emperor firſt gives a ſhort account of his fa then of his ſucceſs and grandeur, which he attributes wholly God's bleſſing thereon; he afterwards expatiates on the od folly of idolatry; but without inſinuating any thing of his picion that Sapor was an idolater. He then very pathetic repreſents the miſeries which had conſtantly attended unjuſt cruel princes, eſpecially perſecutors, of whom he particular Valerian, whom he aſſerts to have been happy in all his dertakings, until he perſecuted the chriſtians. Laſtly, he wa ly recommends the chriſtians in his dominions to the favou Sapor, and beſeeches him for his ſake to look upon them as good and faithful ſubjects (29).

(28) Hiſt. eccleſ. lib. ii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12. (29) In Conſtant.

informed by an impartial author, that Sapores treated
christians afterwards with less severity. Indeed, he had
ver troubled them at all, if he had not been instigated
some malicious priests of his own religion, and the in-
cretions perhaps of some christian priests.

HOWEVER, he abandoned not the scheme he had for-
d of raising himself and his successors to the supreme do-
nion over the east. When he thought he had brought
ngs to bear, he generously acquainted Constantine with
intention, transmitting to him by his embassadors a let-
, or rather a manifesto, wherein he expresly set forth his
im to all the dominions antiently belonging to the Per-
n emperors, affirming, that the river Strymon was the le-
boundary of his empire. Constantine returned him an
wer, full of dignity and resolution; and though he was
w grown in years, made great preparations for war,
mbled a numerous army, and resolved to command it in
son. When the season of the year approached, he joined
forces, and immediately began his march for the eastern
vinces; but providence prevented his design from taking
ct, by removing him out of this life, so that together
h his empire, he left the management of this Persian war
his successors [y]. Sapor did not fail to make use of the
antages afforded him by the disorders which happened in
empire on the death of Constantine. He instantly en-
d the Roman provinces, and reannexed to his own do-
ions what his ancestors had lost. It is a very difficult
g to give an account of this war from the Greek and
in historians, notwithstanding the writings of many who
d in those days have come down to our hands; by rea-
of their evident partiality, some commending the empe-
Constans, as a very martial prince, others upbraiding
with pusillanimity, both endeavouring rather to suit
ory to their own opinions, than to the truth. By ma-
g proper allowances, however, for the visible biasses of
e writers, the truth seems to have been, that in pitched
les, and in the defending of towns, the Romans were
erior to the Persians; but that in swift marches, horse-
bats, and surprizes, the Persians had the advantage.

Resolves on a war with the Romans.

HENCE it came to pass, that altho' Sapor reconquered
e tracts of country, and was successful in many engage-
nts; yet could he not prevail against Nisibis, the stron-
gest

Which proves tedious and bloody.

[y] Zonar. hist A. C. 337. Zosim. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 338. Eu-
. lib. x. Amm. Marcel. Euseb. Sozom. ubi supra.

geſt fortreſs the Romans had in thoſe parts, though he ten beſieged it, and exerted his utmoſt force, in order to liver his ſubjects from a thorn that continually pricked th but he was conſtantly defeated, and conſtrained after g loſſes to riſe from before it. As to the circumſpectio the emperor Conſtans, when in the field, it might very bably be owing to the ſituation of thoſe countries, w were the ſeat of war. In a plain country, ſuch as Meſ tamia, the emperor was forced to act with great circ ſpection, becauſe the enemy had all advantages, their ca ry having room to extend themſelves, to retire, and to c back to the charge, which in a mountainous ſituation could not have done. We need not wonder therefore, the Romans were backward in fighting, and more ſol tous about fortifying their camps than ſeeking the ene In the battle of Singara, which was fought in the ni Sapor had at firſt the advantage by reaſon of the ſurp the Romans were under; but when they had recovered th ſelves a little, they repulſed the enemy ſo briſkly, tha the end Sapor was forced to retire, after having loſt his in the battle, and received a dangerous wound himſ Both parties were in the end tired out with the war; Roman emperor therefore leaving the care of the eaſtern p vinces to Gallus, whom he had lately created Cæſar, re ned into the weſtern provinces of his empire, while Sap who perceived that little was now to be got from the R mans, turned his arms upon his eaſtern neighbours, left the care of his frontiers towards the Romans to his m experienced generals. In his expeditions againſt the Ba rians, he was more fortunate than againſt the Rom Some he ſubdued by force, others readily yielded him o dience; with his moſt powerful and inveterate enemies made a ſolid and laſting peace. In the midſt of this ſucc he received advice that overtures had been made to his nerals in the weſt for the concluſion of a peace. To ſ therefore his readineſs in this point, he diſpatched one N ſes, a nobleman of great credit in his court, to carry letters to Conſtans, with the terms on which he was c tent to enter on a treaty. The miniſter proceeded to mium, in order to have an interview with Conſtans; t he preſented him with the letters of the Perſian king, w ten in the uſual ſtrain of the Perſian monarchs, i. e. i lofty ſwelling ſtyle. The purport was, that notwithſtan Sapor knew himſelf to have a juſt claim to all the coun

bet

between Persia and the river Strymon, yet he was content for the sake of peace to be satisfied with Mesopotamia and Armenia; which once yielded up, he would willingly become the friend of the Romans. Narses, perceiving how ill his master's letter was taken, endeavoured all that in him lay to pacify the Romans, and to obtain from the emperor an account of his demands, with which Constans readily complied. He named on his side embassadors, who were to go to Sapor, and who were charged with letters, importing that, while himself was possessed of but a part of the Roman empire, he had notwithstanding maintained its antient boundary in the east; and that now being master of the whole, it was not reasonable to expect that he should yield to such conditions as had been proposed. The Roman embassadors found the king of Persia at Ctesiphon, where they had many conferences with him and his ministers, though to very little purpose, for the Persian would remit nothing; however, time was gained, in which Constans came first to Constantinople, and then prepared to set out for the east[y].

Antoninus deserts and Sapor renews the war.

About this time one Antoninus, an officer of great credit in the Roman army, being persecuted by some of the emperors favourites, fled to Sapor, by whom he was received with open arms, treated with the utmost kindness, and immediately admitted into the highest confidence. In the mean time, the emperor had been prevailed upon to remove Ursinicus, who was general of the horse in the east, and to give his command to Sabinian, a very old man, who thought himself very cautious, but was by others esteemed timid, and most unfit for supreme command. Antoninus quickly gave the Persian notice of the incapacity of the Roman general, who thereupon determined, with the numerous army under his command, immediately to enter the Roman provinces, and to advance as fast as possible without imbarrassing himself with sieges, or attempting to divide his forces, in order to garrison towns. Accordingly, he passed the Tigris, and marched with all imaginable diligence towards the Euphrates, intending, if possible, to penetrate into Syria, hoping to pillage that fruitful country, which had enjoyed so many years peace[z]. But Ursicinus, who was returned

[y] Zonar. hist. A. C. 350. Zosim. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 352. Ammian. Marcel. lib. xviii. Eutrop. lib. x. [z] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xviii. c. 5.

returned again into the eaſt with the title of general of foot, prevented him by throwing up works on the ſide the river, and poſting himſelf with his troops behind the Sapor then, by the advice of Antoninus, turned to the le and before it was expected, inveſted the city of Ami In the neighbourhood of this place he took ſeveral ſtro caſtles, and in one of them a conſiderable number of chri an virgins, who had dedicated themſelves to the ſervice God. The Perſian treated them not only with humani but with the utmoſt politeneſs, being deſirous to ſhew t proſperity ſoftened his diſpoſition, inſtead of rendering h arrogant. Amida made a long defence, and the ſiege the of is ſaid to have coſt Sapor thirty thouſand men. It w at laſt, however, taken by ſtorm, after a ſiege of ſeven three days. The principal officers of the garriſon he hange the men he ſent into ſlavery, after which he put an end the campaign on this ſide; he entered, however, afterwa Meſopotamia, where he took the town of Singara, and r ned it; he then attacked Bezabda, and after a ſiege ſome days, took it, and fortified it; then he advanced Virta, which he likewiſe inveſted; but after a ſiege of ſo continuance, was obliged to retire. The emperor Conſta in the mean time paſſed the Euphrates, and came to Amid over the ruins of which he is ſaid to have wept; he th advanced, in hopes of regaining the places taken by Sapo and proceeded to beſiege Bezabda, but to no purpoſe; the rainy ſeaſon, and a ſcarcity of proviſion, obliged hi to raiſe his ſiege, and return into Syria, where he contin all the winter [a] (I).

SAPO

[a] Ammian. Marcel. lib. xx. Eutrop. lib. x. Zonar A. C. 355. Zoſim. hiſt. lib. iii. Sozomen. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. iv.

(I) It would have been very eaſy to have rendered this part our hiſtory more particular and more entertaining than it is, there had not been two very cogent arguments offered by the v nature of the work to keep us here much within bounds. F firſt, as all the accounts we have come from Latin and Greek thors, they eſpecially regard the conduct of the eaſtern emper their miniſters and generals, and conſequently belong rather to Conſtantinopolitan than Perſian hiſtory. Secondly, they agree little among themſelves, and yet are all of them ſo partial to th own countrymen, that ſhould we relate exactly what thoſe writ are pleaſed to ſay of the Perſians, we ſhould rather deceive th

inſt

SAPOR, in the beginning of the next ſpring, drew together a great army, and made a ſhew of entering the Roman provinces immediately, which compelled the emperor Conſtans to prepare alſo to take the field. As he had by this time not only a very great body of forces, but thoſe too the very beſt in the empire, his great excellence lying in an exact knowledge of military diſcipline, in all probability the war would have been both bloody and laſting, if it had not been prevented by the military prudence of the Perſian; to whom when an account was brought of the Roman preparations, he inſtantly determined to put ſtrong garriſons into his frontiers, and then to withdraw the remainder of his forces; which he accordingly did. The Roman emperor perceiving, that, without a peace, the war was at an end, did the like on his ſide; and having given directions for fortify-

His prudence ſaves his forces.

inform our readers, as too many hiſtorians do. There was a neceſſity of making theſe obſervations, that the nature of this part of our hiſtory might be well underſtood. We have herein ſtuck cloſe to facts, without ſcrupulouſly reporting circumſtances, becauſe the latter have frequently appeared to us improbable, or at leaſt violently exaggerated. Ammianus Marcellinus is the author on whom we have principally depended in the hiſtory of this reign. He was a man of quality, a ſoldier, and one who actually ſerved in this very war, of which he writes. Beſides all this, he was a native of Antioch, and therefore perfectly well acquainted with the ſeat of the war. However, as he was a Pagan, he leſſens all the chriſtian emperors, that his hero Julian may appear with the greater luſtre; and as he was a Roman, he exaggerates the barbarity and want of diſcipline among the Perſian troops, who yet held the Romans at bay, and made very long ſieges, which tumultuary armies never do (30). Zoſimus is by far more outrageous than Marcellinus. He was ſo bigotted a heathen, that he will not allow Conſtantine the Great to have done the leaſt thing worthy of that title. He cenſures him for withdrawing the garriſons from the frontiers of the empire, and inſinuates, that by this means the Perſians ravaged the Roman provinces with impunity (31). The chriſtian writers, on the other hand, magnify all the actions of Conſtantine (32). In ſuch a ſituation we could do no more than aſſemble the matters of fact relating to Perſia, and deliver them in a plain ſtyle, and in their natural order; for had we entered into the comparing of authors and weighing authorities, we ſhould have exceeded all bounds, and, after all, perhaps waſted our time to no great purpoſe.

(30) Hiſt. rer. geſt. ſub. imp. Conſtant. Julian. Jovian. &c. (31) Hiſt. l. ii. prop. fin. (32) Euſeb. in vit. Conſtant. Zonar. hiſt. Rom. Sozomen. hiſt. eccleſ. &c.

ing the places which were moſt in danger, he reſolved march away immediately againſt Julian, who had taken title of Auguſtus, and had given juſt grounds to ſuſpect aimed at the empire [b].

His dominions invaded by the emperor Julian.

In this march the emperor fell ſick and died; whereby J lian was raiſed to be abſolute lord of the Roman empire, whole forces of which he intended to make uſe of in order deſtroy the Perſians; that is, to break their force ſo effect ally, as that it ſhould be impoſſible for them ever to troul more the Roman provinces. Full of this great project, did every thing which might conciliate the minds of the ſoldie raiſe his own reputation, or by any means contribute to fa litate his enterprize; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that t army diſcovered an unuſual alacrity, and readily followed hi into the dominions of Sopores, who contented himſelf wi acting on the defenſive, having no hopes at all of defeati the Romans in a pitched battle under ſo martial a prince. this expedition Hormiſdas the Perſian commanded the l wing of the Roman army, and by his advice it was that emperor regulated moſt of his deſigns. As long as he this, ſucceſs attended his arms; ſome ſtrong places he took force, others yielded through fear; but moſt were given up him by treachery. At length he beſieged Cteſiphon, whi had been the bulwark of the Parthian empire, but witho ſucceſs; for it was well fortified, and had a numerous garriſo Here it was that the Romans began to diſcover how puiſſa an enemy they had to deal with [c].

Whom he deſtroys, by drawing him too far into his country.

The Perſians ſkirmiſhed with him every day; the cou try on all ſides was burnt and deſtroyed, inſomuch, that ſeemed impracticable to hope any further advantages on t ſide. Julian therefore reſolved to repaſs the Tigris, which he had a fleet of tranſports laden with proviſions. Perſian of quality deſerting to him, aſſured him, that method he took would be equally prejudicial to his fame to his affairs; that hitherto he might be juſtly ſtyled the co queror of the Perſians, and that he might ſtill better defe this title, if he would follow his advice; which was, quit the ſide of the river, to burn his fleet, and to ma through a broad open road, into which he promiſed to co duct him, where, after three or four days march, he wo

[b] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxi. Eutrop. ubi ſupra. Zoſim. ubi ſu Sozomen. hiſt. eccl. l. v. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 113. [c] trop. l. x. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. Zonar. A. C. 363. Soc hiſt. eccleſ. l. iii. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 307. Zoſim. l. iii.

find an end put to all the difficulties, which he either actually ſtruggled with, or even apprehended. Horſmiſdas, when the emperor conſulted him upon this project, told him plainly, That it was impracticable, and that he would be undone if he purſued it. Julian, however, was inflexible; he ordered his ſoldiers to furniſh themſelves with twenty days proviſions, and having ſo done he commanded the fleet to be ſet on fire, maugre all the ſolicitations of his friends, who, while it was yet in a flame, convinced him that he was betrayed; whereupon he ordered the Perſian nobleman and his attendants to be put to the torture. This was executed upon the ſervants; but as for their lord, he was fled. It ſerved only to encreaſe the emperor's diſquiet; for the men readily acknowledged, that they came on purpoſe to miſlead him. Orders were then given to ſave as many of the veſſels as was poſſible, which however, were but a few; and then, as if he had perfectly loſt his ſenſes, Julian threw himſelf and his army into that road, which had been pointed out to him by his enemies. For three or four days they met with little or no interruption; but afterwards Sapor, with the whole force of Perſia, coaſted them in their march, and, at the beginning of the night, continually ſet upon their rear guard. The weather proving intenſely hot, water ſcarce, and proviſions failing, Julian ſaw plainly that his obſtinacy had brought him into difficulties almoſt unſurmountable. He ſtill continued to bear up againſt them with great conſtancy, and the ſoldiers, encouraged by his example, repulſed the Perſians with great ſlaughter, as often as they attacked them. At length, on the twenty fifth of June in the evening, a mighty cloud of duſt aroſe, occaſioned by the advance of the greater part of the Perſian horſe. On this occaſion the Perſian noblemen gave full teſtimony of their valour, making ſuch an impreſſion on the left wing of the Roman army, as obliged the emperor to repair thither in perſon; whither he was no ſooner come, than he received in his body an arrow, whether from the enemy, or from one of his own ſoldiers, could never be known, of which wound he died the next night. This threw his army into a terrible conſternation, notwithſtanding they had been victorious in the fight the day before, ſlain many thouſand Perſians, and amongſt them fifty perſons of quality [d].

[d] Ammian. Marcel. xxiv. xxv. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 308. Zonar. ubi ſupra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. vii. p. 140. Zoſim. l. iii. A. C. 363.

Makes an advantageous peace with the Romans.

SAPOR, as ſoon as he was informed of the emperor's dea made proclamation that he would give a great reward to man by whoſe hand he fell; which, however, was ne claimed. At the ſame time, to ſhew his deſire of pea he ſent deputies to Jovian, who had ſucceeded Julian. four days a peace was concluded, whereby the five provin in diſpute were for ever yielded to the Perſians, toget with the ſtrong fortreſs of Niſibis, which had been ſo l the bulwark of the empire. As ſoon as the treaty concluded, Sapor furniſhed the Romans, for their mon with proviſions, and alſo gave and received hoſtages for due performance of the treaty; which was exactly exec ed, tho' with much reluctancy, by the Romans; yet the mighty army led by Julian into Perſia, ſcarce a te part returned, and even theſe perhaps had never return but by the favour of this peace, which they ſo much cried [e] (K).

DURI

[e] Ammian. Marcel. ubi ſupra. Socrat. hiſt. eccleſ. l. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 308. Eutrop. l. x. Agath. Scholaſt. 136.

(K) The various accounts which are given by different auth of the death of the emperor Julian, belong to the Conſtanti politan hiſtory; and therefore we have but juſt touched upon ſubject here. Ammianus Marcellinus and Zoſimus (22) afford higheſt commendations to their hero Julian, on account of penetrating farther into the Perſian territories than any of his deceſſors. The laſt-mentioned of theſe authors carries his eul ſo far, as to pretend, that Julian conquered the greateſt par the Perſian empire; than which nothing can be falſer, or m ridiculous. Almoſt all the Greek hiſtorians agree in blam Jovian for the peace he made; and on this account they degr him far below his predeceſſor. It may not be amiſs to take opportunity of ſetting in a true light a point, which hath ſo nerally, and ſo long, been miſunderſtood. Julian was, with queſtion, a very gallant man and an excellent ſoldier; but he as certainly no general, ſince there is ſcarce a maxim in the of war, againſt which he did not expreſly act in this Perſian pedition. All the Roman generals, who had ſuffered themſe to be dazled with the reputation of conquering the Perſians, periſhed in their fooliſh attempts; for, from Craſſus to Ca no Roman had ever penetrated the Perſian dominions, but to own diſhonour; and therefore there could be nothing more t

(22) Zoſim. hiſt. Rom. l. iii. Ammian. Marcel. l. x Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 136.

DURING the reſt which ſo advantageous a treaty afforded to the Perſians, their monarch neglected no opportunity of ſettling effectually the bounds of his empire towards Tartary and India. This took him up ſome time, and ſerved alſo to exerciſe his ſoldiers; but after the death of Jovian the Roman emperor, when the affairs of that people were again diſordered, Sapor did not fail to make a new irruption, in breach, as the Latin writers ſay, of the peace ſubſiſting between the two empires. The iſſue of this war is no leſs obſcure than its commencement. All we know of it is, that, at the beginning, Sapor had great advantages in Armenia, having ſlain Arſaces, who then reigned in that country, where he alſo reduced a large territory under his obedience; but, on the arrival of Arinthius, he was conſtrained to abandon a great part of his conqueſts. However, being intent on aggrandizing the Perſian dominions on this ſide, he ſtill remained in arms, and transferred the imperial ſeat to Cteſiphon, the old capital of the Parthian empire, that he might be always at hand to improve ſuch

Turns his arms againſt other enemies.

trary to reaſon, than Julian's puſhing forwards as he did. Again, he acted without any certain view; he marched he knew not where; he fought he knew not what; he took for guides he knew not whom; he burnt a fleet, when of all things it was moſt neceſſary to him; he ſacrificed his ſoldiers, in making them paſs rivers almoſt unpaſſable in themſelves, and in the ſight of an enemy perfectly acquainted with the country. In one word, there were five large provinces in diſpute: Julian, if he had taken cool and proper meaſures, might have diſpoſed things ſo as to have ſecured them for ever to the Romans; but, inſtead of doing this, he did the ſingle thing he ſhould not have done; he quitted the antient Roman method of making war, to take up that of the Perſians; and by engaging Sapor in his own way, and in his own country, ſacrificed a numerous and victorious army. But if Julian was not, Sapor certainly was, a general; he managed the war as it ought to have been managed; he retired that he might conquer; and when he had conquered, he thought of nothing but making an advantageous peace. In this he ſhewed himſelf a wiſe king, a great captain, and an able ſtateſman. The eloquence of the Greek writers will everlaſtingly do juſtice to the military virtues of Julian, and the chriſtian piety of his ſucceſſor. As we are now writing the Perſian hiſtory, we thought it but juſtice to vindicate the character of a Perſian monarch, by a ſhort recapitulation of acts, which is all that is intended by this note.

opportunities as might offer (L). It does not, however, appear, that, after this time, he gained any great victory; and all we know farther is, that in the beginning of the reign of Gratian, this reſtleſs and ambitious monarch end

(L) Ammianus Marcellinus hath given a pretty large accou of this Armenian war, wherein he charges the king of Per with breach of faith to the Romans, and with exceſſive cruel and treachery towards the Armenians. He ſays, that he took a vantage of that confuſion which overſpread the Roman affai after the death of the emperor Jovian, to fall upon the Armen ans, firſt by ſlight incurſions, quickly after more openly and wi greater force; that in the progreſs of the war, he, on ſome preten or other, prevailed on Arſaces king of Armenia to admit of perſonal conference with him, at which he ſeized him, and i ſtantly cauſed his eyes to be put out, and himſelf to be cruel beaten with ſilver rods; and a ſhort time afterwards ordered hi to be crucified, laying then ſiege to the capital of Armenia, whe the queen, the king's ſons, and treaſures were; that t Armenians, in this diſtreſs, had recourſe to the emperor V lentinian, who ſent to their aſſiſtance Arinthius, with an arm which obliged Sapor to retire, tho' he exclaimed againſt it as breach of the peace (34). It is eaſy enough to ſee that this a count is perplexed, and altogether favourable to the Romans; b it is not eaſy to unravel it, or, at this diſtance of time, to poi out all the miſrepreſentations contained therein. We know, how ever, that they are not wanting, and that the true ground of t war was this: Julian, when he made his irruption into Per compelled Arſaces king of Armenia to attend him with all t forces he could raiſe, tho' he would not accept the aſſiſtance other princes. This he did, becauſe Arſaces was a chriſtian, a he had a mind to l. aſs him and his ſubjects. When Sap came to treat with Jovian, he excluded the Armenians, intendi to revenge himſelf upon them for the aſſiſtance they had giv Julian; ſo that the war was not altogether without pretence, a more than the complaint of the Romans aſſiſting them, ſince th could not do this according to the letter of their treaty wi the Perſians. Some time after, when Valentinian ſuſpected Pa who ſucceeded his father Arſaces, he, by fraud, got him i his hands, and, after very ill uſage, cauſed him to be cruelly p to death; which fact was highly reſented by Sapor. Hen forward the peace was ill-obſerved on both ſides; and, on t whole, it is moſt evident, that Sapor did not employ either fra or force more unjuſtly than the Romans, with whom he had deal, tho' the authors of that nation are not always ready acknowledge as much.

(34) Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. Socrat. l. iii.

ed his days, after having reigned ſeventy years, or, as ome ſay, ſeventy-two, with great variety of fortune [f].

To Sapor ſucceeded Artaxerxes; but who he was is a queſtion. Some writers are poſitive that he was the ſon of his predeceſſor; others are no leſs poſitive that he was his brother. Thoſe who will have him to be ſon of Sapor, give us this account of the matter: They ſay, that Sapor had four ſons, Hormiſdas, Adarnaſſes, and Narſes, by great princeſſes; and this Artaxerxes by a lady of exquiſite beauty, but of no diſtinguiſhed family. Hormiſdas, by going over to the Romans, forfeited his right to the crown, and ſo Adarnaſſes came to be conſidered as his heir; but this prince threw away his title to the kingdom, by diſplaying his own unworthineſs to poſſeſs it; for the inhabitants of Meſopotamia having preſented to king Sapor a tent of camels ſkins, curiouſly painted, and enriched with gold, the king gave it to his ſon, and afterwards aſking him how he liked it; "The thing, replied he, is well enough; but, when I "come to be king, I will have a tent of the ſkins of men." His actions correſponded ſo exactly with this barbarous expreſſion, that it was judged proper to ſet him aſide. Narſes had the misfortune to offend the king, who therefore diſinherited him, whereby the crown came to this Artaxerxes, who leaſt thought of it; a moſt romantic and incredible tale! But the other opinion, that Artaxerxes was not the ſon, but the brother, of Sapor, is not at all the more probable as making the foregoing ſtory inconſiſtent and unintelligible; we ought therefore to ſuppoſe he was his kinſman only. However, our European hiſtorians tell us nothing more concerning this prince, than that he maintained the peace with the Romans, and governed his dominions, quietly four years [g]. (M).

Artaxerxes. Year of Chriſt 380.

To

[f] Agath. Scholaſt. ubi ſupra. Cedren. ibid. p. 312. Zoſim. l. iv. Paul. Diacon. l. xi. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii.

[g] Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 137. Zonar. A. C. 340. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. vii. p. 143.

(M) In this note we are to render a reaſon for our departing in the text from all authorities, in making the ſucceſſor of Sapor neither his brother nor his ſon, but his kinſman only; and this we ſhall do as briefly as is conſiſtent with the reader's ſatisfaction. For firſt, we will ſhew, that he could not be the brother of Sapor; ſecondly, we will ſhew, that he could not be his ſon; and, thirdly

Sapor III. Year of Chriſt 385.

To him ſucceeded his ſon Sapor, the third of that nar who reigned five years; but what he did in that ſpa we find not in any Greek author, probably becauſe, adh ing to the peace made with his grandfather, he troub not the Roman empire, then governed by Theodoſius Great [h].

Varanes IV. Year of Chriſt 390.

VARANES, or, as the Greeks write it, Vararanes, fourth of that name, ſucceeded his father Sapor. He is known by the ſirname of Cerma Saa, of which we h little or no account as to its meaning. Elſewhere, hov ver, this difficulty will be cleared up, and the title ſhe to be Kerman Shâh, which province of Kerman was his reign added to the Perſian empire. He alſo maintai the peace with the Romans, being otherwiſe employe and therefore the Greek hiſtorians ſay very little of hi any more than of his predeceſſors, tho' he reigned elev years [i].

Iſdigertes. Year of Chriſt 401.

ISDIGERTES ſucceeded Varanes, a monarch deſerve renowned for his many great virtues. He was cotempor with Arcadius emperor of the eaſt, with whom he liv

[h] Agath. Scholaſt. ubi ſupra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſup
[i] Agath. Scholaſt. ubi ſupra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dynaſt. p. 146.

ly, we will reconcile our conjecture to hiſtory. If this Art erxes had been the brother of Sapor, he muſt have been older, younger; if older, why was he not king before him? or h came ſo cunning and ſo cruel a prince, as the Romans make Sa to be, to ſpare an elder brother during a reign of ſeventy yea Younger he could not be, ſince Sapor himſelf was a poſthum ſon (25). If he had been the ſon of Sapor, then, the hiſtor ſays, he had three elder brothers, of whom Hormiſdas eſcap to the Romans, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Sap and he was the ſecond ſon; how then could this be, eſpeci if, as the Greek hiſtorians ſay, Hormiſdas was married? It mains, that we account for the expreſſion of Agathias who preſly affirms Artaxerxes to have been the brother of Sap for we have ſet the credit of Agathias too high to be unhin by a ſlight criticiſm. We ſay then, that Agathias, writing a the Perſian records, retained the word brother, which the P ſians, as other oriental nations do, uſed only in a large ſenſe; therefore this does not contradict, but confirm, our conj ture, that Artaxerxes was the near kinſman of Sapor, and

(35) Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv.

not only in terms of peace, but of friendſhip; inſomuch, that at his death the emperor Arcadius declared him protector of his ſon Theodoſius the ſecond, and of the Roman empire. Of this when Iſdigertes was informed, he ſent Antiochus, one of his eunuchs, a perſon of great wiſdom and experience, to take care of his pupil's education, and by him declared to the ſenate of Conſtantinople, that he would turn the whole force of the Perſian monarchy, upon whomſoever ſhould attempt to diſturb the young prince's adminiſtration, whereby the empire was preſerved, during a minority, in perfect quiet. As the young Theodoſius grew up, the ties of friendſhip became ſtronger between the two empires, and embaſſies were more frequent than in former times (N). Amongſt other miniſters whom Theodoſius

more. The reaſon of our introducing this notion in our text was, the deſire we had to make the hiſtory clear, plain, and conſiſtent, which this account does. As to the ſtory of the tent, we find it in Zonaras (36), as we found the ſtory of Marſyas in Zoſimus (37); and we take them both for fictions. Truth is always uniform, and therefore, as far as theſe ſtories are conſiſtent with each other, and with common ſenſe, we acknowledge them to be true; but, where they differ from theſe we crave leave to differ from them. In all probability the fact was, that the family of Hormiſdas ſettled at Conſtantinople, and that Artaxerxes was the next of the blood royal reſident in Perſia, and in a capacity of ſucceeding to the crown; for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the Perſians were not ſcrupulous in ſetting aſide young children.

(N) This fact is doubted of by Agathias, and he aſſures us, was not doubted of by him only, but by many of the learned in his time; the reaſon of which, he ſays, was the ſilence of cotemporary authors, and the ſtory's being traced no higher than the writings of Procopius (38). We have, however, made no doubt of inſerting this as a fact in our text, and we hope to give the reader ſatisfaction for ſo doing in this note. As to Procopius, if he was alone, he would be an inconteſtable witneſs; for he did not live at any great diſtance, neither was he one who reported things upon truſt. We find this in the introduction to his hiſtory, and he ſays expreſly, that Arcadius's will was ſent to Iſdigertes, and that the nomination of this prince to the tutelage of young Theodoſius preſerved the empire in peace (39). All

(36) A. C. 340. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 136. (37) Lib. ii. iii. (38) Agath. (39) Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 2. p. 8.

Theodosius made use of, Marathas, a Mesopotamian bi
shop, was one, a person equally remarkable for the inno
cence of his life, and for the winning pleasantry of his co
versation. His stay in Persia quite altered the state of th
christian church in that country; for whereas before the
were looked upon not only as heretics, but as very ba
subjects, on account of their inclination to the Roma
emperors, who were of their own religion, Marathas
fully informed him of the true doctrines of the christi
faith, that he began to entertain just ideas of the innocen
and loyalty of its professors. This alarmed the Persia
priests, and they instantly began to form schemes f
the destruction of so wise and good a man. He had,
seem

All the Greek writers own, that, in the space of twenty o
years, which this Persian king reigned, he never attempted a
thing against the Romans; but, on the contrary, lived w
Theodosius in the strictest amity all his days, which seems
be a strong presumption in favour of this account. Zonaras,
his history, relates this fact without the least sign of diffiden
or suspicion (40). Cedrenus doth the same with this addition
circumstance, that the emperor Arcadius bequeathed the Pers
king a great sum of money for his trouble (41). As to A
tiochus, all authors agree, that he was the first governor
Theodosius, and that, for a time, the emperor was swayed
his counsels (42). The reason Agathias doubted the fact, see
to be his zeal for the Roman glory, which, he thought, w
tarnished by the choice Arcadius made of a barbarian for
tutor of his son. Procopius informs us, that it was the hi
reputation of Isdigertes for wisdom and probity, which induc
Arcadius to make choice of him; and for this he commen
him (43). Yet Agathias himself yields a higher complim
to Isdigertes than Procopius; for if, without being his tut
that monarch abstained from any attempts upon his dominio
merely because Theodosius was a child, he was one of the m
generous princes that ever lived, and deserved the confide
of all the princes his cotemporaries. The truth seems to
that Procopius, as a man of business, a courtier, and a soldi
was free from prejudice; whereas Agathias, who was a dow
right scholar, and lived in an age when it was fashionable
hate the Persians, could not let a story so much to their hono
pass, without intimating a doubt about it (44).

(40) A. C. 423. (41) Hist. comp. p. 335. (
Sozomen. hist. eccles. l. ix. Evagr. hist. eccl. l. i. Cedren.
supra. (43) Procop. ubi supra. (44) Agath. Scho
ubi supra.

ſeems, by his prayers, cured the king of a fixed and inveterate head-ach, which induced that monarch to reverence him greatly, and for his ſake his religion, without forſaking, however, his own. To drive the biſhop from court, and to revive in the king's mind his antient diſlike to the chriſtians, the Perſian magi contrived a very whimſical expedient, which yet had well nigh effected their purpoſe, ridiculous as it was. They let down a man into a pit behind the ſacred fire in the king's oratory, and having covered the perſon placed therein with carpets, they directed him, when the king came to worſhip, to ſpeak the following words in a ſhrill voice; "Impious and ungrateful prince, I will chaſe thee from thy throne, if thou baniſh not that chriſtian, whom thou believeſt to be acceptable to God." Iſdigertes was mightily ſurprized when he firſt heard this; but more ſo, when he heard it conſtantly repeated as often as he went to his devotions. At length he determined to ſend back Marathas, but with the utmoſt civility, as well in reſpect to his maſter as to himſelf; but when he came to break it to the biſhop, that prelate penetrated the contrivance, and adviſed the king, when he next heard the voice, to order certain perſons to dig in the place whence it came. Iſdigertes did ſo; the man was diſcovered, the fraud detected, and the magi decimated. The king moreover granted hereupon free leave to the chriſtians to build churches throughout his dominions, where-ever they thought fit, and freed them in all reſpects from the penal laws enacted againſt them by his predeceſſors [k].

Chriſtianity highly favoured by him.

MARATHAS returned after this to Conſtantinople, and was employed a ſecond time in an embaſſy to Perſia. The magi, hearing of his coming, had recourſe to new frauds; but the king eaſily ſaw through theſe without aaſſiſtance. They were therefore ſo far from preventing his giving a favourable reception to the biſhop, that they engaged him to treat this prelate with ſtill greater marks of favour than he had given him before. Marathas had not been long in Perſia, before a new opportunity offered for raiſing his credit with the king. The prince of Perſia was thought to be poſſeſſed. This pious prelate, aſſiſted by Abdas, whom he had conſecrated biſhop in Perſia, joined their prayers to God for the prince's recovery; which ſoon after happened, to the joy of the whole court, and to the honour of

[k] Socrat. hiſt. eccleſ. l. vii. c. 8.

of the chriſtian religion. Iſdigertes governed in the wh twenty-one years, and, during that ſpace, lived in perf peace and friendſhip with the Romans, as alſo with chriſtians in his own dominions, whom he treated not o with lenity, but indulgence [l].

Varanes V. Year of Chriſt 421.

VARANES, or Vararanes, the fifth, ſucceeded his fat Iſdigertes, and ſeems, notwithſtanding what the Greek w ters affirm, to have had, in his own diſpoſition, a gr tenderneſs for the chriſtians. He had not, however, be long upon the throne, before he found himſelf provoked ſuch a degree, as conſtrained him to lay aſide all ind gence, and openly to perſecute them. Thus it came to pa Abdas the Perſian prelate, in a high and unwarrantable of zeal, burnt a fire temple to the ground. The ki ſent for him, and having a great reſpect for his perſon, proved him gently, and adviſed him to rebuild it; whi he abſolutely refuſed to do. The chriſtian writers univ ſally condemn the raſhneſs of the firſt act, and the prelat conſtancy in the ſecond. However, the magi reſented matter ſo warmly, and, by their clamour, ſo incenſed people, that the king was obliged to proceed to extremit to order all the chriſtian churches to be demoliſhed, and put the biſhop Abdas to death. After this, a furious p ſecution began, on the old ſuppoſition, that ſuch as di in religion from their prince cannot be loyal to his gover ment. As for perſons of quality, they were deprived their places, had their eſtates confiſcated, but were ind ged in life and liberty, in hopes of their coming over. Ho miſdas, a man deſcended of the antient race of Achæm nes, after being ſtripped of his fortune, was reduced keep camels for his bread. Another nobleman had his w taken from him, and given to his ſlave; but theſe meth wrought no converſions. The meaner ſort of people w ſtill in a worſe way; they were delivered over to the m cy of the prieſts, and conſequently were ſubjected to inexpreſſible variety of deaths and torments [m].

War breaks out with the Romans.

THESE things quickly occaſioned differences to ariſe b tween the Perſian and Roman monarchs, eſpecially as r ſons of ſtate concurred with theſe religious jars. Theod

fu

[l] Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. p. 137. Paul. Diacon. l. x Gregor. Abul-Phar dynaſt. vii. p. 146. [m] Theodor hiſt. eccleſ. l. v. c. 39. Socrat. hiſt. eccleſ. l. vii. c. 20. Evagr i. c. 19.

ſius, in the days of Iſdigertes, had lent a certain number of miners, who were to be employed in working anew ſome ſilver and gold mines, which had been long neglected in Perſia. Theſe miners Varanes had refuſed to ſend home; and therefore, as well on this account, as becauſe multitudes of chriſtians fled out of Perſia into the dominions of Theodoſius, both parties began to prepare for war. The king of Perſia made choice of one Narſes for his general, and ſent him to his frontiers, where he expected to have found a numerous army: but he was miſtaken; the troops were not come to the place of rendezvous; and, before they could be aſſembled, the Roman general Ardaburius, marching through Armenia, fell into Azazene, a Perſian province, and began to waſte it with fire and ſword. Narſes no ſooner received this news, than he inſtantly marched to give him battle with the forces he had about him. The conſequence was, that the Perſian was worſted; but, being an able captain, made a good retreat. He ſaw, that it was now impoſſible to prevent the deſtruction of Azazene by force; and therefore, returning back to the place of rendezvous, whither by this time the Perſian troops were come, he, at the head of a very numerous army, made an irruption into Meſopotamia, a Roman province, which obliged the Roman general quickly to return, and as quickly to block up Niſibis, the principal fortreſs which the Perſians had on that ſide. Narſes finding himſelf diſappointed, for he conceived, that the Romans would immediately have given him battle a ſecond time, reſolved, if it was poſſible, to provoke them to fight. With this view he ſent a meſſage to Ardaburius, telling him, That if he would appoint a day, he would be ready to meet him in the field. But Ardaburius wiſely anſwered, That the Romans fought when they pleaſed themſelves, and not when their enemies thought it for their advantage. Varanes, in the mean time had ſollicited the Saracens to break with the Romans; and they very readily complied, their captain Alamundarus being naturally an enemy to the Romans. This man, having raiſed a prodigious army, promiſed the Perſian king to perform wonders, at leaſt to reduce Antioch and Syria under his power; neither meant he to perform leſs than he promiſed, for, paſſing the Euphrates, he broke, like a torrent, into the Roman province; but beginning to plunder without mercy, the people recovered their ſpirits, and, joining the Roman army, fell upon Alamundarus in his march, and cut to pieces a hundred thouſand

thouſand men, which forced the remainder of the Sa
cens to fly with ſhame into their own country. Wh
this news reached the ear of the Perſian monarch, w
this further circumſtance, that Niſibis was ſo cloſely p
ſed, that it could not long hold out, he determined
put all things to the riſque, and to march to the r
of that city, with the whole force of Perſia. This reſ
tion once taken, Varanes inſtantly put it in execution,
recting all his troops in the frontier provinces to rendezv
at a certain time, and marched immediately with an army
had collected from the nine provinces of Perſia, together w
his elephants, that his preſence might influence all the ne
ſary preparations. His deſign ſucceeded perfectly well;
by that time he entered Meſopotamia, all his generals w
arrived; ſo that he advanced towards Niſibis with a prodig
army. The Romans, hearing of his approach, the numbe
elephants he brought with him, and his mighty ſtrength in
valry, were ſeized with a ſudden pannic, and, without ſta
for his coming, raiſed the ſiege, and fled. This was hi
pleaſing to Varanes, who, thinking now the worſt was o
retired to his capital, and left his generals to manage the w
Herein he acted incautiouſly and unhappily; for the Rom
recovering their ſpirits, defeated the Perſians in a pitched b
tle, repulſed the Saracens a ſecond time, and, under the co
mand of Ardaburius, beat the Perſian forces, with the ſlau
ter not only of a great number of men, but of ſeven
nerals. However, Varanes continued the war, and
ing himſelf a prince of great firmneſs and much milit
ſkill, he found means to make even victories diſadvantage
to the Romans; for, by keeping a court on the front
repairing his armies by conſtant ſupplies, and preſerving
magazines in good order, he kept the enemy ſtill on the de
ſive; and as they found it difficult to recruit, all actions
were bloody, were favourable to the Perſians, tho' they w
beaten. The emperor Theodoſius, perfectly ſenſible of
ſituation of things, ſent Helion, a perſon of great diſtinct
with a large body of troops, to reinforce his army, dir
ting him to enter into a negotiation with Varanes, and
conclude a peace, if poſſible. Helion purſuing his inſtr
tions, and finding the Roman army intrenched, ſent Ma
min, the collegue of Ardaburius, to offer Varanes peace,
certain conditions. Varanes ordered Maximin to be cond
ted to the tent of one of his principal officers, and, in
mean time, held a council of war, wherein it was reſol
immedia

immediately to attack the Romans in their camp; and, in caſe they were repulſed, to accept the terms offered by Maximin. There was in the Perſian army a corps of troops, diſtinguiſhed by the title of immortal, becauſe their number was continually kept to ten thouſand men, by draughts out of other corps. This body of troops took upon themſelves this dangerous piece of ſervice, which, however, they reckoned would prove the leſs ſo, if they could take the Romans unprovided. In order to this they divided themſelves, and while five thouſand attacked the intrenchments, the other five thouſand formed behind a hill, waiting there for an opportunity to attack the Romans in flank. But their enterprize miſcarried; for Procopius, a Roman general, obſerving the troops that were formed behind the hill, marched round with a great body of forces, and getting between them and thoſe who attacked the Roman camp, charged them on all ſides with incredible fury; ſo that the victory was quickly determined on the ſide of the Romans, with a prodigious ſlaughter of the Perſian ſoldiery. Varanes then condeſcended to hear Maximin; and when that officer had explained to him his maſter's demands, he told him, That, for his ſake, he would be content to make peace on thoſe terms, and put an end to the ſeverities exerciſed upon the chriſtians. An accident, however, happened, which carried this matter much farther, and contributed more than the peace between the two empires to the re-eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity in Perſia. It was this. When the province of Azazene was ravaged by the Romans in the beginning of the war, ſeven thouſand Perſians were brought priſoners to the city of Amida, where they fell into extreme want. Acaſes, biſhop of that place, having aſſembled his clergy, repreſented to them in the moſt pathetic terms the miſery of theſe unhappy priſoners. He then obſerved, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to ſacrifice, ſo he would certainly be better pleaſed with the relief of theſe his creatures, than with being ſerved in gold and ſilver veſſels in the churches. The clergy entertained this motion not only with readineſs but with applauſe, ſold all the conſecrated veſſels, and having maintained the Perſians during the war, ſent the whole ſeven thouſand home, at the concluſion of the peace, with money in their pockets. Varanes was ſo much aſtoniſhed at this, that he ſent to invite the biſhop to his capital, where he received him with the utmoſt reverence, and did the chriſtians

tians many favours at his requeſt. After this, Varanes enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and, having reigned twenty years, died, beloved and honoured by his ſubjects [n].

Varanes VI. Year of Chriſt 442.

To Varanes the fifth ſucceeded Varanes the ſixth, or, as he is called by ſome authors, Iſdigertes. It is not probable that he ever broke the peace made by his father with the Romans; inaſmuch as we meet with nothing concerning him in any of the Greek hiſtorians, further than that he was contemporary with Theodoſius the ſecond, and his ſucceſſor Marcianus, and that he reigned ſeventeen years and four months [o].

Peroſes. Year of Chriſt 458.

PEROSES ſucceeded his father Varanes or Iſdigertes. He was a prince of a reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit, and could not bear that the Hunns, who at this time, began to be terrible as well to his ſubjects as to thoſe of the Conſtantinopolitan emperors, ſhould encroach, as they daily did, upon his dominions. Thoſe he had to do with were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Euthalites, or white Hunns, and were much more civilized than the reſt, as living in cities, and under a certain form of government; which the reſt of their nation did not. To rid himſelf of thoſe neighbours, Peroſes marched at the head of a great army, after having carefully ſettled the affairs of his empire, and done all that in him lay to ſecure its peace in his abſence. Gonza was the capital of the nation he attacked, and lay directly north of Perſia. Peroſes marched ſtrait thither, hoping to put an end to the war by a general action. But the Euthalites, or Nephalites, as ſome authors call them, were wiſer. They knew that a waſted country was not loſt; and therefore, retiring continually, they drew Peroſes and his army ſo far into their territories, as to cut off their retreat, and, at the ſame time, to hinder them from receiving proviſions. The diſtreſs of the Perſians was ſo great, and the ſoldiers were ſo enfeebled and diſpirited, that they were conſtrained to accept any conditions that were offered them. The king of the Euthalites, being informed of their condition, ſent to acquaint Peroſes, that if he had a mind to deliver himſelf and his army, he might do it upon theſe terms, viz. ſwearing never to invade the Euthalites, and coming to do homage to him as his lord. To the firſt of theſe Peroſes readily yielded; but the laſt ſeemed intolerable. At laſt the magi, who were about his perſon, propoſed to him an expedient, which removed all difficulties. This expedi-

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[n] Socrat. hiſt. eccleſ. l. vii. c. 17—21. Zonar. hiſt. Rom. A. C. 435. Agath. hiſt. l. iv. p. 137. [o] Agath. ubi ſupra.

ent was, that he ſhould go pay his compliments to the king of the Euthalites at ſun-riſing, when his proſtrating himſelf would be underſtood by that king as an act of ſubmiſſion; but by himſelf would be conceived to be no more than an act of reverence to the ſun. This expedient was approved and carried inſtantly into execution. The king of the Euthalites was ſatisfied, and Peroſes, with the remainder of his army, returned back into Perſia. As ſoon as he had a little ſettled his affairs, and had leiſure to look about him, the Perſian monarch, unmindful of his oath, provided for a ſecond expedition againſt the Hunns. He took, however, more prudent meaſures than before; that is, he not only raiſed a very numerous army, but he likewiſe took care to be well furniſhed with proviſions. He alſo ſettled his domeſtic concerns in the beſt manner poſſible; and leaving the prince his ſon regent of the kingdom, he began his march a ſecond time towards the northern frontiers of his empire. The Euthalites ſuppoſing, as they very well might, that Peroſes would expect to penetrate, as he did before, into the heart of their country, carried off their effects, but concealed their forces behind certain mountains, from whence iſſuing ſuddenly on all ſides of the Perſian army, they totally routed it, and, at their leiſure, killed or made priſoners almoſt all the ſoldiers of whom it was compoſed, amongſt whom Peroſes himſelf periſhed, when he had worn the Perſian diadem twenty years [p] (O).

WHEN the Perſians had received advice of the diſaſtrous death of their king, they made choice of his brother Obalas, Valens. Year of Chriſt 482.

[p] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 24. p. 10. Agath. hiſt. l. iv. p. 138. Cedren. hiſt. comp p. 355.

(O) The ſtory of Peroſes is related at large by Procopius, in the beginning of his memoirs of the Perſian war. He informs us, that, in his firſt expedition, the Perſian monarch carried with him a certain Roman embaſſador, whoſe name was Euſebius, a discreet perſon, and one equally beloved by the king and by his nobility. Him therefore, when the Perſian generals had diſcovered the miſerable ſituation they were in, they made choice of to break the matter to Peroſes, that, before it was too late, ſome method might be taken, to extricate them out of their misfortunes. Euſebius, having artfully drawn the king into a diſcourſe of the preſence of mind neceſſary in great diſtreſſes, and being deſired to ſpeak his mind freely of the ſtate they were now in, he told Peroſes this ſtory: A lion once ſaw a kid tied

at

or, as he is uſually called by the Greek writers, Valens, not caring to truſt ſo young a perſon as Cavades then was, with the reigns of government, tho' his father had left him regent. This Valens proved an excellent prince, tender, compaſſionate, juſt, affable, and deſirous of aſſuaging, as far as he might, the miſery of his country, almoſt wholly ſubjected by the Euthalites, to whom, for two years, he paid tribute, and with whom, for two others, he held war. At length, worn out with cares, he died, after a ſhort and troubleſome reign of four years, the leſs regretted by his ſubjects, on account of his being a man peaceably diſpoſed, and therefore very unfit to reſtore the antient luſtre of the kingdom [p] (P).

Cavades. Year of Chriſt, 486.

CAVADES, or, as he is frequently called, Cabades, aſcended the throne on the demiſe of his uncle. He was a prince

[p] Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 356. Agath. hiſt. l. iv. p. 138.

at a diſtance, and preſſed by hunger, leaped at it with all his force; but, falling ſhort of his prey, he dropped into a pit, which had been prepared for him, and out of which all his force could not deliver him. Peroſes eaſily comprehended the drift of this fable, and, by the advice of his magi, acted as the reader hath been told above. In his ſecond expedition, Peroſes wanted ſuch an adviſer, otherwiſe he had not fallen as he did. The enemy, it ſeems, having timely notice of his intention, ſpent many months in digging a vaſt ditch in the midſt of a plain, and in removing all the earth which was thrown out of it. In the middle they left a narrow neck of land, and having covered this mighty ditch with hurdles, they ſtrewed theſe with mould, and covered them with graſs plots. This done, they drew all their forces, on the approach of Peroſes, into a line of battle before the ditch, and, as the Perſian troops advanced, they drew off in cloſe order croſs the neck of land. The Perſian cavalry following them with great fury, puſhed each other into the ditch, and ſo became a ſacrifice to this incenſed people. Peroſes is ſaid to have had no leſs than thirty ſons grown up to man's eſtate, who all periſhed with him here. Cavades being left at home, on account of his youth, and that the kingdom might be preſerved to the immediate offspring of Peroſes (45).

(P) There cannot be any thing more perplexed than the accounts given us by the Greek writers of theſe white Hunns, who

(45) Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 3. p. 9. Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 137. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 355, 356.

prince of a high ſpirit; one who loved war, and underſtood it; ready to undertake any thing for the extending of his dominion, and jealous to the laſt degree of his authority, and the glory of the Perſian name. At firſt theſe qualities were extremely uſeful to his ſubjects; for, in all probability, had they not been governed by ſo warlike and enterprizng a prince, they had never recovered their independency, but had ſunk under the weight of thoſe continual invaſions, made upon them by the Euthalites, whom no tribute could content, no treaties reſtrain. Againſt theſe enemies Cavades ſet himſelf with great reſolution; and, making uſe of the ſame policy which they had done towards his father, drew them, by ſmall bodies, in hopes of plunder, far into his country, and, in their return, cut them off. When, by this means, they were cured of their practice of invading, he turned his arms upon them; but warily, ſuſtaining one body of troops by another, that by a third; wintering ſometimes in their country, till at laſt he quite broke their ſpirits, and obliged them to own him for their ſovereign, whom they thought to have had for their ſubject. This war finiſhed, Cavades, from being terrible to his enemies, became no leſs ſo to his ſubjects. His enterprizing, reſtleſs

for a time, ſo terribly diſtreſſed the Perſians. Procopius, who ſpeaks more at large of them than any other writer, calls them Ephthalites, and ſays, they inhabited a country to the north of Perſia. Their chief city, according to him, was Gorgo, on the very frontiers of Perſia (46). Agathias calls theſe people Nephthalites. They are generally agreed to have been the ſame people, who, in other antient authors, are called Indoſcythæ (47). All this will give the reader but very little, if any, light at all. From the Oriental hiſtorians we learn, that their true name was Haiathalites, and that they poſſeſſed a large tract of country between the Indies and Perſia, till they began to make encroachments on the country laſt-mentioned, after they had made choice of Balkh for their metropolis (48). This is plain and intelligible to every man that is acquainted with the Oriental geography; and we ſhall make the whole hiſtory of this war much more uniform and perſpicuous, when we come to ſpeak of it from the memoirs of the Eaſtern writers. At preſent this is ſufficient to demonſtrate the great utility of theſe compariſons, deſpiſed only by ſuch as either cannot, or are unwilling to, be at the pains neceſſary to ſuch an undertaking.

(46) De bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 3. (47) Agath. Scholaſt. l. iv. (48) Mirkhond. ſect. 31.

genius, incapable of brooking any reſtraints, put him upon altering the conſtitution of his kingdom, and depriving all the nobility of thoſe privileges and prerogatives, which they had enjoyed under his predeceſſors. He likewiſe became intolerably proud, would ſcarce allow any of them to enter his preſence, or adviſe him in his affairs; but acted with ſuch an arbitrary fierceneſs, as would have given a very bad colour to his proceedings, had they been really juſt in themſelves. At length he puſhed his extravagancy ſo far, as to publiſh an edict, whereby all the women in the empire were declared common to all the men therein. This the Perſian nobility thought too much to be endured, and therefore they inſtantly aſſembled, ſeized on the perſon of the king, depoſed him, and caſt him into priſon, ſuppoſing that leſs than this could not ſecure themſelves in ſafety, or the kingdom in peace. This happened after he had reigned eleven years, and appears to have been as total a revolution as ever happened in any kingdom, there being ſcarce any who adhered to the depoſed prince; and thoſe that did were conſtrained to be ſilent, for his ſake, as well as for their own. [r].

Zambades. Year of Chriſt, 497.

ZAMBADES, whom ſome call Blaſes, others Lamaſes, and who is by ſome ſaid to have been the ſon, by others the brother, of Peroſes, conſequently the uncle or brother of Cavades, was elected king in his ſtead. The firſt thing the new king did was, to aſſemble a general council of the nobility, in which he deſired they would conſider and determine what ſhould be done with Cavades. The people had before declared, that they conſidered the perſon of their prince as ſacred; however, the council were very much divided, eſpecially when Guſanaſtades, who was poſſeſſed of the higheſt office in the kingdom, drew a little knife out of his pocket, with which he was wont to pare his nails; and when he had made them take notice of the ſmallneſs of its blade, This, ſaid he, properly applied now, will do what twenty thouſand men will not be able to do, if you let this opportunity ſlip. At laſt it was unanimouſly determined, that the king ſhould, for his unworthy adminiſtration of the government, ſuffer perpetual impriſonment, and be for ever forgotten by his people, whoſe allegiance from thenceforwards was to be transferred to Zambades. This prince

[r] Agath. hiſt. lib. iv. p. 139. Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 5. p. 16. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 356. Theophylact. hiſt. p. 99.

prince had indeed all the properties neceſſary to give luſtre to a crown juſtly attained. He was equally wiſe and indulgent, deſirous of reſtoring order, and of making the people happy; and applied himſelf with great induſtry to remedy thoſe evils, which had taken birth from his predeceſſor's conduct and example. But while he was thus employed, a new ſtorm aroſe, which, after throwing the whole kingdom into violent convulſions, at length produced a ſecond revolution. Thus it happened [a].

The depoſed king eſcapes.

THE keeper of the caſtle, in which Cavades was impriſoned, became enamoured of his queen, who alone remained attached to him in all his misfortunes, and who failed not to bring him neceſſaries with her own hands, though ſhe was not permitted to ſee him. With much ado, however, ſhe procured leave to write to him, and having acquainted him with the ſituation of things, Cavades by letter directed her to ſooth the paſſion of his goaler, in order to get admittance to him. This the lady did ſo effectually, that ſhe had acceſs to her huſband when ſhe pleaſed, and thereby an opportunity of acquainting him that he had ſtill one friend left, who was ready to undertake any thing for his ſervice. The name of this man was Seſoſes, a perſon of quality, who had a great number of dependents, among whom he collected a troop fit to attend the king where-ever he ſhould think fit, when he ſhould be once ſafely out of the caſtle. The care of this the queen took upon herſelf; for ſtaying, as ſhe often did, late in the evening, ſhe dreſſed the king in her cloaths, wherein he went out, and having put on his, remained in his ſtead. As ſhe pretended to be ſick, and not to leave her bed for ſome days, the cheat was not diſcovered, ſo that Cavades had time enough given him to ſave himſelf, which he did in the company of Seſoſes and his friends, who conducted him quite through Perſia into the territories of the Euthalites, whoſe king received him with great honour, and readily granted him his protection. As for the queen, there is nothing ſaid of her fate with certainty; however, hiſtorians intimate, that more of reſentment than of pity was ſhewn in the treatment towards her. As for Cavades, the king of the Euthalites entertained him ſplendidly, treated him as his good friend and ally, and gave him his daughter in marriage. After this the Perſian king began to hold correſpondence with ſome of the nobility,

[a] Agath. Procop. Cedren. Theoph. ubi. ſupra.

and finding or believing he found in his people a propenſity to receive him once more as their ſovereign, he perſuaded his father-in-law to furniſh him with an army; and this favour being readily accorded to him, he no ſooner ſaw the troops in a readineſs, than he put himſelf at their head, and marched directly into Perſia [t].

Cavades reſtored. Year of Chriſt, 501.

CAVADES entered firſt into the province, of which Guſanaſtades, who had threatened his life, was governor, where he inſtantly cauſed proclamation to be made, that this man, as a rebel, ſtood deprived of his charge, and that himſelf would inſtantly confer it on him, who ſhould firſt pay his duty to him on a day aſſigned. His friends repreſented to the king, that this was innovating the eſtabliſhed laws which fixed the governments of provinces in certain houſes. Cavades, however, affected to remain firm; but at the day conferred the office of governor upon Adergunabades, a young nobleman next of kin to the deprived governor, who, as it was concerted, paid his compliments to him firſt. After this he proceeded to the capital of Perſia, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of the throne, almoſt as eaſily as he had been ejected. His conduct upon this extraordinary change in his affairs was ſuitable to the fierceneſs of his temper. Zambades he deprived of ſight and impriſoned, after he had for four years worn the royal title. Guſanaſtades he put to death; and that his reſtoration might be adorned with one act of generoſity amidſt ſo much ſeverity, he erected a new office for his friend Seſoſes, whom he made lieutenant general of his kingdom [u].

Invades the Roman provinces.

IT was not long before the king of the Euthalites preſſed his ſon-in-law to repay the great ſums of money he had lent him. Cavades found he had it not in his power to comply with his demand, and therefore deſired Anaſtaſius, then emperor of the eaſt, to accommodate him with the ſum he wanted, offering to pay intereſt for it, which was refuſed. Cavades readily conceiving that there was now no way to avoid breaking with his father-in-law, but by making war upon the Romans, choſe this as the leſſer evil of the two, and, having a conſiderable body of forces about him, made a ſudden irruption into Armenia, preventing, by the quickneſs of his march, the very report of his

exped

[t] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 6. Agath. Cedren. ubi ſupr.
[u] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 6. p. 19. Agath. Hiſt. li. iv. p. 139. Cedren. H. C. p. 336. Theophylact. lib. iv. p. 10

expedition. By this method he answered his purpose; for the inhabitants having no time to withdraw their effects, he raised excessive contributions; after which he besieged Amida, the principal fortress in those parts, in form. As the province had for many years enjoyed a profound peace, the city was wholly unprovided either of garrison or of magazines; however, the citizens refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. Cavades, who delighted in war, and who understood it perfectly well, practised all the methods then in use for reducing fortified places, but in vain; at length, however, when he and his principal commanders were almost in despair, a tower was surprized by the supine negligence of certain monks, on the eightieth day from the commencement of the siege. At first Cavades suffered his soldiers to put the inhabitants to the sword. A citizen thereupon told him, it was unworthy of a hero to put those to death who were unable to resist, "Why then, said the king, did you pre-"tend to treat me as an enemy? Because, said the citi-"zen, it was the will of God to deliver Amida, not to "your will, but to your valour." Cavades, charmed with this compliment, ordered the citizens to be spared. Some time afterwards he restored to them their privileges, directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired, and leaving therein Glones, a Persian nobleman, with a garrison of a thousand men, he treated it afterwards rather as a benefactor than a conqueror [x].

Defeats several Roman generals.

As soon as the news of this invasion reached Rome, the emperor took the necessary precautions for assembling an army, which was accordingly done; and orders were given them to march to the frontiers with all imaginable expedition. The Greek writers tell us, that there never were better forces sent against the Persians, than this army was composed of, or generals of greater reputation. Cavades on his side took the field early, and being informed that the Roman officers differed among themselves, and had divided their forces into several independent corps, he resolved to attack them as speedily as he could. He first fell upon Ariobindus, who, on the approach of the Persians, shamefully abandoned his camp, and fled to an adjacent city. Eight hundred Euthalites, who were the forlorn hope of Cavades's army

[x] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 7. p. 20. Cedren. H. C. p. 169.

army, in their next march fell in with a conſiderable body of Roman troops, commanded by Hypatius, and were by them entirely cut to pieces on the ſide of a river, the ſtream of which they died with their blood. It was not long before the Perſian monarch arrived on its banks, where gueſſing by the colour of the water what had happened, he immediately conceived, that he ſhould find the Romans ſecure and unprovided. Whereupon, inſtead of making a halt, he puſhed on with his cavalry; and, as he conjectured, finding the Romans eating, drinking, and waſhing themſelves in the river, he ſeverely revenged the death of his friends, by putting almoſt this whole body of Romans to death without any reſiſtance [y].

Makes an advantageous peace,

UPON the heels of this victory, he received advice of the Hunns having broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was obliged to return with his whole army into Perſia, whence he happily expelled thoſe barbarous invaders. While Cavades was thus employed, things on the frontiers went not altogether ſo well, tho' not at all leſs honourably for the Perſians. After the departure of the army, the Romans in ſeveral bodies drew nearer to Amida, in order to ſtreighten its garriſon, and to prevent its receiving proviſions. They likewiſe found means to betray Glones the Perſian commander into an ambuſcade, wherein himſelf and two hundred horſe were cut to pieces. This was not only a very unfortunate accident for the garriſon, in point of the loſs they ſuſtained of their governor and a fifth part of their forces, but it was alſo fatal in its conſequences, by reaſon of its reſtraining them from making any excurſions, in order to fill their magazines. The command devolved upon the ſon of Glones, a young man but an excellent officer, and one who acquired a greater reputation by loſing this city, than his maſter had done by gaining it. After a long blockade, in which, though the Romans did little, the Perſians ſuffered much, being conſtrained to feed on the vileſt and moſt nauſeous things to ſatisfy their hunger, while the proviſions in their magazines remained untouched, in order to ſerve another purpoſe, hopes of ſuccour being loſt, the governor entered into a treaty with the Romans for the delivery of the city. During this treaty large diſtributions were made from the magazines; whence the Roman officers conceiving that the beſieged had ſtill plenty of proviſions, they

[y] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 8.

y agreed to let the garriſon march out, and to carry th them all that they had, giving alſo to the governor a ſum of money for ſurrendering a place, which in a few s muſt have fallen into their hands, with all that was it. Some time after a truce for ſeven years was concluded between the Romans and Perſians, and hoſtages given both ſides for its being duly kept, which afforded Cades leiſure to purſue his wars againſt the Hunns [z] (Q)

In theſe he had his uſual ſucceſs; yet all his foreign tories could not ſecure to him peace or tranquillity in his nily. He had three ſons, Caoſes, Zames, and Choſroes, laſt of whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor. Caoſes the eſt is ſaid to have been a prince of merit; neither are told why his father at firſt diſliked him. But ſo it was, t, conceiving againſt him a moſt violent hatred, he reved to deprive him of the ſucceſſion. Zames had the ſfortune to be blind of an eye, on which account, by the

Propoſes the adoption of his ſon to the emperor.

[z] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 9. p. 38. Cedren. H. C. 170. Agath. hiſt. lib. iv. p. 139.

(Q) While Cavades made uſe of the peace ſubſiſting between n and the Romans to carry on war on his oppoſite frontier, order effectually to quell the barbarous nations inhabiting on t ſide, the Greek writers tell us, that there happened an nt, which effectually reconciled this prince to the chriſtians, whom hitherto he had not only been averſe, but even an en enemy. Of this remarkable event we have the following ount. Cavades came with his army before a certain caſtle on frontiers of India, called Tzudader. This was filled with menſe riches of all ſorts, and kept by a garriſon, not of men, t of evil ſpirits. Cavades employed to no purpoſe his own gi, the prieſts of the Jews, and other religious perſons in rciſing this infernal guard. At length the chriſtian biſhop dertook and effected what the king deſired; for he expelled dæmons, and delivered the caſtle, with all its riches, to vades. Henceforwards the chriſtian biſhops had acceſs to the g, and, when their preſence was neceſſary, were called to ncil, inſtead of the Jewiſh and Manichean prieſts, who till n had enjoyed his favour. There is ſuch an air of fable in relation, that we could not think of inſerting it in our text; yet, as it is to be found in more than one Greek author, we not think fit to paſs it over in ſilence (49).

(49) Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 362.

the laws of Perſia, he was incapable of reigning. Choſroes very much reſembled his father in temper, fierce, warlike, and ambitious; he was continually contriving great things, and addreſſed himſelf with as much diligence to atchieve them, as with facility he had planned them in his head. On this young prince Cavades repoſed his hopes, and being deſirous to eſtabliſh him in a more glorious ſituation than any of his predeceſſors, he entered into a negotiation with Juſtin, who had ſucceeded Anaſtaſius in the empire, in order to induce him to adopt Choſroes. At firſt this motion was well entertained at Conſtantinople, but by degrees the emperor was perſuaded that it might be injurous to his family and his ſubjects, which determined him againſt it. However, commiſſioners met on both ſides, to treat of a laſting peace, and to ſettle the boundaries of the two empires. For this important buſineſs, Cavades made choice of Seſoſes, whom he had raiſed to the principal offices in his kingdom, and Mebodes, a military officer of great experience. On the other hand, the emperor Juſtin ſent Hypatius, the nephew of his predeceſſor, and Rufinus, a man of great quality. After frequent conferences, diſputes aroſe; and it being propoſed to adopt Choſroes in a new and particular manner as a barbarian, that prince conceived ſuch a diſpleaſure thereat, as induced him to manifeſt an irreconcileable hatred to the Romans. The conferences being broken off, Mebodes, at their return to court, charged Seſoſes with having contributed to the miſcarriage of their negotiation. He was likewiſe accuſed for burying his wife contrary to the law of Perſia, whereby all dead bodies were expoſed to the fowls of the air. On theſe pretences he was tried and adjudged worthy of death. Cavades expreſſed a mighty ſorrow for his friend, but was grown ſo tender of the laws that he would not hinder their courſe. In this manner died Seſoſes, and with him that high office, which had been created on purpoſe to gratify his pretenſions [a].

Breaks with the Romans afreſh.

JUSTINIAN having ſucceeded Juſtin in the empire of the eaſt, purſued alſo his politics, in cauſing all the frontiers towards Perſia to be ſurveyed, the old fortreſſes repaired and new ones erected, as the ſituation of the country required. With this view he ſent inſtructions to thoſe who commanded on the frontiers of Meſopotamia to fortify Mindon

[a] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 11. p. 30. Cedren. Agath. ubi ſupra. Evagr. lib. iv. c. 12.

the nearest place in the Roman territories to Nisibis; and a body of troops, under the command of Cutzes and Buzes brothers, were sent to protect the workmen. The Persians, who could not look but with an evil eye on the progress of this structure, just in their neighbourhood, took a proper opportunity, when the Roman forces did not observe exact discipline, to fall upon them; and, after defeating, cut most of them to pieces, together with many of the workmen, demolished the place, and sent the prisoners into Persia, where Cavades employed them in his buildings. This stroke opened a new war, for the carrying on of which the Persians took the field with a very numerous army under the command of Peroses, who had under him several generals of reputation. On the other hand, Belisarius had the command of the Roman forces. After some preparatory motions, the armies came to a general engagement, in which, after a very obstinate resistance, the Persians were defeated with very great slaughter. Yet the Romans gained little ground by this victory; for the Persian generals, being supplied with fresh forces, continued to keep the field; only they contented themselves with slight excursions, and did not pretend to give the Romans battle a second time [b].

Carries on the war with indifferent success.

In Armenia things went no better; for Mermeroes, who commanded the Persian forces in chief, was twice defeated by Doritheus the Roman general. Two castles, and certain districts dependent upon them, fell also under the power of the Romans, and in these districts were the gold mines belonging to the king of Persia. The Tzani, a free and barbarous people, were the chief occasion of these losses; for they now embraced the party of the Romans, and, in consequence thereof, possessed themselves of the gold which belonged to the Persian king; at which the Romans were not ill pleased, and Cavades was constrained to be content, his forces not being numerous enough to reduce them; besides, his generals, Narses and Aratius, deserted, and, with all their families and much wealth, retired to Constantinople. This situation of things did not at all discourage Cavades, who, when Rufinus, the Roman embassador, came to treat with him of peace, adhered to his first demands; and when the embassador had his audience of leave, insinuated to him, that if ever he departed from them, it must be in consideration of a large sum

[b] Procop. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 13. p. 36. Cedren. ubi supra. Evgar. lib. iv. c. 13.

ſum of money. To reſtore the luſtre of his arms, he ſet ſe veral new armies on foot, diſgraced Peroſes, and gave th command of the army, which he intended to ſend into th Roman territories, to Azarethas, a very valiant man, an who well underſtood the duty of his charge. This genera made an irruption into the country bordering on the Eu phrates, and, finding himſelf ſuperior in force to Beliſarius waſted all before him with fire and ſword. The Roma ſoldiery ſaw this with indignation, and, notwithſtanding th viſible diſparity of numbers and other diſadvantages, clamo rouſly urged Beliſarius to give the enemy battle; he decline it as long as he could; but at length, by the near approach of the enemy, and the obſtinacy of his own troops, was for ced to fight. The Perſian general knew exactly the advan tages he had, and improved them to the utmoſt, ſo that th Romans were defeated with very great ſlaughter. However, Beliſarius, with the remains of his army, ſo well covere the country, that the Perſians were not able to take a ny place of importance; for which Azarethas, on his re turn to court, notwithſtanding his victory, fell into diſ grace [c].

Makes another peace.

THE war ſtill continuing, Mermeroes had the command of the Perſian army given him; and as Beliſarius was re called in order to be employed againſt the Vandals, he found it not ſo difficult a matter to deal with his ſucceſſors; but, af ter deceiving the Roman generals by certain marches and counter-marches, he at laſt inveſted the city of Martyropolis, a place of the laſt importance to the Roman empire, and in ſight of their armies carried on the ſiege in form. Sittas, who commanded for the emperor Juſtinian, finding that himſelf and his collegues were able to do little good by force; began with better ſucceſs to practiſe ſome of the frauds of war; for having found a perſon fit for his purpoſe, and ha ving thoroughly taught him his leſſon, he ſent him into the Perſian army, where coming privately to Mermeroes, he ac quainted him, that the Maſſagetæ, whom Cavades had hi red to fall into the Roman territories, had accepted a ſum o money from Juſtinian, and were on the point of invading Perſia. This greatly intimidated Mermeroes, engaged him firſt to turn his ſiege into a blockade, and afterwards to conſent to a truce with the Romans; which was the reaſon tha

[c] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 15. p. 43. Evagr. ub ſupra.

that the Maſſagetæ, who remained firm to the Perſian intereſt, made only a ſhort incurſion, and returned without doing much good to themſelves, or hurt to the Romans [d].

Provides for the ſucceſſion of his younger ſon.

In the mean time Cavades, who was oppreſſed with years, and whoſe activity had drawn upon him in his declining age many infirmities, began to feel the approach of death (R). Upon this he ſent for Mebodes, his confident and miniſter, to whom having explained the reaſons, why he deſired to have Choſroes for his ſucceſſor, he put his will, which contained the ſame things, into his hands, conjuring him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſee it executed; which Mebodes then ſolemnly promiſed, and afterwards punctually performed.

[d] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 16. p. 47.

(R) It is evident from this part of the Perſian hiſtory, which is more entertaining and fuller of events, than the foregoing, that this people were at this time not only numerous and warlike, but prudent alſo and polite. The Roman authors, for ſo after the oriental cuſtom we call thoſe who treat of the Roman empire, are not fond of owning this; but affect to attribute all the ſucceſs of the Perſians to their vaſt armies, their ſudden incurſions, and the little reſpect which their monarchs had to treaties and to oaths. One thing, however, is certain, that the Roman emperors paid conſtantly certain ſubſidies to the Perſian kings: and this ſeems to be a very ſtrong proof of the proweſs of thoſe monarchs, ſince it was not the cuſtom of thoſe times to pay ſubſidies for nothing. This was one of the great cauſes of the wars which ſo frequently happened between theſe empires. As often as the Roman empire was in diſorder, or had a pacific prince upon the throne, the Perſian received theſe ſubſidies; but when the Romans were in a good condition, or a martial prince was at their head, then they were ſtopped, and of courſe the Perſians began their incurſions, till either they were beaten by the Roman armies, or bought off again with Roman money. On the other hand, it muſt be owned, that when ambitious and turbulent princes wore the Perſian diadem, ſcarce any thing could content them. They knew well, that the Conſtantinopolitan empire could not for any length of time ſupport a war with Perſia, becauſe of the immenſe expence to which it was put, by keeping a great army on the frontiers. Whenever therefore one of theſe princes wanted money, he began a war, and as ſoon as the Romans would come up to his price, he ſold them a peace. Hitherto we have explained the Perſian hiſtory and chronology; we intend this note as a key to their politics.

formed. Thus died Cavades, after reigning thirty years from the time of his reſtoration, forty-one in the whole, and forty-five, if we take in the time of his impriſonment and exile. As ſoon as he was expired, Caoſes, his eldeſt ſon, took upon him the title of king; but Mebodes interpoſed, repreſenting, that the crown of Perſia was never to be taken by ſtealth; that an aſſembly of the nobles was neceſſary to recognize his title, and that until this was done, his ſubjects could not lawfully obey him. Upon this an aſſembly was called, but whether by Caoſes or Mebodes, does not appear. In this aſſembly the will of the king was produced and read, and ſuch a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of Caoſes was ſet aſide, and Choſroes, in virtue of his father's deſignation, declared monarch of Perſia [c] (S)

CHOSROES

[c] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 21. p. 65. Agath. lib. iv. p. 140. Cedren. p. 365.

(S) Moſt of the Greek hiſtorians are ſilent as to the reaſons which induced Cavades ſo vehemently to oppoſe the ſucceſſion of his eldeſt ſon. It appears from what Procopius ſays, that it was not any ſudden fit of anger, or the effect of the peeviſhneſs of old age, but a ſettled reſolution, which he had taken many years before (50). We are obliged to Theophanes for unravelling in ſome meaſure this myſtery, ſince from him we learn, that Cavades was jealous of the Manichees, who were in great favour with this ſon, and who were ſuppoſed to have drawn him to their party; for which great numbers of them, together with their biſhop, ſuffered death (51). We are likewiſe told elſewhere, that theſe heretics, having once drawn Caoſes to favour them, were next very impatient to hoiſt him to the throne, even before the death of his father; which intrigues of theirs were fatal to them and to him; to them, in drawing on a perſecution, which they might otherwiſe have avoided: to him, in that it deprived him of his birth-right, as well as that of his father's affection. It is very probable, that theſe ſchemes were chiefly in the heads of the Manichees and their prieſts, and that Caoſes had very little, if any, knowledge of them; for if it had been otherwiſe, it will be difficult to aſſign a cauſe why he eſcaped, or at leaſt how he came to remain ſtill in the kingdom, nay even at court, and in a condition to appear as a competitor with Choſroes on the death of his father. It has alſo the appearance of reaſon, that the true ground of rejecting him as

(50) De bell. Perſic. lib. i. (51) Theophan. chronograph. p. 145, 146. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 368.

Chosroes II. Year of Chriſt 532.

CHOSROES, being ſettled on the Perſian throne, quickly received an embaſſy from Juſtinian, compoſed of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, at the head of whom was Rufinus. The intent of this embaſſy was not only to compliment the king on his acceſſion, but alſo to treat of peace. Choſroes, who was a prince of quick parts, received the firſt kindly, and entered readily into the ſecond; but when they came to adjuſt the articles of the peace, then it was he diſcovered his true intention, by inſiſting, that a ſum of money ſhould be given him; that the pretenſions of the Perſians and Romans ſhould be thoroughly canvaſſed and finally ſettled; all places taken on either ſide reſtored, and this peace declared to be perpetual. Some delays happened in the negotiations, and a report being ſpread that Juſtinian had put Rufinus to death, who, at the requeſt of the Perſian king, had returned to Conſtantinople for inſtructions, Choſroes inſtantly took the field with a mighty army, which ſtruck ſuch a terror, that the inhabitants began to retire from the villages in all the frontier provinces, ſuppoſing that the war would become more bloody than ever. But, before Choſroes proceeded to hoſtilities, Rufinus arrived and perfected

of exalting Choſroes was, the diffidence the nobility might have of him as to his religion. For it appears from the hiſtory of Agathias, that the magi had not only a great influence in all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical, but that in the recognition of kings eſpecially, they had a ſort of negative voice. Agathias, and indeed all the Greek writers, cenſure this influence in terms, that ſhew that they did not underſtand it (52). The Perſian magi did not interfere as clergymen, but as men of learning and experience. Politics was with them a ſcience, not learned, as amongſt us, by a long obſervance of events, but by contemplations of certain maxims, and by acquiring a ſkill of applying theſe to the management of public affairs. It is not our buſineſs here to enter into any farther detail of this matter, which we mentioned only to prevent the reader's being tinged with the prejudice of the Greeks. He who would be further acquainted with this curious ſubject, may conſult the learned book of the preſident Briſſon; as alſo the no leſs learned and curious treatiſe of the celebrated lord Bacon, written in the imitation of the magical policy of the Perſians.

(52) Hiſt. lib. iv.

fected the treaty; whereupon the Perſians retired, and the inhabitants of the frontier provinces returned to their habitations [f].

Diſcovers and defeats a conſpiracy againſt him.

THE morning of this great prince's reign, like that of his father, was not only darkened with flying clouds, but its luſtre in danger of being totally obſcured. The Perſian nobles, perceiving that Choſroes had much in him of the ſame ſpirit which had made Cavades terrible to his ſubjects, when he aſcended the throne, determined amongſt themſelves to procure their own ſafety at the expence of the king's, by depoſing him, and ſetting up in his ſtead one more tractable. This was Zames the brother of Choſroes. The law incapacitated him from being king, but they had a ſalvo for that; he had a ſon whoſe name was Cavades, who was extremely like his grandfather; him they intended to proclaim king, and to veſt the regal authority in Zames, as his tutor and protector. Into this ſcheme, when it was communicated to Zames, he readily came, and promiſed the conſpirators to act in all things according to their councils. As Choſroes made it a rule throughout his life to ſpare no money for intelligence, ſo it was not long before he was informed of all theſe machinations. He ſuffered them, however, to go on, that he might by this means diſcover who were, and who were not, devoted to his ſervice; for as he had the troops entirely at his devotion, and knew every ſtep his enemies took, he was not in any great pain for his own ſafety. When things grew ripe for execution, he ſeized the conſpirators at once, and had no ſooner ſeized them, than he put them to death. His executions were as wide as the conſpiracy; he had no idea of reconciling traitors; but every man, who had the leaſt ſhare therein, or the leaſt knowledge thereof, paid for it with his life [g].

The hiſtory of Cavades the younger.

THE young Cavades alone eſcaped, and eſcaped only by accident. He was not in the king's power immediately, being brought up by Adergudunbades, to whom therefore Choſroes diſpatched orders to put him out of the way. This extremely grieved the good old man, who had educated him as carefully as if he had been his own ſon; but the royal orders and the royal ſafety were things not to be trifled with. But when he came to acquaint his wife with the command

[f] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. c. 22, 23.

[g] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. prop. fin.

command he had received from court, ſhe who had nurſed Cavades, forgot all concerns, but for his ſafety; and as her huſband was naturally inclined to pity the unfortunate child, ſhe prevailed upon him to think of concealing the youth in their houſe, and to diſpatch a meſſenger to court, to inform Choſroes that his orders had been exactly complied with. This was happily executed for Cavades, who thereby eſcaped a death he no way deſerved. It was no leſs prudently conducted by his wife and generous protector, who intruſted none with the ſecret, but his eldeſt ſon and an old ſervant. In proceſs of time, when Cavades was grown to years of diſcretion, Adergudunbades furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money, adviſed him to retire out of Perſia, and to be careful of his ſafety and his own. Some time afterwards Varrhames, this nobleman's eldeſt ſon, diſcovered this ſecret to Choſroes, and produced the ſervant who was privy to it. The king, who was then employed in an expedition againſt the Hunns, ſent inſtantly for Adergudunbades to attend him. That excellent man, being now far in years, fell through weakneſs from his horſe, as he haſtened to attend Choſroes, and broke his thigh. The king, being informed of it, ordered him to be ſent to a certain caſtle, under pretence of taking care of his cure, but in truth to have him privately murdered; which was done, and his office given to his ſon Varrhames (T). As for Cavades, he retired to Conſtantinople, where he was treated by the emperor Juſtinian with all the reſpect due to his birth. We have digreſſed a little, in order to follow ſo remarkable a tranſaction to its cloſe; let us now return to the thread of our hiſtory [h].

As a peace with the Romans was at firſt very convenient to Choſroes, ſo he very faithfully obſerved it; and when he was informed of the victories obtained by Beliſarius, in Africa, he ſent embaſſadors to congratulate Juſtinian there-

Choſroes reſolves to make war upon the Romans.

upon

[h] Procop. ubi ſupra.

(T) This conſpiracy againſt Choſroes was an event remarkably fortunate to him, if we conſider it in a political light. It gave him an opportunity of freeing himſelf from all who were diſaffected to him, and he uſed it without reſerve, ſparing not his own uncle, who had been in the number of the conſpirators. But the moſt cruel of all his actions was, the putting to death this old general, who had been the faithful ſervant of his father,

upon; and, by way of raillery, directed them to tell the emperor, that he had a right to ſhare the ſpoils of his enemies, ſince, had he not been at peace with Perſia, he could not have had either forces or leiſure to make theſe conqueſts in Afric. Juſtinian received theſe embaſſadors kindly, aſſured them of his great affection for their maſter, and, on hearing his meſſage, preſented Choſroes with a conſiderable ſum of money. But this fair correſpondence did not laſt long. The Saracens, encouraged by the Perſian king, made ſeveral incurſions into the Roman territories; of which when Juſtinian by his embaſſadors made loud complaints, Choſroes returned for anſwer, that he believed what they alledged was not altogether without foundation; but that

father, and who had ſubdued twelve barbarous nations, and made them tributaries to the Perſians. There ſeems, however, to have been ſome juſtice in giving to his ſon Varrhames the government which Adergudunbades had poſſeſſed. But it is to be obſerved, that the Perſians were extremely ſtrict in two of their maxims, viz. In puniſhing treaſon without mercy, and in preſerving governments in the hands of one family, ſo long as they continued faithful to their ſovereigns. Theſe cuſtoms are ſo oppoſite to ours, that of courſe we have an indifferent opinion of them; but if it be conſidered, that in the eaſt the ſlighteſt diſaffection, if diſregarded, ripens preſently into a general revolt, fatal alike to the perſon and government of the reigning prince, the reaſon of this conduct will be no more a ſecret, nor can we with any colour of juſtice deny, that it is full as juſtifiable as many of our political maxims. As to the other, it is generally ſuppoſed, that it aroſe thus: The Perſian empire, though extremely wide in extent, being no more than an aggregate body of little principalities, ſome united to it for the ſake of protection, and others, after long wars, by capitulations; their princes who were formerly independent, by this means became only governors for the Perſian monarchs, but hereditary governors, with moſt of their old prerogatives, which in caſe of treaſon, however, were forfeited; and this it was which made the children of governors ſo many checks upon their fathers, as appears, not only in the inſtance of Varrhames, but in what we have heretofore read in the conduct of Cavades, who by the ſame policy drew a nobleman to ſacrifice his parent to the preſervation of the family intereſt. We cannot pretend to juſtify ſuch extraordinary tranſactions. All we have to do is, to account for them; and this, we hope, is effectually done (53).

(53) Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. i. Theophan. Cedren. &c.

that he could ſcarce believe his brother Juſtinian took this amiſs, becauſe they were arts of empire himſelf had taught him, having practiſed, not only on the Saracens, but the Hunns, to invade Perſia, as he could prove by his own letters; ſo that he had only turned his weapons upon him, as he was obliged to do to preſerve his ſubjects. For a time, however, he ſuffered himſelf to be pacified, yet not without making the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war whenever he thought fit; to this he was principally excited by Vittiges king of the Goths, who ſent an embaſſy on purpoſe to repreſent the formidable power of Juſtinian, and how much it was the intereſt of Choſroes, as well as himſelf, to ſee it reduced. On the heels of this came an application from the Arſacidæ, or petty princes of Armenia. They ſet forth abundance of grievances under which they laboured from the Roman power; they painted the methods taken by Juſtinian for attaining univerſal empire in the ſtrongeſt light, and beſought Choſroes to conſider not ſo much their caſe as his own. This determined the Perſian monarch to break the peace, and to fall upon Juſtinian before he was at leiſure to fall upon him. The ſeaſon of the year did not permit this reſolution to be executed as ſoon as it was formed; but it influenced Choſroes to aſſemble ſuch an amy as might be able to act in the beginning of the ſpring, notwithſtanding he was adviſed of the death of Vittiges, and the abſolute ruin of his kingdom. Juſtinian, being informed of the preparations made in Perſia, found himſelf under a neceſſity of providing for the worſt; yet, not willing to have recourſe immediately to arms, he wrote letters to Choſroes, wherein he deſcribed at large the bad conſequences, which would attend a haſty and unjuſt breach of the peace ſubſiſting between them. To which letters Choſroes, being already fixed in his reſolution, returned no anſwer; but went on with his military preparations, as openly and as vigorouſly, as if there had been a war declared [i].

His great ſucceſs in his firſt war.

In the beginning of the ſpring, Choſroes, at the head of a great army, entered the Roman territories. He did not, as it was generally expected he would, fall into Meſopotamia; but on the contrary, made the provinces of Syria

[i] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. ii. anecdot. l. i. Theophan. chronograph. p. 149. Zonar. annal. l. xiv. p. 67. Evagr. l. iv. c. 17. Jornand. de regn. ſucceſſ. in vita. Juſtinian.

and Cilicia the ſeat of the war. The firſt place of conſequence which he reduced was Sura, ſeated on the Euphrates, a place of great ſtrength, rich, and populous; yet Choſroes quickly maſtered it, rather by fraud than force, and treated the inhabitants very indifferently, notwithſtanding that he married a woman from among the priſoners taken there, for whoſe ſake it might have been expected he would have better treated her country. From hence he moved on, uſing ſeverity where any reſiſtance provoked him, and uſing great clemency towards the inhabitants of ſuch places as readily ſubmitted, impoſing, however, heavy contributions upon all. At length finding no Roman army in the field, he proceeded to Antioch, and encamped in its neighbourhood, on the banks of the river Orontes. Thence he ſent to acquaint the Antiochians, that, if they paid him a large ſum of money, he would ſpare them, and retire from before their city. As it was very ſtrong, its fortifications newly repaired, and a numerous garriſon in it, the mob were ſo elate, that they not only rejected the Perſian monarch's propoſition, but alſo mal-treated thoſe he ſent, and threw out unmannerly and impudent ſpeeches, againſt Choſroes and his family. This irritated him ſo far, that, quite contrary to his intention, he inveſted the place, and, againſt the ordinary rules of war and even the dictates of reaſon, ſtormed the city, before the walls were at all battered, making uſe of machines to raiſe his ſoldiers againſt them. This was a raſh and deſperate attempt, and notwithſtanding the preſence of Choſroes, who did all that man could do to encourage his ſoldiers, they were beaten off with a miſerable ſlaughter. When they returned to the charge, a worſe accident happened; for the beſieged, encouraged by their former ſucceſs, attacked thoſe who had the keeping of the machines, and having cut the ropes and chains which held them, precipitated them and all who were upon them from the top of the walls over the craggy mountains, on which they were erected, into the diſtant plain underneath. This proved the deſtruction of the city; for the dreadful noiſe of the rolling machines, and the horrid cries of the dying ſoldiers, being heard in the city, and the cauſe not known, the garriſon cauſed the gates to be thrown open, ſuppoſing the walls on the other ſide had fallen down, and, without ſtaying for better information, haſtily riding over women and children, they abandoned the place. Thoſe on the walls

ſeeing

ſeeing this apprehended, that the Perſians had made ſome other attack, and thereupon quitted their poſt, to retire into the market-place. Choſroes did not neglect ſo fair an opportunity; but, drawing freſh forces out of his camp, ſcaled the undefended walls, and, after a bloody ſtruggle in the market-place, inflicted all the ſeverities that could be expected from an incenſed enemy on the miſerable inhabitants of Antioch. Soon after this, and while the Perſian army ſtill remained at Antioch, came embaſſadors from Juſtinian, to expoſtulate with Choſroes on this breach of peace, and to treat of an accommodation. The Perſian monarch received them with much civility; he heard them patiently, and ſeemed to pay a great regard to what they ſaid. When they had done ſpeaking, he began to anſwer them with tears in his eyes; he made a more pathetic deſcription of the miſeries induced by the war, than they had done: he declared it was with the utmoſt reluctance he had taken arms; that he was, in a manner compelled to it by the nobility of Perſia, who could no longer ſee, with patience, Juſtinian ſtiring up enemies againſt them on every ſide, and encouraging his ſubjects to treat them, on all occaſions, with outrageous contempt. He delivered all this with ſuch a ſolemn ſadneſs in his countenance, with ſuch vehement geſtures, and with expreſſions ſo calculated to ſtir the paſſions, that the embaſſadors were quite confounded, openly confeſſing, that the elcquence of Choſroes was more dreadful to the Romans than his arms. In the end, however, he began to intimate, that a conſiderable ſum of money in hand and an annual tribute would ſend him back into Perſia, and fix the peace between the empires. As the embaſſadors demurred a little upon this, Choſroes, to quicken them, burnt the city of Antioch to the ground, and not long after concluded a peace very advantageous to himſelf, as well as very ignominious to the Romans. However, he did not even keep this; but, burning with a miſtaken deſire of accumulating wealth, went on taking city after city, and raiſed contributions where-ever he came. He did not indeed pretend to keep, but, on the contrary, ſlighted all the places he took, after he had extorted what he could from the inhabitants; but, by this means, he alarmed and terrified the Romans, raiſed the courage of the Perſians, and filled his coffers. The laſt city he beſieged was Dara, a place of mighty importance, and which he was very deſirous of having in his power;

but whether he intended to keep or demoliſh it, is uncertain. The citizens, however, weighing within themſelves the treatment which other people had received from the Perſians, and conſidering alſo the ſtrength and advantageous ſituation of the place, determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt; in which they ſucceeded ſo well, that Choſroes, finding his troops fatigued, his forces diminiſhed, and the ſeaſon far advanced, raiſed the ſiege, and returned, loaded with wealth, into his own territories [k].

Drives the Romans out of Colchis.

As he had now anſwered all the ends he propoſed in the war, he was well enough inclined to let peace take place; to which end he endeavoured to renew the negotiations, and to eſtabliſh things on the plan of a treaty he had concluded. But Juſtinian, by this time, had quite altered his opinion; and, having recalled Beliſarius, determined to make the Perſians feel the weight of the Roman power, ſince, without it, there ſeemed no probability of preſerving peace for any length of time (V). The ſeat of the war

[k] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. ii. Evagr. l. iv. c. 25. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 371, Theophan. chronograph. p. 152. Zonar. annal. l. xiv. p. 68.

(V) The hiſtory of all theſe wars, treaties and diſputes between the Romans and Perſians, are to be found at large in Procopius, who wrote expreſly on this topic, who had himſelf a perfect knowledge of all theſe tranſactions, and as little partiality for his countrymen, as is to be found in any Greek writer. From thence we might indeed have taken much more than we have done; but then this part of our hiſtory would have exceeded its natural ſize; for it is one thing to uſe memoirs, and another to tranſcribe them; and therefore we have endeavoured to reduce what we have taken from Procopius within ſuch bounds, as might ſuit it to this hiſtory. In this note, however, we ſhall attempt to explain ſome particulars in the text, which need illuſtration. We have followed Procopius cautiouſly in what he ſays of the diſſimulation and inſatiable ambition of Choſroes; and for this reaſon. We find in all the Greek hiſtorians, and in Procopius himſelf, that the Perſian king pretended to be compelled to act in the manner he did, by the formidable power of Juſtinian, and by the attempts he had made to the prejudice of his empire, both in his own days, and thoſe of his father. Now, if this charge was true, either in whole, or in part, then was Choſroes more or leſs culpable in his conduct. But tho' Procopius, in his memoirs of the Perſian war, ſeems

war was now ſuddenly transferred to Colchis, much to the diſadvantage of the Romans, and yet entirely through their own management. This region was at that time inhabited by the Lazi, a rude and barbarous people; but who had notwithſtanding, for a long courſe of years, adhered ſteadily to the Roman intereſt. This they did merely out of choice, the Romans having never ſubdued them; for the princes of this country obſerving, that by the ſituation of their dominions, they ſhould, ſome time or other, be reduced, either under the power of the Perſian kings, or of the emperors of Conſtantinople, conceived it to be alike for their own and their ſubjects good, to demand the protection of the latter; which was readily granted them, without prejudice, however, to their liberties; for they were neither charged with any taxes, nor obliged to admit any new magiſtrates as a conquered people. The emperor of the eaſt, however, on the death of any of their princes, appointed his ſucceſſor, and thereby manifeſted a kind of ſuperiority, rather honourable, than of any great conſequence. But the emperor Juſtinian, having thoroughly conſidered the importance of that diſtrict which thoſe people inhabited, and which, as it lay upon what is called the Black-ſea, was a kind of frontier to his empire, and, at the ſame time, covered his metropolis; moved therefore

ſeems generally to excuſe the emperor his maſter; yet, in his Anecdotes, he plainly confeſſes, that Juſtinian was a prince boundleſs in his ambition, and who acted under no very ſtrict ties of conſcience; yet, as this piece hath the air of a ſatire, we ought not to give full credit to it, but rather believe on the whole that each of theſe princes had different qualities; that there were faults on both ſides, and that their ſubjects ſuffered through the reſtleſs and unquiet tempers of their governors. As to the complaints of the Armenian princes, they were, in all probability, pretty well founded; but, in order to diſcover this, we muſt remember who theſe princes were. In the foregoing period, we have ſhewn how the Arſacidæ, after loſing the Parthian empire, came to be contented with ſmall principalities in Armenia, where they ſometimes pretended to be independent, ſometimes ſubmitted to the Perſians, and ſometimes again choſe the emperors of Conſtantinople for their protectors: no wonder then, that they were ſeldom perfectly eaſy, or that under ſo ambitious a prince as Juſtinian, they were anxious for thoſe ſhadows of ſovereignty, which they ſtill preſerved (54).

(54) Procop. Evagr. Theophan. Zonar. &c.

therefore with the apprehenſion of the conſequences that might follow, if this nation ſhould, at any time, prove unfaithful, he reſolved to make ſome further proviſion for his ſecurity on that ſide. To this end he recommended it to one Tzibus, whom he named a prince of the Lazi, to build a city, well fortified and ſecured by a ſtrong citadel, on the ſhore of the Euxine ſea, that it might be a check on the Lazi, if they ſhould be at any time inclined to revolt. This commiſſion Tzibus very faithfully executed, his countrymen aſſiſting him to the utmoſt of their power, rejoicing to behold ſo large and fine a city built in their country at the expence of the Romans; but when they found to what end it was erected, and ſaw that Tzibus had received into it a Roman garriſon, they began to be quite of another opinion; and thus all the pains and expence employed about this city and fortreſs, turned to no other account than producing that very effect, which they were erected to prevent; for the Lazi inſtantly diſpatched their deputies into Perſia, to invite Choſroes to their aſſiſtance. This they did in the name of Gabazes, the greateſt of their princes, who beſought him to take under his protection a free people, whom Juſtinian was about to enſlave. There wanted not much entreaty to induce ſo enterprizing a monarch to undertake an expedition ſo viſibly for his ſervice. He therefore cloſed ſpeedily with the propoſal of the deputies; and having given out, that the Huns were about to invade the frontiers of his kingdom, he ſuddenly aſſembled a great army, with which he marched towards Iberia; but turning ſhort when it was leaſt expected, he entered Colchis, through a thick, and, till then, impenetrable foreſt, which he cauſed to be cut down before him. As ſoon as he deſcended into the plain country, Gabazes met and paid his compliments to him, acknowledged him for his ſovereign, and joining his army with a conſiderable reinforcement, they marched together towards Petra. Tzibus, with the Roman garriſon, made at firſt a gallant defence; but finding at laſt, that the place would be infallibly taken, they made their eſcape by ſea, and left to the enemy not only the city and fortreſs, but alſo all the treaſures and valuable merchandize, which had been laid up therein [1].

Beliſarius checks his ſucceſs.

WHILE Choſroes was victorious on this ſide, the Roman general Beliſarius aſſembled an army and laid ſiege to Niſi-

[1] Procop. ubi ſupra. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 372. Theophan. chronogr. ubi ſupra. Zonar. ubi ſupra.

Niſibis; but to little purpoſe, for Nabades, the Perſian governor, made ſo firm a defence and ſo many vigorous ſallies, that Beliſarius was, in a ſhort time, obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and, to conſole himſelf for that misfortune, to march farther into Perſia, where ravaging the country, taking ſome inconſiderable places, and carrying off ſome ſpoil, he ſent advice to Conſtantinople, that he had triumphed over the Perſians, tho', in fact, his expedition was rather honourable than advantageous, the enemy having no army in the field. As ſoon as Choſroes had intelligence of this incurſion, he made all imaginable haſte back again into Perſia with his army, that he might, early the next year, be ready to return the Romans this favour, by an irruption into their dominions. This he accordingly performed, and having waſted a great part of the frontier country, and raiſed vaſt contributions, he at laſt entered Comagene, intending to march from thence into Paleſtine, there to ſack and plunder the city of Jeruſalem. And in this deſign, if we conſider the terror and confuſion of theRomans, we muſt allow that he had a fair proſpect of ſucceſs; but Beliſarius, having, with incredible diligence, poſted quite athwart the empire to the banks of the Euphrates, there unexpectedly aſſembled an army, which checked the progreſs of Choſroes, and forced him to have recourſe to his old method of negotiating, ſince nothing was to be got by force. Another reaſon concurred to drive Choſroes home into Perſia; for the peſtilence, which had waſted Egypt, paſſing over into Aſia, made ſuch an havock in the Roman territories, that the Perſian king retired haſtily out of Aſſyria, and directed his march towards the north. At firſt the Romans conceived, they were entirely rid of this formidable enemy; but it quickly appeared, that their hopes were vain; for having recruited his army in the northern provinces, he began to diſcover his true deſign, which was to fall into Armenia. Juſtinian, being informed of this, ordered an army to aſſemble on that ſide, and ſent likewiſe embaſſadors to endeavour, by all means, to engage Choſroes to think of peace [m].

In

[m] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. ii. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 372. Theophan. chronograph. p. 186. Zonar. l. xiv. p. 68. Glycas ann. l. iv. p. 267. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. l. iv. c. 26.

His general Nabades beats the Romans under Narſes.

In the mean time, Narſes, being appointed general of the Roman forces, and finding the Perſians not yet in the field, determined to make himſelf maſter of Anglon, a little town, but of great ſtrength; in which Nabades, a Perſian general, had taken up his quarters, with four thouſand men. Full of this conqueſt, he marched, againſt the advice of many of his officers, with the utmoſt diligence to reach the place. When he drew near it, he ſent out parties to make priſoners; and theſe reporting that Nabades was retired, Narſes, reproaching his officers with timidity, puſhed on to take poſſeſſion of the place. The van-guard of the Roman army conſiſted of a body of the Heruli, lightly armed. Theſe entering the ſkirts of Anglon, and perceiving the Perſian troops regularly drawn up and ready to charge them, broke, even before they were attacked, and fled. The Perſians made the beſt uſe of this advantage, following them cloſe at the heels; and charging the Roman forces vigorouſly, diſordered them alſo, and ſoon after compelled them to a plain flight, in which numbers were ſlain, and more would have been ſlain, if the Perſians had not been apprehenſive of the ill conſequences that might attend their purſuing them too far. With this action ended that campaign; for Choſroes, having changed his views, did not endeavour to penetrate any farther on that ſide; and the Romans, taught by their misfortunes, forbore alſo the ſiege of this place[n].

Choſroes ſhamefully repulſed at Edeſſa.

The next year Choſroes made his fourth expedition into the Roman territories, and, if we may credit Procopius, upon a very extraordinary account. He had, in his firſt expedition, beſieged the city of Edeſſa, and, tho' he had taken much ſtronger and more conſiderable places, was conſtrained to raiſe that ſiege. This was ſaid to be owing to the particular favour of Jeſus Chriſt to that city, whoſe letter to their prince Abgarus was inſcribed over the principal gate of the place. This report ſo irritated Choſroes, that he made this expedition, not ſo much againſt the Romans, or againſt Juſtinian, as againſt the God of the chriſtians, who had been ſaid to have driven him from Edeſſa. His army was very numerous; and it is certain, that tho' he might have done many things more for his glory and the advantage of the Perſian empire, yet he choſe, after ravaging the open country, to encamp in the

[n] Procop. de bell. Perſic. l. ii.

the neighbourhood of Edeſſa. In that camp, however, having either formed ſome new project, or doubting of the event of this, he ſent deputies to demand of the inhabitants of Edeſſa a large ſum of money; which if immediately paid him, he offered to turn his arms another way. But as what he demanded was not in their power to yield unto, Choſroes was forced to carry his firſt deſign into execution, tho' now againſt his will, We have, in the memoirs of Procopius, a long and circumſtantial account of this ſiege, which was by far the warmeſt that any Roman city had ſuſtained; and after all, tho' it was not either ſuccoured or relieved, the vigorous defence made by its citizens ſo diminiſhed the Perſian army, that, as the ſeaſon advanced, Choſroes loſt all hopes, and was compelled, notwithſtanding the boaſt he had made, of turning Edeſſa into ſheep-cotes and placing all its inhabitants in the heart of Perſia, ſhamefully to raiſe the ſiege and retire into his own dominions (X). Thither he was quickly followed by the Roman embaſſadors, whom, as he had often done before, he drew into an inſidious treaty, more deſtructive to their maſter than an open war [o].

[o] Things

[o] Procop. de bell. Perſic l. ii. Theophan. chronograph. p. 186. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 372. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. l. iv. c. 27.

(X) As to the miracle which was wrought at the ſiege of Edeſſa, it makes a great figure, as well in the memoirs of Procopius, as in the writings of eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. As it is a fact which very nearly concerns the Perſian hiſtory, we might juſtly have been cenſured with want of exactneſs, had we omitted it; and therefore we choſe to give it place in a note, in which we ſhall relate it, as we find it recorded in the hiſtory of Evagrius. There was an old report, that Chriſt had promiſed to Abgarus king of Edeſſa, that that city ſhould be inexpugnable. It is true, that no ſuch promiſe appears in the letter ſaid to have been written by Chriſt to Abgarus, and which is printed at large in the hiſtory of Euſebius; but, not withſtanding that, the report ſpread of this prophecy was believed, and ſome extraordinary deliverances which the city had met with contributed to keep up its credit. To deſtroy this report, and thereby to wound, as he apprehended, the honour of the chriſtian religion, Choſroes ſat down before this place. When all the attempts he had made to induce the people to ſurrender had failed, and his forces had been repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults, he at length de-

enter

The Colchian war concluded by a general peace.

THINGS, however, did not remain long in this ſituation: Choſroes was too ſtirring a prince to indulge his neighbours with much quiet. He had diſcovered, that his new ſubjects the Lazi were become already diſaffected; and, upon examining the reaſons, he found cauſe to apprehend, that their diſcontents were ſuch as could never be removed. The country they inhabited ſtood in need of corn, of ſalt, and of wine. With theſe, on account of the badneſs of the roads, they could not well be furniſhed from Perſia; whereas the Romans eaſily ſupplied them by ſea and at a moderate price, which preſerved an intimacy between the nations. On the other hand, the Lazi, who were zealous chriſtians, endeavoured to convert the Perſians who dwelt among them; by which means they became obnoxious to the magi, who did not fail to inſinuate

termined to enter upon a laborious and troubleſome undertaking; which he did, however, the more patiently, becauſe he made no queſtion that by it he ſhould effect his purpoſe. He ordered his ſoldiers to cut down a vaſt quantity of timber, with which he began to erect a mount over-againſt the town-walls; to which when it was become equal in height, his view was, by the help of engines, to make a bridge of communication, over which he might paſs as great a part of his army as he pleaſed into the place. The inhabitants of Edeſſa, perceiving the drift of this deſign, inſtantly began to undermine the new raiſed work, in hopes they might be able to ſet it on fire; but when they had done this, they found their labour loſt, not being able to make the fire burn for want of air, a circumſtance they had not before conſidered. This put them to their wits, and at laſt they bethought themſelves of the miraculous print of our Saviour's face, which he ſent to their king Abgarus and was preſerved in their church. This they brought into their mine, poured water over it, and then this water upon the fire and the wood, which inſtantly lighted and burnt intenſely. Then, to prevent the enemy from apprehending whence the ſmoak came, they threw all ſorts of fire-works from the walls. After three days, however, the Perſians perceived, that the very heart of their mount was conſumed. Choſroes ordered water to be poured upon it in vaſt quantities; but when it was obſerved, that, inſtead of ſlackening, it encreaſed the fire, as much as if ſo much oil had been thrown thereon, he in deſpair ſuffered the mount to burn on; and, having ſent away his baggage, demoliſhed his works and raiſed the ſiege (55).

(55) Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. l. iv. c. 27. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 372.

innſiuate, that difference in religion would everlaſtingly hinder them from being good ſubjects to the Perſian crown. Choſroes thereupon formed â project of tranſporting them from their own country of Colchis into the heart of Perſia, and to ſettle a colony of Perſians in their ſtead. Previous, however, to the execution of this grand project, he determined to build a navy in the port of Petra, which might be able to guard the coaſts, and prevent too ſtrict an intercourſe between theLazi and the inhabitants of theRoman provinces; but knowing that this could not be accompliſhed, if the people were timely appriſed thereof, he cauſed great quantities of timber to be ſent to Petra, under pretence of repairing the fortifications and conſtructing military machines, However, Gubazes king of the Lazi, taking offence at theſe preparations and doubting the ſafety of his perſon, beſought the protection of the Romans. This was quickly afforded him, and the emperor Juſtinian immediately diſpatched a conſiderable army to his relief. This army was commanded by Dagiſtheus, a young man very indifferently ſkilled in the art of war. Gubazes kept his word; for as ſoon as the Roman forces appeared, he joined them, and compelled the Perſians to ſhut themſelves up in Petra, the only fortified place in the kingdom. The reduction of this place therefore was the ſole point in queſtion; for this once effected, the war was at end. Gubazes quickly inveſted it on one ſide, as the Romans did on the other, to whom Gubazes moſt pathetically recommended the cuſtody of the ſtreights called Chiſuræ, through which only the Perſians, if they ſent an army, could enter, if they attempted the relief of Petra. The Roman general, having viewed theſe difficult paſſages, conceived them to be ſo ſtrong in their nature, that he left but a hundred men to guard them. As ſoon as Choſroes was informed of this ſtrange turn in his affairs, and that Petra was blocked up, he ordered Mermeroes, one of the beſt officers in Perſia, to march with an army to its relief. This took up a great deal of time, and in this ſpace the Perſian garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity; nay, the Romans actually entered the city, and might have taken it, if the governor of the citadel had not drawn them into a treaty for rendering that fortreſs, at the ſame time with the city, into their hands. Mermeroes, from the time he entered Colchis with his army, directed his march according to his own private intelligence, avoiding any correſpondence with the Lazi, who pretended to be in the Perſian intereſt; ſo

ſo that he arrived at the mouth of the Chiſuræ before he was at all expected; and finding how ſmall a guard the Roman general had left there, he cauſed it to be attacked again and again, till, with the loſs of a thouſand men, he carried the paſs, and then, without halting, marched directly to Petra. There he found, of five thouſand men, only nine hundred remaining, and of theſe three hundred and fifty diſabled. The dead dodies they had piled up againſt the narrow walls of the citadel, that the Romans might not be acquainted with their loſs, and from thence he encouraged to ſtorm the place. The Romans conceived that this was but a ſlight reprieve, the walls being every-where broken, and the place, as it were, in ruins; Mermeroes, however, repaired it in the beſt manner he was able, and when he had ſo done and left a freſh garriſon in it, he withdrew his troops from thence, having made a truce with the Lazi, though the Roman forces ſtill continued the war. When the place was put into a ſtate of defence, Mermeroes drew his troops towards Iberia, whence he hoped to receive ſuch ſupplies of proviſions, as might be neceſſary for the occaſions of his own army, as well as of Petra. Here encamping with a rapid river behind him, he conceived his forces to be in ſafety. But it ſo happened, that Gabazes deviſed a method of paſſing this river, and having informed the Romans thereof, and alſo furniſhed them with bridges, they fell upon the Perſian army, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. Mermeroes, however, repaired this miſtake, by encamping more cautiouſly for the future, and ſo kept the war alive, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantages he laboured under. It would oblige us to carry this hiſtory into an extraordinary length, if we ſhould relate all that paſſed in this Colchian war, of which we have very large memoirs in Procopius and Agathias. We ſhall content ourſelves therefore with obſerving, that in the end the Romans were ſucceſsful, by reaſon of their having the empire of the ſea, which enabled them to ſupply heir armies with proviſions and recruits, as often as they ſtood in need of them; whereas the Perſians were obliged to make long and fatiguing marches by land; and to bring all their proviſions in carriages. Mermeroes, ſo long as he lived, preſerved the ſuperiority of the Perſian power, and a little before his death gave the Romans a ſignal defeat; but his ſucceſſor Nachoraganus, a raſh and haughty general, fell as far ſhort of him in his performances, as in his boaſting promiſes he ſurpaſſed him. His ill conduct was one

of

of the great cauſes of the ſucceſs of the Romans; and therefore Choſroes, on his return into Perſia, ordered him to be flayed alive; and perceiving that his affairs were in a declining condition on this ſide, reſolved to make peace with the Romans. With this view he ſent an embaſſador to the court of Juſtinian, who received him graciouſly, and entered readily into a treaty with his maſter, whereby it was provided, that each party ſhould keep what they were poſſeſſed of in Colchis at the time of its concluſion; and thus the Lazi were deprived of their liberties, by calling in their too powerful neighbours, Gubazes having been aſſaſſinated ſometime before, who was extremely careful of his ſubjects, and who, in all the changes of his fortune, conſtantly ſought their good [p] (Y).

TOWARDS

[p] Procop. de bell. Perſic. lib. ii. Agath. Scholaſt. lib. iii, iv. Cedren. &c.

(Y) The hiſtory of the Colchian war hath, as we noted in the text, employed the pens of many eminent writers. Procopius, in the ſecond book of his memoirs of the wars with the Perſians, enters into a long detail of the cauſes, why the Conſtantinopolitan emperors on the one hand, and the Perſian monarchs on the other, were ſo ſolicitious to maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of this country. He alſo proſecutes the account of the military expeditions on both ſides, till ſuch time as Mermeroes was firſt obliged to retire into Iberia (56). Agathias, who continued the hiſtory of Procopius, reſumes the thread here, and deſcribes at large all that happened afterwards in this country, till the concluſion of the peace between the Romans and the Perſians. To him we owe the character of the Perſian general before-mentioned. Mermeroes, ſays he, was of all the Perſian officers the moſt diſtinguiſhed for his thorough underſtanding of the art of war. He died full of years and glory, after having for a long ſpace of time entirely loſt the uſe of his limbs, ſo that he was carried up and down in a litter; yet was he ſo dreadful to the Romans, that they never thought themſelves in any ſecurity, while he was at the head of the Perſian troops (57). The curious reader, who will take the pains of peruſing the authors I have mentioned, will plainly perceive, that the art of war was at this time extremely well underſtood, as it appears alſo the art of negotiating muſt have

(56) Ap. hiſtor. Byzant. Vol. I. hiſt. lib. iii. & iv.

(57) Agath. Scholaſt.

Chosroes makes war on the Romans afresh with success

TOWARDS the end of the reign of Justinian, Chosroes fell sick of a dangerous distemper; and depending more on the skill of the Roman physicians than his own, he requested, that some should be sent from Constantinople, which demand of his was readily complied with. On the accession, however, of the emperor Justin, new troubles arose. The inhabitants of the Greater Armenia, who were subjects to the king of Persia, were by this time become generally christians; and therefore rather inclined to put themselves under the protection of the Romans, to which Justin rashly consented; and having privately encouraged them to revolt, the Armenians, under the command of Varamus, one of their petty princes, suddenly took arms, and, having murdered all the Persians amongst them, declared themselves allies and dependents of the emperor of Constantinople. Chosroes immediately complained of this, and the emperor Justin pretended to colour his conduct by his zeal for the christian religion; and being deceived by the intelligence which the bishop of Nisibis sent him, gave orders to his general Marcian to enter the Persian territories with an army, and to lay siege to that city, which was accordingly done. The Persian governor, incensed at the folly and rashness of the action, did not so much as shut the gates, but contented himself with relieving the guards at them twice a day, the Roman army being scarce numerous enough to invest the place. In the mean time Chosroes passed the Euphrates, and marched directly towards Nisibis, having first made a great detachment under Adermanes, who laid waste

have been, since the conferences for bringing this treaty of partition to a conclusion afforded matter for the fourth book of Menander's history of embassies. Of this we have yet an abstract remaining, wherein the principal arguments made use of on both sides, the characters of the Roman and Persian plenipotentiaries are elegantly described, and the heads of the treaty, which consisted of ten articles, are briefly set down; but yet with such clearness, as demonstrates the skill of the politicians in those times, not to have been inferior to those who have been most famous for this kind of science in succeding ages (58). We should have inserted some quotations from those valuable pieces, if we had not been apprehensive of extending the history of this period to far; but we could not avoid writing this note, to shew the carelessness of the former writers of the Persian history, who have slipped over all these things, as if the accounts of them had been buried in utter oblivion.

(58) Menand. Protect. ap. hist. Byzant. Vol. I.

waſte the Roman provinces with fire and ſword. The Roman army before Niſibis, being diſſatisfied with the emperor's meaſures and his changing their commander, ſuddenly, and without any reaſon given, broke up, and retired the beſt way they could; whereupon Choſroes, finding no body in the field to reſiſt him, took and ſacked all the great cities in Meſopotamia and Syria, and gave the plunder to his ſoldiers. He alſo beſieged and reduced Dara, a fortreſs that had always been a curb upon his ſubjects, and in the fortifying of whch the emperor Juſtinian had expended vaſt ſums. Into this place he put a great garriſon, knowing its importance, and reſolving to make uſe of it for a barrier againſt its old maſters (Z). But while he was meditating now exploits, Trajan, a ſenator of Rome, preſented to him letters from the empreſs Sopha, her huſband Juſtin being run mad. In theſe letters

(Z) We are obliged to Evagrius for the hiſtory of this war, which he ſeems to have writen very candidly, ſince it is plain enough from his relation, that hoſtilities were begun by the emperor Juſtin, without any juſt grounds, and that, notwithſtanding the complaints of Choſroes, he refuſed to deſiſt from the meaſures he had taken to gratify his ambition. There is, however, juſt cauſe to believe, that he was a little diſordered in his ſenſes, even before this war. During the time it was carried on, nothing could be more wild than his conduct. He fancied all the little advantages that were gained, before the Perſians well knew that the Romans were their enemies, ſo many victories. He commanded his general to lay ſiege to Niſibis with a ſmall army, badly furniſhed with proviſions; and being informed by the biſhop of Antioch, that his affairs in the eaſt took a very bad turn, he diſpatched Acaces, an ignorant and aſſuming man, to demand of his general the keys of Niſibis, as if fortune had been ſubject to his commands. This man executing the orders of his maſter with the ſame temper, that is, with the ſame ſtupidity with which he gave them, the conſequence was, that the army were afraid to truſt either their new general or their diſtracted emperor, and therefore retired the beſt way they could. John the ſon of Timoſtrates yielded up Dara, either through fear, or from a worſe motive; and Choſroes, as ſoon as he was maſter of it, put part of the inhabitants to the ſword, made the reſt priſoners, and, having diſpoſed of every thing as he thought fit in the place, put a ſtrong garriſon therein, it being held the beſt fortreſs in all that part of the world. Choſroes alſo treated all the frontier provinces in the empire with great ſeverity, aſſigning the emperor's breach of faith for a reaſon; for, it ſeems, he could not bear with

the empress pathetically described the misery of the Roma empire, beseeching Chosroes to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians, the incertainty of all worldly greatness, and the little glory that wold result to him from conquests, made from a headless nation and a helpless woman. Chosroes, having read the letters, immediately withdrew with his troops from the frontiers of the Roman empire, consenting to a truce for three years, Armenia, however, being excluded [q].

Refuses to make a peace, and is miserably beaten.

This respite was very favourable to the Romans, who quickly saw their affairs absolutely re-established by the diligence and prosperous success of Tiberius, the successor of Justin. He was not only an active and vigilant prince and one of a martial disposition, but a person well skilled in the art of war, and a horse-officer of great experience. The first thing he did was to put the cavalry in better order than they had ever been before, knowing that the eastern provinces of the empire were better defended by them than by foot; and as he found the treasury full, through the extortions of his predecessors, it was no hard matter to make quick levies, especially for one so well acquainted with discipline. Chosroes, who had not the least suspicion of these mighty changes, prepared early the next spring to enter Armenia, resolving to penetrate Cappadocia, and to make himself master of Cæsarea, and such other cities in those parts as were of any consideration. The Roman emperor, foreseeing the consequences of such an irruption, sent embassadors to persuade Chosroes from this expedition, and to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but at the same time that he sent these embassadors, he dispatched Justinian with directions to assemble all the forces in the eastern provinces, in order, if it was necessary, to repel force by force. When the Roman embassadors came into the camp of Chosroes, he was so far from receiving them as he was wont, that he refused to give them any audience, commanding them to follow him to Cæsarea, where he should be,

[q] Agath. Scholast. lib. iv. p. 140. Theophan. chronogr. p. 208. Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. iv. c. 7—13.

with patience that sort of behaviour from others, which he was himself but too apt to exercise. This, however, was the last fortunate campaign he made, and indeed his conquests therein were of very great importance (59).

(59) Evagr. hist. ecclesiast. lib. iv. c. 7—13.

be at leiſure to hear them. Not long after he was informed, that the Roman army was at no great diſtance, and that they deſigned to give him battle. He looked upon this as an act of raſhneſs in them, and as an accident favourable to himſelf; and therefore continued his march with the utmoſt expedition, that he might not loſe this advantage. But when he drew near them, and ſaw their cavalry extremely numerous, diſpoſed in excellent order, and the ſoldiers eager to engage, he fetched a deep ſigh, ſhewing by the heavineſs of his countenance how very much his mind was affected by this diſappointment. On this account therefore he would, in all probability, have retired into ſome covenient camp, inſtead of fighting immediately; if Curtius a Scythian, who commanded the right wing of the Roman army, had not charged the left of the Perſians, where Choſroes was in perſon. The combat was ſharp and bloody, but in the end the Perſians were beaten, the royal treaſure and the ſacred fire, before which the king worſhipped, taken in his ſight. In all probability, things would have gone ſtill worſe, had not the night come on, which gave the Perſians an opportunity of retiring. The next night, or rather evening, Choſroes having intelligence that the Romans were encamped in two ſeparate bodies, he fell upon one of them at midnight, and routed them effectually with a prodigious ſlaughter, and having taken and ſet a village on fire that was behind their camp, he marched directly to the Euphrates, that, by repaſſing that river, he might winter in his own dominions. But Juſtinian the Roman general, penetrating his deſign, followed him ſo cloſely, that he was himſelf forced to paſs the river on an elephant, and many of thoſe who were immediately about him were drowned. After this the Romans wintered for the firſt time in the Perſian provinces, and Choſroes, retiring to Seleucia, was ſo much affected therewith, that, he broke his heart, when he had reigned forty-eight years. This is the account which moſt of the Greek writers have given us, and the collectors of general hiſtory have followed them without ſcruple; yet there is juſt reaſon to believe, that this narration is wide of the truth, and therefore we take the liberty of ſubjoining what we apprehend comes nearer it[r]. Choſroes did indeed die of diſcontent, but not ſo haſtily as moſt of the Greek

[r] Agath. Scholaſt. lib. iv. p. 144. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. v. c. 15. Cedren. hiſt. compend. p. 393. Theophan. chronogr. p. 207, 208.

writers aſſert; on the contrary, he lingered on till the following ſpring, and actually ſaw a treaty brought to a concluſion, which he had begun with the emperor Tiberius, ſo that he had a proſpect of leaving his kingdom in peace. Of this he was the more deſirous, on account of the mighty diſorders occaſioned by the depredations daily commited by the Roman veſſels in the Caſpian ſea, as alſo from the mutinous behaviour of his ſoldiers and general diſcontent of the Perſians, too prone to murmur when fortune was againſt their princes (A). Choſroes,

(A) We have more than once obſerved, that the Greek writers are exceſſively partial, and we have more than once commended Agathias Scholaſticus for digreſſing from the cuſtom of his country in this particular. However, with regard to Choſroes, who was his cotemporary, and with whoſe character he had many and great opportunities of being fully acquainted, he is at leaſt as faulty as any of the Greek writers; and, with a ſort of abſurd malice, firſt relates the excellent things ſaid of that monarch, by thoſe who were perfectly well acquainted with him, and then endeavours to deſtroy their characters, as well as that of Choſroes, by a number of weak, as well as ill-natured, reflections (60). Procopius, who had ſtill better opportunities of knowing the true character of this prince than Agathias, could have treated him in a quite different manner; for he every-where magniſies his ablities, though he ſometimes bears hard upon his morals (61). According to Procopius, Choſroes was a very wiſe, but a very ambitious, prince; according to Agathias, he was very fortunate and very vain-glorious. That the latter was not his true character, may be made appear from facts. His conduct towards the Roman embaſſadors, his harangues, his letters, but above all, his ſucceſs againſt the emperor Juſtinian, are ſo many inconteſtable proofs of his ſkill in the art of reigning. As to his knowledge of war, Agathias himſelf confeſſes it in theſe words. In the field, no man knew better than Choſroes how to contrive; nor did any officer execute his orders with greater alacrity, than Choſroes did his own projects; and what was very wonderful, his activity did not forſake him, even in his old age; but he was as quick, or rather quicker in his laſt campaign, than in his firſt. It was not his reputation, as a ſoldier, that offended Agathias; but he could not bear, that a barbarous prince ſhould be cried up for a philoſopher and a man of letters. This, we ſhall elſewhere ſhew, was, however, a tribute juſtly due to the merit of Choſroes; and when we do ſhew this, it will unqueſtionably prove, that we were not too raſh in cenſuring the veracity of the Greek writers. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians fall not at all ſhort in this reſpect

(60) Agath. ſcholaſt. lib. ii. iii. iv. (61) De bell. Perſic & in anecdot.

Chosroes, as he had lived, so he died, like a great prince, after enacting, that none of his successors should expose their persons in any general engagement against the Romans, and after giving his son the most wholesome instructions for the government of his people, for the management of foreign wars, and for the conduct of himself [s].

Hormisdas succeeded his father in his dominions, but had neither his abilities nor his fortune. Hasty in his temper, haughty in his behaviour, cruel in his disposition, obstinate in all things, he no sooner put on the diadem, than he proclaimed himself unworthy of it. He was always addicted to a silly curiosity as to future events, and his diviners having suggested to him that his subjects were not well affected, he began to conceive suspicions of most of the great men in the kingdom, and to treat them as if suspicion and conviction was with him the same thing. As to foreign princes he kept no measures with them at all; he never notified his succession to the emperor Tiberius, but left him to learn it from common fame. When that monarch sent embassadors to compliment him and to renew the peace, he treated them disdainfully, and refused to grant their request, unless he had a sum of money given him by way of tribute. A demand, considering the circumstances of things, most unreasonable, and which therefore opened afresh those wounds which had been lately healed up, and equally disposed both Romans and Persians to enter on a new war, and which in the end proved very disadvantageous to both (B). At first the military operations were not

Hormildas II.

[s] Theophylact. lib. iii. c. 16. See the history of this reign in the next section.

respect of the authors of civil history. In the present case particularly, Evagrius tells us, that Chosroes died miserably, overborn by sorrow and grief, and covered with infamy, by making the law taken notice of in the text (62).

(B) It is to Theophylact we owe the account given in the text of the character of Hormisdas, and his conduct in the beginning of his reign. This author was an Egyptian by birth, a man of letters, and one who purposed to write of things, which either himself was well acquainted with, or of which he had an authentic account from those who were perfectly well acquainted with them. He begins his memoirs with the succession of the emperor Maurice, by virtue of his predecessor's nomination,

(62) Evagr. hist. eccles. lib. v. c. 15.

of any great conſequence; an action happening near the river Nymphium, in which neither party had any great advantage. The Perſians ſoon after beſieged a fortreſs called Aphumum, and the Romans inveſted another fortreſs called Acbas, which ſiege however, was raiſed by the Perſian general Cardariganus. But when the Roman army had received the recruits from Conſtantinople, and Philippicus, whom the emperor Maurice ſent to command, arrived on the frontiers, the Perſians were obliged to withdraw into the mountains, and leave the open country at the mercy of the enemy. Philippicus gratified his ſoldiers with the plunder of all the places he could take; but the thirſt of ſpoil having drawn them too far into the Perſian dominions, they were in the utmoſt

nation, and conſequently a good deal later than the times of which we are now ſpeaking. But in the latter end of his third book, he goes back to the ſucceſſion of Hormiſdas, that the remaining part of his hiſtory might be rendered clear and perſpicuous; which it would not have been, if the death of Choſroes and the character and ſucceſſion of his ſon had not been made known to his readers. He aſſures us, that Hormiſdas was at once a moſt ambitious and the moſt cruel prince that ever held a ſceptre; that he loaded his ſubjects with taxes, at the ſame time that he had no mercy on their perſons; that the ſeverities he was drawn into by his wizzards, were not only exceſſive in their nature, but alſo ſpread incredibly wide, ſince he maſſacred thouſands upon his fooliſh ſuſpicions (63). Evagrius the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, who was cotemporary with Hormiſdas, though he mentions him often in his hiſtory, doth not enter ſo particularly into his character, but contents himſelf with ſaying, that he was the moſt unjuſt king the Perſians ever had; and that, not content with exhauſting their fortunes, he invented new tortures to imbitter the deaths of ſuch as he ſuſpected(64). Theophlyact gives us likewiſe the character of Varamus, whoſe rebellion proved ſo fatal to Hormiſdas. He obſerves, that he was a man of great quality, had ſerved for many years in the army, was moſt ſucceſsful in his expeditions againſt the Turks, and by his wiſdom and valour roſe ſo high in the favour of this very prince, that he not only continued him general in chief of his troops, but promoted him alſo to the office of mayor of the palace (65). Theſe particulars would have ſwelled the text of the hiſtory too much, and yet are of too great conſequence to be totally omitted; wherefore we have placed them here.

(63) Theophylact. hiſt. lib. iii. c. 17. p. 85. (64) Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vi. c. 16. (65) Theophylact. lib. iii. cap. ult.

utmoſt danger of being vanquiſhed, without ſo much as ſeeing an enemy, for want of water. This prompted them to a very extraordinary action, viz. putting all the men and women they had made priſoners to the ſword, reſerving only the children whom they intended to ſell for ſlaves; but they died in their march, and thereby eſcaped miſeries worſe than death. After this Philippicus was more cautious, and though he plundered other provinces, yet he took care not to march far from cities. The next year he had the command again, and defeated Cardariganus in a pitched battle, from which he eſcaped with a handful of men, rather through the inadvertency of the Romans, than any courage or conduct of his own; and with theſe he fled to Dara, but the citizens ſhut their gates upon him, and the Romans at the cloſe of the campaign again made incurſions into Perſia, burnt the villages, and plundered the people. The next ſpring the Perſians gained ſome advantages, upon which Phillippicus was removed and Comentiolus ſent to command in his place, who managed the war rather worſe. At length Philippicus was ſent to reſtore the antient Roman diſcipline; but the army was ſo far corrupted, that they refuſed to obey their general; but having choſen Germanus againſt his will to command them, they threw off all regards to the orders ſent them from Conſtantinople. The Perſians receiving news of this, attempted to take Martyropolis; but the Romans, under the command of Germanus, having penetrated their deſign, marched directly and gave them battle, whereby they ſaved the city for that time. However, it ſoon after fell into the hands of Mebodes the Perſian general; for he, having an intelligence with Sittas, an architect in the place, by his advice ſent four hundred men thither, who pretended to deſert from the Perſian army, and were thereupon readily admitted. Theſe men, by the direction of him who received them, ſurprized the place; and the Romans making a quick march to revover it, were engaged, and beaten by Mebodes; whereupon Philippicus was again removed and Comentiolus was once more truſted with the army. This man quickly loſt his reputation; for coming to a battle with the Perſians, he fled at the very beginning of it; but Heraclius, who commanded under him, managed things ſo well, that the Perſians were entire-

ly

ly defeated with the loss of Aphraates and Nabades, two of their best generals [t].

He by his imprudence excites a civil war.

In the mean time, the Persians were engaged in war with the Turks, now first mentioned by the Greek writers, and under the conduct of Varamus had been very successful. To him therefore orders were sent to pass the river Araxes, and to fall on the Roman territories on that side. To oppose him, the emperor sent Romanus; but before he could assemble an army sufficient to take the field, Varamus had done a great deal of mischief. At length, however, Romanus found himself in a condition to give the Persians battle, which he accordingly did; for Varamus, presuming on his former success, desired nothing more ardently than an engagement. This proved fatal to his masters affairs; for the Persian cavalry being defeated, Varamus, with all his skill, had much ado to make an indifferent retreat. As soon as Hormisdas received advice of this disaster, he gave a signal proof of his small capacity for government. He sent to Varamus, instead of a vest of honour, a woman's garment, and threatened the troops with decimation; this inflamed their general, and united them to his interest. The issue of this business was, that Varamus wrote a letter to his master, in which he used always the feminine gender, as if he had been writing to a female slave, and prepared at the same time to treat him worse. Hormisdas, who began to see his error, sent Sarames a man of great quality, to take upon him the command of the army, ordering him to pacify his soldiers at any rate, and to send him Varamus in chains. This Sarames would have done; but as soon as he arrived in the camp and had declared the nature of his commission, Varamus ordered him to be thrown down from his elephant, and by provoking the beast, caused it to trample him to pieces. He spent the winter preaparing for the execution of his purposes, and at the same time took all the care he could to hinder the progress of the Roman arms. The garrison of Nisibis declared for him, and the malecontents began every-where to commit such disorders, that when Hormisdas was informed of them, and saw how unable he was to repress them, he began almost to lose his wits, breaking out into such furious fits of passion, as frighted all who were near him, and contributed no less to

[t] Theophylact. lib. i, ii, iii. Evagr. lib. v. c. 20. Theophan. chronogr. p. 217. Cedren. hist. com. p. 396. Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 74.

to encreaſe his misfortunes, than the arts of his enemies. Pherocanes commanded the troops which were ſtill faithful, and he ſeemed inclined to attempt the reducing Varamus to his duty by force; but when the two armies were near each other, Varamus ſent deputies to harangue the king's army, and to inform them that his revolt, far from having any tendency to the deſtruction of the Perſian empire, had no other motive than its conſervation; that Hormiſdas was no longer worthy to rule them; and that he ſought only to bring about ſuch a revolution, as the ill conduct of that prince had made neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate. The general himſelf made no anſwer to theſe repreſentations, but the army, eaſily debauched from its duty, began viſibly to waver; ſo that in the night, Zoanab, who, was of the guard to the general, fearing that he would head the defection, ſtabbed him in his tent, and gave the plunder of it to the ſoldiers [u].

HORMISDAS having intelligence of this fact, and not knowing what conſequences it might have, retired out of Perſia Proper to Cteſiphon, where he kept his court. The people in the mean time revolted in all the royal cities and plundered the palaces, which afforded the nobility an opportunity of reſcuing their relations from priſon; and amongſt thoſe, who were at this time releaſed, was a perſon of the royal blood, whom Hormiſdas for a ſlight offence had loaded with chains, named Bindoes. This man making all the haſte he could to the troops formerly commanded by Pherocanes, was by them readily received for their chief. In three days they reached Cteſiphon, whither they no ſooner came, than Bindoes well attended, entered the royal palace, and forced into the preſence of the king. It was after dinner, and Hormiſdas was ſitting in the hall, clad in his robes of ſtate and with his tiara on his head. As ſoon as he ſaw Bindoes, he aſked him, how he eſcaped out of priſon, and wherefore he came thither? He anſwered by a torrent of injurious language, upbraiding his maſter with his ill conduct, and exciting all who were preſent to reject him from being their king. Hormiſdas ordered ſome of his ſervants, who were preſent, to ſeize Bindoes; but they were afraid to execute his commands. On the other hand, Bindoes taking the king by the arm, drew him out of his chair, took the tiara from off

Which occaſions his being depoſed, and murdered.

[u] Theophylact. lib. iv. Evagr. lib. vi. c. 14. Theophan. chronogr. p. 221. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 396.

off his head, and ordered ſome of his ſoldiers to conduct him to priſon; which they did without the leaſt reluctance, though he was their prince. In the midſt of this tumult, Choſroes the ſon of Hormiſdas made his eſcape out of the palace, being apprehenſive that his own life was not ſafe; but Bindoes having intelligence where he was, diſpatched a perſon to aſſure him, that he was ſo far from having any intentions againſt his perſon, that his deſign was to ſet him upon the throne. Upon this Choſroes returned, and they took their meaſures together; but while they were conſulting, Hormiſdas ſent a meſſage from his priſon, requeſting, that a great council of the nobility might be called, and that he might have the liberty of ſpeaking to them freely. When the Perſian lords were acquainted with this demand, they inſtantly aſſembled at the palace, and then ordered, that Hormiſdas ſhould be brought from his priſon, and have liberty given him to ſay what he pleaſed. The king, after looking ſeveral times round on the aſſembly, made a long and vehement ſpeech, in which he deplored his own calamity much, but the miſery of the people more, inveighing bitterly againſt the authors of this anarchy and confuſion, exhorting them to ſave the ſtate from that deſtruction with which it was threatened, and to beware of eſtabliſhing a tyranny, while they endeavoured to avoid it. He then adjured them not to think of making Choſroes his ſucceſſor, becauſe he knew him to be of a haughty, turbulent, and cruel nature, prone to all ſorts of vices, and equally careleſs of his own honour and the public good. His other ſon, however, he recommended as a young prince of a mild and docible nature, one who was inclined to think right and to do well. Laſtly, he entered into a detail of the ſervices he had himſelf rendered his country, in ſubduing many provinces, and in reducing ſeveral of their barbarous neighbours ſo low as to pay them tribute. When he had finiſhed all he had to ſay, Bindoes made a long inſulting anſwer, exhorted the people to have no regard to his words, but to act in ſuch a manner as might beſt inſure their own ſafety. This language ſuited well the genius of the people, ever prone either to ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, or to licentious inſolence; they followed implicitly the directions of their leader, who cauſed the young prince Hormiſdas had recommended to be murdered in his preſence, and afterwards to be cut to pieces. Then they ſacrificed the unhappy woman his mother in the ſame manner; and that fortune might

might never reſtore Hiormiſdas to his former dignity, they ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron. All which was performed with the ſame ready barbarity with which it was directed. This end had the reign of Hormiſdas, when it had continued one and twenty years [x] (C).

CHOSROES,

[x] Theophylact. lib. iv. c. 6. Theophan. chronogr. p. 223. Evagr. lib. vi. c. 16. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 397.

(C) It is impoſible to read this part of the Perſian hiſtory without emotion. One may ſafely number this among thoſe extraordinary revolutions, which appear but rarely in the records of nations; and when they do, ſtrike the judicious reader with an amazement mixed with horror. The Greek hiſtorian, Theophylact, relates the whole of this extraordinary tranſaction very circumſpectly, and inſerts at large the ſpeeches of Hormiſdas and Bindoes (66). One would be apt to think from the many rhetorical turns which are in them both, but in that of the king's eſpecially, that they were not genuine; but when we find the reſt of the Greek writers, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, the oriental hiſtorians, putting the ſame words into the ſame perſons mouths, one is conſtrained to baniſh ſuſpicion, and to admit, that one of the moſt excellent harangues that was perhaps ever compoſed, flowed from the mouth of a Perſian prince, in a ſituation, when eloquence would have been leaſt expected. But there ſeems to be ſomething fatal in diſtreſſing majeſty, and that the divine character of kings, like the eſſential qualities of gold, appeareth moſt clearly from the ſevereſt trials. The ſpeech of Hormiſdas, too long to be tranſcribed, but faithfully abridged in the text, proved a ſort of prophecy; for after this ſedition the reader will perceive the Perſians were never quiet. Choſroes was indeed juſt ſuch a king as his father foreſaw he would be, and the people ſuffered from his ill conduct much greater evils, than they had ever felt under this unfortunate prince his father. Authors do not agree about the manner in which Hormiſdas was put to death. Some ſay, that he earneſtly deſired it himſelf, rather than to have his eyes burnt out with a hot iron, which was thought neceſſary to prevent his eſcaping, as Cavades had done (67). Theſe add, that his ſon, provoked by his reproaches, ordered him to be beat to death (68). Others affirm, that Hormiſdas refuſing food, Choſroes directed him to be ſlain (69). However it was,

(66) Theophylact. hiſt. lib. iv. c. 3, 4. (67) Theophan. chronogr. p. 223. Theophylact. ubi ſupra. (68) Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 396. Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 75. (69) See an account of his death in the next period.

Chosroes II. Year of Christ, 589.

CHOSROES, as soon as these objects of popular cruelty, were removed, was seated on his father's throne; whence rising up, he came and stood under a golden arch, according to the Persian custom, and having received the homage of the principal persons present, the rest with loud acclamations celebrated the accession of their new king, and made vows for his felicity. At first he treated his father with the utmost lenity, sent him diet from his table, ordered him proper attendants, gave him rich wines, and provided for him many amusements; but this prevailing nothing over the spirit of Hormisdas, who continued to reproach his son with his barbarity and unnatural baseness, Chosroes, doubting what effect his reproaches might have, caused him to be cudgelled to death. Then, supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments, and distributed most profusely the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of assisting him; mighty largesses he likewise bestowed upon the people, and ordered the prison doors to be every-where set open, that the fame of his lenity and liberality might effectually secure the hearts of his subjects. On the sixth day after his accession, he wrote letters to Varamus, and sent also magnificent presents, exhorting him to come speedily and pay his duty to him, promising him, in case he did so, to make him the second man in his kingdom. Varamus refused his presents, and in a haughty letter, at the head of which, among a multitude of other titles, he called himself 'the friend of 'God, the glorious conqueror, and the scourge of tyrants,' he rejected his proposal, ordering him to lay down the crown, and to come immediately and pay his respects to him, on which condition he should have a government given him. Chosroes having exhibited these letters to his council, they were extremely provoked, and gave it as their opinions, that he ought to be punished. Chosroes, however, wrote again to him, signifying his apprehension that his secretary had imposed upon him, and written rather his own dreams than what was dictated to him by Varamus, exhorting him by his future conduct to redeem his credit, and not to persist in his design of making his country a field of blood. Varamus,

was, the people detested the cruelty of their new king, and he had the mortification to see himself abandoned by those who had lately saluted him with the loudest acclamations. It is probable, that his resentment for this continued with him as long as he reigned.

ramus, however, prepared for war, and Choſroes, ſince it could not be avoided, advanced to meet him. They faced each other near Niſibis, the city being in the power of the king, while Varamus encamped before it. Here a negotiation was begun, but it proved ineffectual; and Choſroes, ſuſpecting ſome of the nobility about him, put them to death without heſitation, which created him many more enemies than it delivered him from; ſo that ſhortly after, when Varamus attacked the ſuburbs, and put part of the army quartered therein to the ſword, the reſt preſently joined him, and ſhewed a ſtrong diſpoſition to treat Choſroes as ill as they had done his father; to avoid which, he fled, as privately as poſſible, exceedingly dejected under his misfortune, and the more ſo, becauſe he had ſcarce any friends to ſhare it with him. His women, menial ſervants, and a few of his guards, about thirty perſons in the whole, fled with him, they knew not where; ſometimes he had thoughts of retiring among the Scythians, at others he hoped to hide himſelf in the mountains [y].

Flies into the Roman territories.

At length, commiting himſelf and his affairs wholly to providence, he came as it were by accident to a frontier poſt in the Roman dominions, and that too, far in the night. Probus, who commanded there for the emperor, received him, and all who were with him, kindly and courteouſly, permitting the king to write immediately to the Roman general, who as readily conſented to his ſending an expreſs with his letters to the emperor. In theſe he beſought Mauritius, who then poſſeſſed the imperial dignity, to aſſiſt him againſt his rebellious ſubjects, preſerving in the midſt of a moſt pathetic ſupplication all the dignity of a king. While Choſroes was in this diſtreſs, Varamus entered the city of Cteſiphon in great ſplendor. Bindoes he ſeized and threw into poiſon, treating all ſuch as had ſhewn any affection to the royal family with great ſeverity; but towards the reſt of the Perſians, he affected the greateſt humanity and a ſuperabundant condeſcenſion. He did not fail, however, to iſſue his orders for apprehending Choſroes, if it was poſſible; and when he found that all his caution in this reſpect was vain and fruitleſs, he turned his thoughts to the ſecuring of the frontier garriſons and the moſt conſiderable cities in Perſia, in which he had better ſucceſs. He likewiſe gave great feaſts, and very bountifully beſtowed

[y] Theophylact. lib. iv. c. 7. Theophan. chronogr. ubi ſupra. Evagr. lib. vi. Cedren. hiſt. comp. ubi ſupra.

beſtowed that treaſure he had ſo eaſily obtained; yet in the midſt of all this pomp and ſplendor, he ſaw with concern, that the nobility were greatly diſſatisfied, and the people not to be relied on. He could not, however, either extinguiſh or contain the violent deſire he had to be a king. On a religious feſtival therefore, when of courſe there was a grand aſſembly of the nobility at the palace, he took upon him to uſe the royal ornaments and furniture with all the ſtate of a monarch, though he forbore the title with reluctance. The Perſian nobility, ſeeing clearly what he intended, and diſdaining to become the ſubjects of one born their equal, began to cabal together, in order to concert meaſures for emancipating themſelves and their country, and for reſtoring the antient luſtre of the Perſian empire. In their conferences upon this ſubject, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Bindoes was the moſt proper perſon to conduct an affair of this kind; and therefore they immediately delivered him out of priſon, and acknowledged him for their chief. By his advice they came to a reſolution to attack Varamus in the palace in the dead time of the night. This they performed with great courage; but Varamus and his attendants defending themſelves gallantly, the engagement was very obſtinate, and at laſt the nobility were vanquiſhed, many of them being ſlain upon the ſpot, and the reſt thrown to the elephants; only Bindoes, with a few who fought about his perſon, eſcaped, and, marching towards Media, endeavoured to raiſe forces for Choſroes [z].

He enters Perſia in conjunction with the Romans.

AFTER this victory, Varamus thought fit to ſend embaſſadors to court the friendſhip of the Roman emperor Mauritius; but they were ſent back without anſwer, the emperor having already made a treaty with Choſroes, and ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furniſh him with whatever might be neceſſary for his reſtoration. Theſe timely ſupplies had a proper effect; for the Perſians, ſeeing their king now in a condition to protect them, began almoſt every-where to acknowledge him, and to open their gates to receive his forces. Among the reſt, Niſibis ſubmitted to the king, and Martyropolis was recovered by the Romans, to whom likewiſe Choſroes himſelf delivered Sittas the architect, who had betrayed the place to his father Hormiſdas, for which traiterous act he was burnt alive. On the other hand,

[z] Theophanes chronogr. p. 223. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vi. c. 17. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 397. Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 77. Glyc. annal. p. 274.

hand, Varamus continued to raiſe forces, chuſing rather to hazard all things, in order to make himſelf a prince, than to deſcend again to the condition of a private man. The chriſtian writers ſuggeſt, that Choſroes, during his diſtreſs, ſeemed to abandon the religion of the magi; and not only worſhipped God after the chriſtian manner, but alſo vowed to dedicate a croſs of pure gold in the church of a certain martyr, in caſe he proved victorious againſt his enemy. Zadeſpras, one of Varamus's commanders, having attempted to enter the quarters of one of the lords who had declared for Choſroes, was defeated and put to death, and his head, and the ſpoils of his army, ſent to the king. The ſame fate had Anathonus very ſhortly after, of which Choſroes adviſed the emperor his protector by Sarames, one of the principal lords of his party; by whom likewiſe he ſignified, that Comentiolus was very backward in aſſiſting him in the recovery of his dominions; whereupon the emperor ſent an order, forbidding that general to meddle any more in the king of Perſia's affairs, appointing at the ſame time Narſes to have the command of the Roman auxiliaries, deſtined to the ſervice of the Perſian king [a].

THIS was very grateful to Choſroes, who early the next ſpring, with his own forces, and thoſe lent him by the emperor, under the command of Narſes, marched into Perſia with an intent to decide the war at once. Moſt of the frontier places on his approach ſurendered to Choſroes, as did the great and ſtrong city of Dara, formerly the chief bulwark of the Romans on this ſide. Choſroes, in teſtimony of his ſincere gratitude and cordial affection towards the emperor Mauritius, determined to deliver it into his hands. About the ſame time, the Perſian king received from his protector a tiara, richly ſet with jewels, golden houſhold utenſils of all ſorts, and a choſen guard to attend upon his perſon. When the emperor learned that Dara was given up to him, he was ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of Choſroes, that he honoured him with the title of his ſon. In the mean time the Perſians, in great multitudes, quitted the ſervice of Varamus, and went to ſerve under the banners of their prince, who now ſought to bring Varamus to a battle. Before this could

Beats the rebels, and ſettles himſelf on the throne.

[a] Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophylact. lib. v. c. 1. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vii. c. 19. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 397. Theophan. chronogr. p. 224,

could be brought to paſs, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, and among the reſt one, in which Beyzacius, a great officer in the army of Varamus, was taken priſoner; and, after his noſe and ears were cut off, brought to their king by the Perſians, by whoſe command he was ſoon after put to death. A ſhort ſpace after, Seleucia and moſt of the great cities near the river Euphrates ſubmitted to the king, and Varamus was forced to retire and to avoid fighting. His army conſiſted of about forty thouſand men, whereas the Romans and Perſians under the command of Choſroes were upwards of ſixty thouſand. The former, however, often attempted to fall upon the latter in the night, but were prevented through the vigilance of the Roman officers; ſometimes alſo they preſented themſelves in the field by day, ſo diſpoſed as if they intended immediately to give battle; and, after haraſſing and fatiguing the confederates, withdrew at laſt into their camp. The Roman officers all this time had much ado to reſtrain the ardor of Choſroes, who was always for attacking the enemy, though on diſadvantageous terms. At laſt, however, an opportunity offered, and the Roman officers conſenting, he attacked the army of Varamus, defeated it, and took ſix thouſand priſoners, moſt of whom he ordered to be put to the ſword, or to be thrown to his elephants. The very tent of Varamus was taken with all his golden furniture, which the Romans preſented to Choſroes, who, on the other hand, attributed all his ſucceſs to them, and choſe a thouſand of them for his body guard, and in every other reſpect did all he could to teſtify his gratitude towards them. Choſroes likewiſe took this opportunity to ſend to the church of Sergius the martyr the golden croſs, ſet with jewels, which he had vowed, and with it one taken away by Choſroes the ſon of Cavades, together with a letter, which is ſtill extant in the hiſtory written by Theophylact (D). Choſroes alſo married a chriſtian woman,

(D) Evagrius, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, aſſures us, that Choſroes ſent back to Gregory, biſhop of Antioch, a croſs of gold enriched with precious ſtones, which had been taken out of the church of Sergius the martyr by his grandfather Choſroes, and that he alſo ſent therewith another croſs of gold with the following inſcription: It fell out, that when I Choſroes, king of kings, ſon of Hormiſdas, was obliged by the criminal infidelity of the accurſed Varamus, and certain troops of horſe who adhered to him, to fly for ſafety to the Romans, and that I ſent

man, whoſe name was Sira, and honoured her with the title of queen, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Perſian laws, ſhewing on all occaſions ſuch favour to the chriſtians, that many were of opinion he himſelf was that way inclined; though, in a few years after, he gave the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations, not only of his zealous attachment to the religion of his anceſtors, but of his peculiar averſion to the faith of Chriſt [b].

Alters his conduct entirely.

FROM the moment he was ſettled on his throne, he laid aſide the foreign cuſtoms he had hitherto made uſe of to ingratiate himſelf with the Romans, and put on the ſtate and behaviour of a Perſian prince, as if he had never experienced what adverſity was. The Roman general Narſes intimated to him, before he left his dominions, the

[b] Theophylact. lib. v. c. 5. Theophan. chronogr. p. 225. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vi. c. 21. Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Cedren. hiſt. comp. 404. Glycas. annal. ubi ſupra.

I ſent ſome troops of my cavalry to the city of Carcas, under the command of a certain officer, to traverſe the deſigns of the accurſed Zadeſpras, who was come from Niſibis with an intent to debauch the troops I had in that city from my ſervice, I having heard that the moſt celebrated martyr Sergius granted to every one, who ſought his protecton, whatſoever on their parts were deſired, beſought him on the ſeventh day of January, in the firſt year of my reign, to grant me victory againſt Zadeſpras, promiſing, that in caſe my troops either killed that rebel, or took him alive, that I would give to his church a croſs of gold, enriched with precious ſtones. On the ninth day of the month of February the troops of horſe I had diſpatched againſt him returned, and preſented me with the head of Zadeſpras. Having obtained my petition, and being willing to give the moſt public, as well as ſincere, marks of gratitude and thankfulneſs, I have ſent to his church this croſs, which I cauſed to be made on purpoſe, together with one given by the emperor Juſtinian, and taken by my grandfather Choſroes the ſon of Cavades, which I found depoſited among my treaſure (70). There is another pompous inſcription in the hiſtory cited below; but this is ſufficient to ſhew the hypocriſy of Choſroes, who afterwards declared himſelf the open enemy of Chriſt and of chriſtians, not only by perſecuting them in his own dominions, but by endeavouring to oblige the Greeks to quit that religion, the principles of which induced them to ſet him upon the throne of his fathers. We ſhall hereafter ſee, that he had reaſon to ſay with the emperor Julian, Vicisti ô Galilæe!

(70) Evagr. hiſt eccleſ. lib. vi. c. 21.

vaſt obligations he was under to the emperor Maurice and to the Roman people, whoſe power that general highly magnified, and ſpoke of them as lords of the univerſe. Choſroes modeſtly anſwered, that he was very ſenſible of the kindneſs ſhewed him by the emperor; but as to the Roman power, he predicted ſo exactly its declenſion and deſtruction, that the Greek writers will needs have it Choſroes was a great aſtrologer, and drew his knowledge of future events from the ſkill he had in that ſcience. As to his own ſubjects, Choſroes treated them with great rigour, or, as others phraſe it, with unreaſonable ſeverity; he proſecuted without mercy all ſuch as had any ſhare either in the favour, or in the government, while Varamus held the ſupreme power. By this method he quite extinguiſhed that faction, and, by reſtoring the antient Perſian conſtitution, he aggrandized himſelf ſo as to become terrible to his neighbours; whence it came to paſs, that the barbarous prince, with whom Varamus had ſheltered himſelf, and who had at firſt thoughts of lending him troops to invade Perſia, began to grow ſo apprehenſive of the vengeance of Choſroes, that he ordered his competitor to be poiſoned [c].

Is with difficulty hindered from making war on the Romans.

WHEN the Perſian monarch found all things quiet at home, and himſelf at leiſure to lay hold of any advantages that might offer, he began to threaten the Roman provinces on account of the excurſions made by the Saracens into his dominions, by the encouragement, as he pretended of the Roman generals, who commanded on the frontiers. When the emperor Maurice, whoſe affairs were already in diſorder, was informed of this, he ſent embaſſadors to Choſroes to ſet this matter in a true light, and to prevent if poſſible, a war on this ſide, which he knew as things were circumſtanced, could not but be fatal to the empire. On the arrival of the Roman embaſſadors, Choſroes treated them but indifferently, ſuffering them to remain a long time at court without an audience. At laſt, he who was at the head of the embaſſy, took an opportunity of ſpeaking to the king, and, after a ſhort recapitulation of the favours done him by the Romans, he proceeded to ſhew the weakneſs of the grounds Choſroes pretended to have for making war, and the

[c] Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 80. Theophylact. lib. v. c. 7. Theophan. chronogr. p. 243. Evagr. hiſt. eccleſ. lib. vi. c. 23. Cedren. hiſt. comp. ubi ſupra.

the injuſtice of ſuch a proceeding towards his benefactor; which free repreſentation ſo affected Choſroes, that far from taking it amiſs, he told the embaſſador, whatever cauſes he might have for the meaſures he meant to take, he would for the preſent lay aſide his reſentment for his ſake; and thus for this time war was prevented [d].

Invades the Roman territories.

It was not long, however, before a freſh opportunity offered for the gratifying of the ambition of the Perſian. This was the murder of Maurice the emperor by Phocas, an impiety which filled the Roman empire with blood-ſhed and confuſion, and gave at the ſame time Choſroes a fair opportunity of taking arms, under colour of revenging the death of his protector and father; for ſo he was wont to call the emperor Maurice. In vain did Phocas, by his embaſſador Bilius, endeavour to appeaſe him with large preſents and larger promiſes; he regarded neither; but having ſent a rude anſwer to Phocas's letters by a meſſenger of his own, threw the embaſſador into priſon, making all the preparations poſſible for entering ſpeedily the Roman frontiers. At firſt he gave out, that he had no other view than revenging the murder of Maurice, and reſtoring the empire to his family; but this ſoon appeared to be only a pretence, ſince the king refuſed to ſend aſſiſtance to Narſes, who at this time had taken arms againſt Phocas. The true intent with which Choſroes made war was, the enlarging of his own dominions, while the Romans were divided and in no condition to reſiſt him. In his firſt campaign he met with ſome trouble, the Roman troops endeavouring to make the beſt defence they could; but, their general being ſlain and themſelves indifferently ſupplied, he at length triumphed over them, and laid all the frontiers under contribution. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, he continued the war, and reduced ſeveral fortreſſes. The next year, he recovered the ſtrong city of Dara, plundered all Meſopotamia and Syria, and carried off ſuch immenſe richeſs, that no computation could be made of them. In his nineteenth year, he paſſed the Euphrates, ravaged Syria, Paleſtine, and part of Phænicia, waſting all places, wherever he came, with fire and ſword. The year following, his general Cardaregas waſted Armenia and Cappadocia, defeated the Roman army

[d] Theophylact. lib. viii. c. 1. Glyc. annal. p. 276. Theophan. chronogr. p. 244. Cedren. hiſt. comp. ubi ſupra. Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra.

with a great ſlaughter, and then, meeting no oppoſition, deſtroyed Galatia, Paphlagonia, and all the country as far as Chalcedon, burning cities, and putting people to death without any reſpect to ſex or age [e].

Makes a rapid conqueſt of its principal provinces.

In the two and twentieth year of his reign, Choſroes took Apamea and Edeſſa, and blocked up Antioch. This induced the Romans to hazard a battle, though they were much inferior in ſtrength; wherein they were ſo totally defeated, that it is ſaid the Perſians ſcarce left any to mourn the death of their companions. The year following he took Cæſarea, and carried away myriads of people into captivity. Syria had in the next campaign the ſame fate that Cappadocia felt in this. In his twenty-fifth year, Choſroes made himſelf maſter of Damaſcus, to which city the emperor Heraclius ſent embaſſadors, beſeeching him to have mercy upon his ſubjects, and ſupplicating a peace on any terms he would impoſe; but Choſroes would not afford his embaſſador ſo much as an anſwer. The year following he conquered Judæa, took and plundered the city of Jeruſalem, carried away the croſs on which Chriſt ſuffered, and the patriarch Zacharias, into Perſia. In this campaign he ſold ninety thouſand chriſtians for ſlaves to the Jews in his dominions, who, out of their wonted humanity cut every one of their throats. Theſe vaſt conqueſts ſerved only to encreaſe the ambition of the Perſian, and to ſwell his imagination with mighty ideas of his own power; inſomuch, that in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, he made an expedition into Egypt, and having divided his forces, with one part of his army he took Alexandria, and ſubdued all the country towards Libya, while the other was employed in the reduction of the upper Egypt; wherein he puſhed his conqueſts to the very frontiers of Ethiopia; adding thus the empire of Afric to that of Aſia, executing in the ſpace of a few years what all his anceſtors from Artaxerxes had been ſo long endeavouring at in vain. The year following, he once more turned his forces againſt the Conſtantinopolitan empire, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that he reduced the city of Chalcedon, which he had long blocked up. The remaining part of that year, and all the next, was employed in thoroughly ſubduing and regulating in all reſpects the government of the conquered

[e] Cedren, hiſt. comp. p. 410. Zonar. annal. ubi. ſupra. Theophylact. lib. viii. c. 3. Glyc. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophan. chronogr. p. 245.

quered provinces. As for the emperor Heraclius, incapable of reſiſting, and at the ſame time extremely afflicted at the ſight of the horrible cruelties every-where practiſed by the Perſians, he reſolved once more to make an effort towards obtaining peace. With this view he ſent deputies to Choſroes, with inſtructions to lay before him the miſerable condition of Aſia, the deplorable conſequences of continuing the war any longer, and the earneſt deſire that himſelf had to purchaſe quiet upon any terms. To all this Choſroes made a very ſhort and plain anſwer; that he would never ſpare the ſubjects of Heraclius, or grant him peace, till he and they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the religion of the Perſians [f].

Forces the emperor Heraclius to take up arms.

In the thirty-firſt year of his reign, Choſroes beſieged and reduced the city of Ancyra in Galatia, and prepared againſt the next year to carry his conqueſts farther. Indeed there was no probability that any check could be put to them, the emperor being ſo embaraſſed in Europe by other barbarous enemies, that he was only able to lament, without having it at all in his power to remedy, the miſchiefs ſuffered by his ſubjects in Aſia. Yet when things were come to this extremity, and nothing could be more apparent, than that Choſroes intended the utter deſtruction of his monarchy, Heraclus determined to put all to the hazard, and, having granted his enemies in Europe what terms they thought fit, began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for turning the whole of his force, ſuch as it was, upon the Perſians. This happened in the thirty-ſecond year of the reign of Choſroes, who, far from being diſpleaſed, rejoiced at this news, believing that it would afford him the opportunity he had ſo long ſought of conquering all the Roman dominions, without appearing to make war on an unarmed and defenceleſs people. After Eaſter, in the ſucceeding year, the emperor Heraclius marched with all his forces towards the frontiers of his empire. Sarbanazas at that time commanded the Perſian forces, and lay encamped in Armenia, where he was every day committing new outrages, having nothing elſe in view but the amaſſing money and plundering the helpleſs inhabitants of what little they had left. On the approach of the Roman army the Perſian general ſent out ſpies to diſcover its ſtrength; and on their report that it was very numerous, and that the emperor

[f] Glyc. annal. ubi ſupra. Theophan. chronogr. p. 246. Zonar. annal. lib. xiv. p. 84. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 413. Gregor. Abul-Phar. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 157.

Heraclius had inflamed his men with a ſort of religious enthuſiaſm, he, thought it expedient to recal his parties, and to intrench his forces on the ſummit of a hill, where he could not be attacked, but at a great diſadvantage. This he did, ſuppoſing that the emperor could not long keep the field, eſpecially in that ſeaſon. But in this he was miſtaken, as he was afterwards in his notion of breaking through the Roman army, which he atempted in the night, but without ſucceſs. At laſt weary of being beſieged, he determined at all events to fight. This reſolution once taken, [g] he divided his army into three bodies, and attacked the Roman camp in as many different places. Heraclius, who had previous intelligence of what the Perſian general intended, ſuffered the Perſians to prevail in every one of their attempts. By this means he effectually divided them, and then falling upon the rear of each corps, cut the far greateſt part of them to pieces. This victory was ſo far from making Heraclius elate, that it ſerved only to encourage him to make new propoſitions of peace and friendſhip to the Perſians, which were received, as all the former were, that is, with the utmoſt contempt and indignation [g].

Loſes all his former conqueſts.

CHOSROES to repair the miſtakes of his former general, appointed Sais, a noble Perſian, to command in chief a more numerous army, than that which had been defeated the laſt ſpring; and to make all things ſecure, when the ſeaſon for action drew on, Sarbanazas was ſent again to the army with a conſiderable reinforcement; nay, the king himſelf went thither ſoon after in perſon. However, Heraclius did not fail preſſing as hard upon this army, as he did upon that which he had defeated in Armenia; and the Perſians, wearied with long ſervice and corrupted through their neglect of diſcipline, gave ſuch evident tokens of timidity, when the enemy drew near and had ſkirmiſhed againſt them with ſome ſucceſs, that Choſroes, thought it high time to provide for the ſafety of his perſon; which he did by leaving the army, and thereby encreaſed the general conſternation ſo much, that the Perſians were quickly after totally defeated (E). It is ſaid, that no leſs

[g] Zonar. annal. ubi ſupra. Cedren. hiſt. comp. p. 414. Theophan. chronogr. p. 253. Glyc. annal. ubi ſupra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. hiſt. dynaſt. p. 158.

(E) There cannot at firſt ſight be any thing more ſurpriſing, than this ſudden extinction of the Perſian power in leſs than twenty

leſs than fifty thouſand perſons were taken priſoners by Heraclius, who, when he found it impracticable to maintain them, firſt diſtributed amongſt them all that could be poſſibly ſpared them, and then gave them their liberties, whereby he gained great reputation. Choſroes now found it neceſſary to exert his utmoſt ſtrength, and having in the winter gathered as great a number of forces as he poſſibly could, he ſent them under the command of Sarablagas and Perozites, two of his beſt

twenty years, after it had been carried to a greater height by Choſroes the ſecond, than it had ever attained ſince the demiſe of Alexander the Great. A little attention, however, to the facts preceding this deſtruction of the Perſian empire, will lead us to a ſatisfactory account of its cauſes. From the death of Choſroes the Great the minds of the people had never been thoroughly ſettled. At the very beginning of the reign of Hormiſdas, they were prejudiced againſt his government by the ſtrange meaſures he took, and the infamous company of diviners, ſorcerers, and necromancers, that he kept about him. During the time that Varamus was at the head of affairs, who, by the way, is by ſome authors reckoned one of the kings of Perſia, things went ſtill in a worſe channel. His title to the crown was very indifferent; and therefore, to ſupport it, he firſt laviſhed immenſe ſums among the nobles; but finding this method unſucceſsful, he had recourſe to its contrary; that is to ſay, he oppreſſed the nobility, and turned the ſtreams of his bounty on the loweſt ſort of people. This anſwered his purpoſe better; but it made the condition of the Perſians much worſe, by ſpreading the poiſon of corruption through the maſs of the people. The ſeverity of Choſroes, or rather his cruelty, kept up a conſtant ſpirit of diſaffection, which all his numerous conqueſts could not allay; though theſe ſerved to waſte his veteran troops, and to exhauſt Perſia of able men, to ſuch a degree, that it was with great difficulty, and not without having recourſe to the harſheſt methods, that he ſet armies on foot, ſufficient to ſtruggle with the Romans, as he did; and yet theſe ſtruggles put the laſt hand to the exhauſting of Perſia, and left it in a deplorable condition, when Siroes came to the crown. If that prince had lived, he would, in all probability, have reſtored the luſtre of the Perſian diadem. As it was, he only procured recruits, by the exchange of priſoners, ſufficient to keep up ſuch an army, as enabled his general to deſtroy his family, and to ſeal the ruin of his empire. The laſt monarch had viſibly no force capable of oppoſing the mighty armies of the Saracens; therefore we muſt look on the battles he fought as the laſt efforts of a languiſhing people. From whence it follows, that though they might be briſk and vigorous, yet they could not be either laſting or effectual.

best general officers, into Albania. He likewise took care to recruit his other army in Armenia, and when he understood that the emperor Heraclius was determined to penetrate into the Persian dominions, he sent orders to his forces in Armenia to advance behind the Romans, as they pressed upon the grand army in Albania. This scheme, as it was well contrived, so it was also faithfully and exactly executed; insomuch, that the emperor found himself in the deepest distress, and in all probability would have perished with all his army, if the Persian generals had not been jealous of each other, which tempted them to engage the Romans separately; an act of rashness so apparent, that it revived the drooping courage of Heraclius's soldiers, and was the chief cause of gaining such a victory, as left not a Persian officer of distinction at liberty; so that Heraclius was forced to release one of his prisoners to carry the news of the defeat. After this the inhabitants of Albania rose upon the Persians, so that they were obliged totally to abandon Albania, where the Romans wintered [h].

Makes new efforts to no purpose.

The two succeeding years the war was carried on in the same way, and with the same success; that is to say, Chosroes made prodigious efforts, which yet were altogether ineffectual, or rather served to encrease the power and reputation of Heraclius, who was alike successful in pitched battles and in long and painful expeditions. For his soldiers, flushed with conquests, and fully persuaded that victory attended them on account of the justice of their cause and the strictness of their discipline, made no scruple of undertaking whatever the emperor commanded. In this manner he penetrated into Assyria, passed the river Euphrates and Tigris, after routing several times the Persian armies, which endeavoured to obstruct his passage. In the mean time, Chosroes abated nothing either of his cruelty, or of his haughtiness. The christian churches he plundered throughout his dominions, and compelled all such of his subjects as had embraced the faith to profess themselves Nestorians. He exhausted likewise all his provinces, in order to form new armies to oppose Heraclius, who defeated them as soon as he met them in the field, proceeding so rapidly in his conquests, that Chosroes saw himself obliged to abandon two of his palaces, burning the

[h] Theophan. chronogr. p. 263. Gregor. Abul-Pharr. histor. dynast. viii. p. 158. Cedren. Zonar. &c.

the rich furniture he could not carry away, and with his wives and concubines to fly at firſt to Cteſiphon, and then to Seleucia. There he received intelligence, that his general Sarbaras correſponded with the Romans; which though a calumny, he eaſily gave into, and, in conſequence thereof, diſpatched orders to his collegue then before Chalcedon to put him to death, and to march his army back into Perſia. The courier, who carried this order, being taken by the emperor's party, they opened his letters, and, having read them, ſent them to the general, who was intended to be cut off. He by interpolating theſe orders, ſignified the pleaſure of Choſroes, that four hundred officers of diſtinction ſhould be put to death with him, and then cauſed them to be delivered to his collegue. On reading theſe diſpatches, the whole army was in a tumult, and great numbers began openly to cry out, that Choſroes, was unworthy to reign. Among theſe, Gundabunas, a principal officer, made the greateſt figure; who, to ſecure himſelf from the reſentment of ſo blood-thirſty a prince, retired with a conſiderable body of men to the camp of the emperor, where he remained in ſafety [i].

Attempts to alter the ſucceſſion, and is depoſed.

AGE, fatigue, and ſorrow, having by this time much weakened Choſroes, he began to think of ſettling the ſucceſſion; but, as he had ever acted on very odd principles, ſo now, out of ſome pique to his eldeſt ſon Siroes, he determined to transfer the crown to Merdaſas, the youngeſt of his ſons. This ſcheme of his could not be long kept a ſecret, and therefore, as ſoon as it reached the ears of Siroes, he immediately projected to hinder it from being carried into execution. With this view he entered inro a correſpondence with Gundabunas, who, as was obſerved, remained in the emperor's camp with a body of Perſian troops. The iſſue of this negotiation was, that application was made to the emperor Heraclius to encreaſe the forces under the command of Gundabunas, by ſetting at liberty the Perſian priſoners, on a promiſe, that Siroes would inſtantly put himſelf at the head of that army, and march againſt his father. This propoſition was no ſooner made than accepted; and, as all the parties concerned therein were

[i] Theophan.chronogr. p. 264. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra. Zonar. &c.

were alike intereſted in its ſpeedy execution, all things were quickly ready, and Siroes in a condition to perform his part of the agreement, which he did very effectually. As for Choſroes, his tyranny had rendered him ſo hateful, that, as he wanted an army to ſupport him, he was not only diſappointed in its fidelity, but alſo found himſelf ſo deſtitute of friends, that to eſcape appeared as impracticable as to reſiſt. In a word, he was ſeized by his own ſoldiers, impriſoned, and depoſed by his own ſon, when he had reigned thirty-nine years. We ſhall quickly ſee, that theſe were but the beginnings of his misfortunes [k].

Siroes. Year of Chriſt 626.

SIROES, having aſſumed the regal dignity, during the life-time of his father, and while he was a priſoner, as his father had done in prejudice to his father Hormiſdas, began inſtantly to endeavour the rectifying of thoſe miſcarriages, which had brought the flouriſhing kingdom of Perſia into ſo miſerable a condition. In the firſt place he ordered his father ſhould have his legs, arms, and neck, loaded with chains, and that he ſhould be expoſed in the dungeon, where he lay to all the ſcoffs and inſults of an incenſed unthinking populace. Theſe, forgetting the indelible majeſty of kings, upbraided him with his inſatiable avarice, reproached him with his preſent abject condition, telling him, that, as he had acted like the common enemy of mankind, and the peculiar curſe of the Perſian people, he now juſtly taſted that bitter cup, of which he had made whole nations drink, and was deſervedly degraded from a throne to a dungeon, who, while he ſat on his throne, had filled all the dungeons in his dominions. Five days he languiſhed in this miſerable way, having only bread and water allowed him for a ſubſiſtance; then his beloved ſon Merdaſas, whom he would have raiſed to the throne in prejudice to Siroes, was put to death before his face, together with his other ſons. After all this and ſuſtaining a freſh load of indignities, Siroes gave orders that he ſhould be ſhot with arrows, and left to expire of his wounds [l]. Of all theſe ſeverities, as well as of the cruel death of his father, Siroes adviſed the emperor Heraclius by letter, deſiring his friendſhip, and that the league between their empires might be perpetual. As a proof of his ſincerity in all his promiſes

[k] Theophan. chronogr. p. 272. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra. Cedren. Glyc. &c. [l] Theophanes chronogr. ubi ſupra. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra. Cedren. Zonar. &c.

promiſes, he ſet the patriarch of Jeruſalem, Zacharias, at liberty, and ſent him, together with the holy croſs, back into Paleſtine, well attended with rich preſents. On the other hand, Heraclius received the Perſian embaſſadors with great kindneſs, and readily embraced the peace offered him by their maſter. The next year, in conſequence of this league, all the Perſians, who were priſoners in any part of the Roman dominions, were ſet at liberty; and notwithſtanding they were many thouſands in number, yet in their return to their own country, no ill accident happened; ſo ſoon were thoſe nations reconciled, who were inveterate enemies ſo long. But as there is not any thing ſo precarious as human happineſs, while on the one hand the Romans, and the other the Perſians, promiſed themſelves nothing but peace, plenty, and mutual good offices, from the union which ſubſiſted between their princes; all their hopes were blaſted by the death of Siroes, when he had reigned little more than a year, and had ſcarce effaced by his mildneſs towards his ſubjects, the terror ariſing from his unnatural treatment of his father.[m]

ARDESER the ſon of Siroes, according to the Greek writers, ſucceeded his father. They might as well have called him Artaxerxes, ſince the name they give him is only a corruption of that Perſian appellation, which the antient Greeks, to accommodate it to their own way of ſpeaking, changed into Artaxerxes. We may be indulged this criticiſm on names, where we have little to ſay of things. This hapleſs prince was but ſeven years old when he was ſet upon a throne, where he remained but ſeven months, before he was barbarouſly murdered by the command of Sarbarazas, who had commanded the armies of Choſroes his grandfather. This ambitious man had ſtill the chief command of the troops, when Siroes died. He thereupon pretended a right of being conſulted, before the ſon of his maſter was exalted to the throne of his anceſtors; and on this ſlight foundation rebelled againſt the child, ſlew him, and ſeated himſelf in his place[n].

Ardeſer or Arheſyr. Year of Chriſt 627.

SARBARAZAS, or, as ſome authors call him, Sarbaras, having ſeized the diadem ſtained with blood, found himſelf immediately involved in new crimes to keep it on his head

Sarbarazas and Bornarim. Year of Chriſt, 628.

[m] Theophan. chronogr. p. 273. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra. Glyc. &c.

[n] Theophan. chronogr. ubi ſupra. Zonar. Cedren. Glyc. &c.

head. An oppoſite faction had ſet up Bornarim, a prince of the blood-royal, who for ſix or ſeven months had the ſhadow of royalty, and then loſt it, together with his life, leaving the throne once more empty to this Sarbarazas. He held it now about ſix months, but always in fear, the friends of the royal family, and eſpecially a ſiſter of the deceaſed Artaxerxes, endeavouring, all that in their power lay, to diſturb his reign. Theſe contrivances broke at laſt out into ſeveral inſurrections, till the flame of civil war catched almoſt every province in the kingdom, and all Perſia began to ſwim with the blood of its inhabitants. This opened the eyes of the nobility, who now clearly ſaw that peace could never be reſtored whilſt this uſurper lived. They therefore made choice of the nephew of Siroes, the ſon of the only one of his brothers, who eſcaped his rage, when he put his father to death; and having once determined to raiſe the young prince to the throne, they opened him a paſſage to it by the death of Sarbarazas, the implacable enemy of his family [o].

Iſdigertes. Year of Chriſt, 630.

HORMISDAS, or, as moſt writers call him, Iſdigertes, was by this means raiſed to the regal dignity, as well by the free election of the people, as in conſequence of his right of deſcent. He did not, however, enjoy the kingdom long, I may ſay, ſcarce at all, in quiet; for by the ſame time that the domeſtic ſtirs of the late factions in Perſia were thoroughly quelled, he found a new and moſt formidable enemy ready to over-run his country. Theſe were the Saracens under the conduct of the ſucceſſors of Mohammed. We ſhall elſewhere treat expreſly of theſe people, their religion, government, and exploits. At preſent, we ſhall only remark on ſuch circumſtances of their affairs, as have a connection with their conqueſt of Perſia, concerning which we have very different accounts from the ſeveral Greek writers, who have mentioned it. Some report, that the emperor Heraclius had a great body of Saracens in his army, when he invaded the Perſian dominions; and that after the peace was made, they, on their return home, inflamed their countrymen with a deſire of making themſelves maſters of ſo pleaſant a country, as this of Perſia was repreſented to be Others affirm, that Mohammed

[o] Theophan. chronogr. p. 275. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi ſupra.

hammed himſelf, when he was thoroughly ſettled in his principality, made an irruption into Perſia in the days of Choſroes; but that this monarch, with the aſſiſtance of the Turks, totally defeated the Saracen army, after a very long and very obſtinate engagement, which ſo far broke their ſpirits, that they did not renew the war till now. But the general opinion is, that the Saracens did not invade Perſia till after the reduction of Jeruſalem, and that then the war laſted ſome time, and with variety of ſucceſs. Some authors repreſent Hormiſdas, or Iſdigertes, as an effeminate and indolent prince, while others again aſſert, that he defended his country with the utmoſt intrepidity, till after various defeats the ſpirits of the Perſians were entirely broken; nay, ſome ſay, that he was himſelf killed in the field. However, there appears to be no juſt cauſe for cenſuring either the courage or conduct of this prince, unleſs it was criminal in him to be unfortunate. He was the laſt of the line of Artaxerxes, who ſat upon the Perſian throne; and with him fell that empire, which had ſubſiſted with ſo much glory for upwards of four hundred years [P] (F).

THE total ſubverſion of ſo great a monarchy in ſo ſhort a ſpace muſt appear ſomewhat wonderful in our eyes, who are

[P] Theophan. chronogr. p. 278. Cedren. Zonar. &c.

(F) As, at the opening of this period, we endeavoured in a note to point out the advantages the reader would receive from the method purſued therein, ſo we judged it neceſſary to cloſe it, by briefly exhibiting a view of thoſe deficiencies, which have made the following ſection, not only expedient, but neceſſary. In the firſt place, as we have confined ourſelves therein to the materials furniſhed us by the Greek authors, the reader muſt neceſſarily obſerve many wide chaſms in the narration, occaſioned either by the ignorance or careleſſneſs of the Greek hiſtorians, as to ſuch affairs of their neighbours, as did not immediately concern themſelves. Secondly, the judicious peruſer muſt have obſerved very imperfect accounts of very important tranſactions, and not a few, which carry in themſelves the ſtrongeſt appearances of falſhood. Theſe defects flow from the ſame cauſe, and there was a neceſſity of ſuffering this part of the hiſtory to appear in this dreſs, that the reader might know in what light the Greek writers ſet theſe tranſactions. Thirdly, the proper names, titles of honour, wars, and conqueſts of the Perſians, are ſo diſfigured by the miſtakes of the authors, from whom we were obliged to take

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are accustomed to see provinces defended for a much longer time, than was taken up by the Saracens in the conquest of Persia; but we ought to consider, that the successors of Mohammed led vast armies of a needy starving people, who fought for new habitations, and who easily settled themselves in the countries they subdued. In this empire of Persia especially, they had no sooner defeated Isdigertes, than they began immediately to canton out his dominions, and to make as exact a survey of them, as the Conqueror did of our country, when he framed what we call the doom's day book; such a record, and for the same purposes, being taken here. Besides, the Persian prince, as the best authors assure us, though he laid aside the ensigns of majesty, after the great defeat he had received, yet he sheltered himself in one of the distant provinces of his empire, and died there about the year 640 or 642. As to the condition of the native Persians since, we need not wonder that it hath been always very abject and depressed, since nothing can be more visible, than that it hath been the chief maxim among all Mohammedan conquerors, without exception, to break the spirits, and exhaust the substance of the natives of all the countries which fall under their dominion. This they were particularly led to do in Persia, on account of the differences in religion between them and the natives. At this time the Saracens were not only rude and barbarous, but a furious and enthusiastic people; they were therefore incapable of distinguishing the true doctrines of the magian sect, or of reclaiming, by gentle means, those whom they conceived to be idolaters. They therefore persecuted the natives through a misguided zeal, and, having stamped on them opprobrious names, transmitted to their posterity the same brutal disposition which they had exercised themselves, as will be shewn in the following, and several other sections.

our accounts, that, if we had published them alone, they must have tended, rather to the propagating of error, than of knowledge; since it is better to know nothing, than to apprehend we know what we know not. All these deficiencies, misrepresentations, and mistakes, will be supplied and corrected in the following history; which will effectually demonstrate the great use of studying the oriental writers, hitherto much neglected, and, which is stranger, still despised amongst us.

SECT.

SECT. I.

The hiſtory of the Perſians, from their recovering the empire to their being ſubdued by the Arabs.

According to the oriental hiſtorians.

THE wide difference there is between the hiſtories of the eaſtern nations, as written by European authors and by their own, obliged us originally to diſtinguiſh the hiſtory of Perſia into two ſections; the firſt, according to the former; the ſecond, conſonant to the memoirs furniſhed us by the latter. When we laſt treated of this ſubject from the oriental authors, we ended with the conqueſt of the Perſian dominions by Eſcander, or Alexander the Great [a]. In order therefore to connect this period with that, it is neceſſary, previous to our account of the kings, who ſucceeded Ardſhir-Babegan or Artaxares, to ſpeak of thoſe who reigned in the intermediate ſpace, between the death of Alexander and the acceſſion of the before-mentioned Artaxares. The former part of our hiſtory contained the ſucceſſion of the Perſian kings of the two firſt dynaſties, and the third dynaſty is called by the oriental writers Molouk-al-Thaouaif, i. e. The kings of the nations. In order to have a juſt idea of the ſenſe and meaning of this term, we muſt obſerve, that the word Molouk ſignifies kings, and that all the oriental hiſtorians aſſure us, there were in the courts of the antient kings of Perſia Aulak-Molouk-Fars, i. e. Children of the Perſian kings, or princes of the blood, who were honoured with the chief governments, and, when they reſided in them, lived like princes. When therefore the captains of Alexander the Great cantoned all his conqueſts among themſelves

[a] See the hiſtory of the Perſians, according to the oriental writers, in the Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. V.

ſelves, and ſet themſelves up for ſo many independent princes, the eaſtern writers gave to this new race of monarchs the general title of Molouk al Thaouaif, or kings of the nations [b]. Some, however, of the Perſian writers incline rather to call this the dynaſty of the viziers, and it muſt be allowed, that it is by far the darkeſt and leaſt intelligible period of the Perſian hiſtory, according to the orientals. This, however, is no reaſon, that, like ſome modern hiſtorians, we ſhould hurry over it, and leave it juſt as dark as we found it. Had the great men of the laſt century been of this lazy diſpoſition, all antient, nay, and all modern, hiſtory had been a chaos. But to proceed; ſome of the writers of the Perſian hiſtory ſplit this dynaſty into two, and conſequently call them the third and fourth dynaſties of the Perſian kings: the firſt they diſtinguiſh by the name of Aſchkaniens: the latter, by that of Aſchganides [c]. To the firſt they allowed twelve kings, who, according to them, reigned altogether one hundred and ſixty-five years. Of the ſecond race, they ſay, there were eight kings, and that they reigned altogether one hundred and fifty years. The truth ſeems to be, that theſe two dynaſties were invented to fill up the time between the death of Alexander and the commencement of the fifth dynaſty. Our opinion therefore is, that the Aſchkaniens and Aſchganides are in fact one and the ſame ſucceſſion, and no other than that called by the Latin writers Arſacidæ; Aſchek, whom the eaſtern writers make the firſt monarch of this houſe, being, as we believe, no other than Arſaces the firſt of the Parthian kings. But as the proof of this propoſition, and the ſhorteſt detail poſſible of the princes of this family, would exceedingly embarraſs the thread of our narration, the reader will find what we have farther to ſay on this point in a note. In the mean time, we will paſs on to the proper ſubject of this ſection, the hiſtory of the fourth dynaſty of the Perſian kings, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Saſſaniens (A). war

[b] Mirkhond. ſect. xxii. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. tit. Molouk al Thaouaif. Schikard. tarich. p. 102.

[c] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. tit. Aſchkaniens.

(A) The deſign of this note is to give a ſhort account of the Parthian kingdom from the oriental hiſtorians. Previous to this, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that though it is an error of a very old date, and an error univerſally embraced by all the Latin and Greek

A TABLE of the fourth dynaſty of the Perſian kings called Saſſaniens or Khoſronians, according to the Perſian hiſtorian Khondemir.

I. Ardeſchir Ben Babek or Babegan, who reigned fourteen years after the defeat of Ardevan, the laſt king of the third dynaſty.
II. Schabour Ben Ardeſchir, who reigned thirty-one years.
III. Hormouz Ben Schabour, who alſo reigned thirty-one years.

Greek writers, yet it is ſtill an error, to ſuppoſe that there was any real diſtinction between the Parthians and the Perſians. Therefore, notwithſtanding the titles of the three laſt ſections, in which, for the ſake of conforming to the received hiſtory of theſe times, we have admitted this diſtinction, yet here we give our readers notice, that it is groundleſs in itſelf, and took birth from the ignornace of the weſtern writers, who would make diſtinct kingdoms of two provinces in the ſame kingdom.

Khondemir, the Perſian hiſtorian, very wiſely makes but one dynaſty of the kings who ſucceeded after Alexander to the ſucceſſion of Artaxares. The firſt of theſe was Aſchek, or rather Arſchak, who is the ſame with Arſaces. He is ſaid to have been deſcended from Darius the laſt king of Perſia, and to have taken thence his claim to the throne. He revolted therefore from Antiochus, whom the oriental writers call Anthakaſh, or rather from the Seleucidæ his ſucceſſors, about the year 248 before Chriſt, in the third year of the hundred and thirty-ſecond olympiad, and from the building of Rome the five hundred and third.

To him ſucceeded Aſchek the ſecond, whom the Greeks alſo called Arſaces; but how long he reigned, we find not.

Schabour ſucceeded his father Aſchek, and was the firſt of that name who governed Perſia. He was ſurnamed Padiſchabi Buzurk, that is, The great king, becauſe he recovered the treaſures of the antient Perſian monarchs from the Greeks, and brought them back to the royal palaces at Suſa and Perſepolis. He reigned fifteen years, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon

Baharam I. This word is properly the name of the planet we call Mars. The monarch of whom we ſpeak ruled eleven years, and then left the throne to be filled by

Balas. He governed eleven years likewiſe, and was ſucceeded by

Firouz, which, in the Perſian language, ſignifies, good luck, or victory. He was a very gallant prince, and we meet with various particulars relating to his reign in the eaſtern hiſtories. Of theſe the moſt remarkable is, his diſcovering, as he was

hunting

IV. Baharam Ben Hormouz, who reigned three years and three months.
V. Baharam Ben Baharam, who reigned ſeventy years.
VI. Baharam Ben Baharam, Ben Baharam, who reigned thirty years and four months.
VII. Narſi Ben Baharam, who reigned nine years.
VIII. Hormouz Ben Narſi reigned ſeven years and five months.
IX. Schabour Dhoulakthaf, who reigned ſeventy-two years.
X. Ardeſchir, grandſon to Hormouz Ben Narſi, who reigned four years.
XI. Schabour Ben Schabour Dhoulakthaf, who reigned near five years.
XII. Ba-

hraing, a cave, wherein Feridoun, one of the antient Perſian monarchs, had buried a great quantity of gold and ſilver, which Ferouz took from thence, and made uſe of in paying his ſoldiers. He held the kingdom nineteen years, and then left it to his brother

Narſi or Narſes, a warlike prince, who made very conſiderable conqueſts on the ſide of Tartary. He held the ſceptre fourteen years, and then tranſmitted it to his nephew

Ferouz II. Who was the ſon of Ferouz I. who, after governing ſeventeen years, incurred ſome way or other the diſpleaſure of his ſubjects, and loſt his life by a conſpiracy. To him ſucceeded his ſon

Balas II. Of whom we find nothing remarkable; only we are told, that he reigned twelve years. He had for his ſucceſſor

Ardevan, whom the Latins and Greeks call Artabanus. Some writers, as we apprehend, give this prince the title of Khoſrou, which, amongſt the Perſian princes, was both a proper name and a ſirname; whence there ſprung great confuſion. This prince governed thirteen years, and by ſuch of the oriental hiſtorians as divide the ſucceſſors of Alexander into two dynaſties, he is held to be the laſt of the firſt. He was ſucceeded by

Aſchek III. but how long he governed is uncertain. Some authors report, that he was deſcended from the antient kings of the ſecond dynaſty. There are others, however, who affirm, that he was of the ſame family with his predeceſſors, who, inſtead of Parthians, were Armenians by birth, and only made choice of Parthia for the ſeat of their empire, becauſe it was in the heart of their dominions. After him reigned

Choſroes II. his ſon, who governed the empire for twelve years in peace. The eaſtern writers place the birth of our Saviour under his reign. He was ſucceeded by

Balas

XII. Baharam Ben Schabour, ſirnamed Kerman Schab, who reigned thirteen years.
XIII. Jezdegerd, Al Athim, or the Wicked, who reigned twenty-one years.
XIV. Baharam Gour Ben Jezdegerd, who reigned twenthree years.
XV. Jezdegerd Ben Baharam Gour, who reigned eighteen years.
XVI. Hormouz Ben Jezdegerd, who reigned one year.
XVII. Firouz the brother of Hormouz, who reigned twenty-eight or thirty yeárs.
XVIII. Balaſch Ben Firouz, who reigned ſomewhat leſs than fourteen years.
XIX. Cobad Ben Ferouz, who reigned forty-three years.
XX. Nouſchirvan Ben Cobad, who reigned forty-eight years.

 XXI. Hor-

Balas III. his ſon, or his grandſon, the time of whoſe reign is uncertain; but he left his throne to his ſon

Gudarez, who performed nothing of note, but, after reigning twenty-one years, left the throne vacant to his ſon Narſi or Narſes the ſecond.

This Narſes II. was a very warlike prince, and made great conqueſts in Khoraſſan, governed with great reputation twenty years, and then left the crown to

Narſes III. who reigned ten years, and extended his father's conqueſts. He was ſucceeded by

Ardevan II. who governed long, and in whoſe days idolatry, or rather polytheiſm, after the Greek manner, became the prevailing religion of the eaſt. He is ſaid to have had for his ſucceſſor

Ardevan III. who, after a reign of twenty-three years, was defeated and ſlain, as we have ſhewn in the text, by Ardſchir Barbegan (1). To have attempted the reconciling all theſe names and dates to the accounts given us by the Greek and Latin writers, would have required a volume, and perhaps nothing of certainty would have reſulted from ſuch an attempt at laſt. A very learned German hath taken a great deal of pains in this way, whoſe work the inquiſitive may conſult (2). Our buſineſs was to make this note an introduction to the following hiſtory, by connecting it to the laſt period of the Perſian affairs, according to the oriental writers; and this being effected, our end is anſwered.

(1) Khondemir, Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. Art. Molouk, Thaouaif, Aſchkaniens, &c.

(2) Tarich. i. e. Series Regum Perſiæ, &c. Auctore W. Schikardo, 4to. Tubingæ A. D. 1628.

XXI. Hormouz Ben Nouſchirvan, who reigned twelve years.

Baharam Tchoubin, who held the ſovereign power ſome years, and is therefore by ſome reckoned among the kings.

XXII. Khoſrou Perviz Ben Hormouz, who reigned thirty-two years.

XXIII. Schirouieh Ben Khoſrou Parviz reigned ſix or eight months. There is a tradition in the eaſt, that parricides, ſuch as this king was, ſurvive not their parents above ſix months.

XXIV. Ardeſchir Ben Schirouieh, who reigned one year and ſix months.

XXV. Scheheriar, who was not of the royal family. He reigned two years and twenty days.

XXVI. Touran Dokht Benat Khoſrou Parviz, who reigned but two months.

XXVII. Azurmi Dokht, ſiſter to the laſt-mentioned king, who reigned one year and four months.

XXVIII. Farakhzad Ben Khoſrou, who reigned only one month.

XXIX. Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar, Ben Khoſrou Parviz, who according to ſome writers, reigned twenty years, and was the laſt king of this dynaſty [d].

THOUGH we have followed Khondemir exactly in this table of the Perſian kings, yet we do not conceive ourſelves bound to ſubmit always to his authority in our ſubſequent hiſtory. We followed him in the table, becauſe he is more conſiſtent and exact in his liſt of kings than any other writer; but in reſpect of facts, we muſt take the liberty of diſſenting from him, as often as probability and better authority than his ſhall require it. This being premiſed, we proceed to ſpeak of theſe kings, and of the principal tranſactions in their reigns, according to the order in which they are placed above.

ARDSCHIR, or rather, according to our orthography, Ardſhir Babegan, was the grandſon of Saſſan, the brother of a certain queen of Perſia, who, ſeeing himſelf excluded from the throne, and being a little apprehenſive that his life was not perfectly ſafe, thought fit to travel; and, having ſpent many years abroad

Ardſhir Babegan.

[d] Khondemir in Khelaſſat Alakhbar.

abroad, died at laſt in exile, and left among other children the father of this Ardſhir, who having a curioſity to ſee his native country, returned thither privately, and entered into the ſervice of Babec, who was governor of a province for Ardavan, or, as the Greeks call him, Artabanus, the laſt monarch of the Parthians. This nobleman, after ſome time, perceiving in this youth the evident tokens of an extraordinary genius, reſolved to fix him in his family, and with that view gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had Ardſhir, who, in gratitude to his mother's family, took the ſirname of Babegan.

His adventures at the court of Ardavan.

He was educated by his grandfather with great care, in all the learning of the Perſians, and was alſo taught by his father all the exerciſes becoming a perſon of quality; and being equally aſſiduous in acquiring both, he became, while a very youth, the wonder of the province; and in fine, was ſo much talked of, that his fame reached the ears of Ardavan, who ſent for him to court, where he became ſo highly in his favour, that he ordered him to remain conſtantly about the young princes his ſons, and ſeemed to love him as tenderly as he did them. One day, however, when the young princes went a hunting, Ardavan followed them privately, that he might have a better opportunity of obſerving their behaviour; and having by this means an occaſion of ſeeing how much they were excelled in horſemanſhip and archery, as well as in ſtrength and gracefulneſs, by their companion Ardſhir, he from that moment entertained a jealouſy of him, and determined within himſelf to remove him from court, by beſtowing upon him ſome office, which ſhould require his conſtant attendance. Accordingly, he gave him the command of his forces in a diſtant province, whither he went immediately, and remained there till ſuch time as he was informed of the death of his grandfather Babec, which made him return to court, in hopes of procuring his government. Ardavan, far from liſtening to his entreaties, immediately beſtowed it upon the prince his eldeſt ſon.

His flight from thence

This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the king was much diſturbed by a dream, and on conſulting the moſt eminent diviners in his court, they told him, it portended, that a certain fugitive from his court would deprive him of his live and crown. It ſo fell out, that there was in the king's ſerail a lady, who was paſſionately in love with Ardſhir, and ſhe, being apprehenſive that this interpretation might be fatal to him, imme-

diately gave him notice of it, upon which he inſtantly retired with all imaginable ſecrecy. His flight alarmed the king, who never thought of him before; but it was too late, for Ardſhir was gone into Perſia Proper, the province of which his grandfather had been governor. He was met at the city Eſthechar, or Perſepolis, by a croud of the nobility of the province, who were all devoted to his family, and who readily offered him their ſervice in any thing he deſired. In all probability, the interpretation of the king's dream was what firſt put it into the head of Ardſhir to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his anceſtors; wherefore taking council from ambition on the one hand, and a juſt ſenſe of the extreme danger he was in on the other, Ardſhir began to ſet before the eyes of the Perſian nobility the advantages that would accrue to them from an entire revolution, and he was ſo fortunate in his applications as to bring them over entirely to his intereſt. From the moment he entered the province, the young prince, who was governor of it, conceived a jealouſy of him; but before he could get any thorough information of his deſigns, Ardſhir took the field with a conſiderable army. The prince preſently drew together ſuch of his father's forces as remained faithful, in order to oppoſe him; but after ſeveral engagements, there happened at laſt one which was deciſive; his army being totally defeated, and the prince himſelf ſlain upon the ſpot. The like fate ſoon after befel Ardavan himſelf, who, entering the province of Fars with all the forces of his empire, was there preſently defeated and ſlain by the victorious Ardſhir, who thereupon immediately aſſumed the regal dignity, and ſoon after the ſwelling title of Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings [e].

Acquires a ſon and ſucceſſor by the prudence of his vizier.

THIS monarch, in the beginning of his reign, very artfully tempered the ſeverity of a conqueror with the mildneſs of a natural prince. Where-ever he found reſiſtance, he deſtroyed it by the ſword; but to ſuch as ſubmitted to his government, he ſhewed all imaginable kindneſs, without any reſpect of perſons. On this account he ſpared all the family of Ardavan; and, to do them ſtill greater pleaſure, he married the eldeſt daughter of that prince. This lady, however, conceived ſuch a hatred towards him, for depriving her family of the empire, that within a very ſhort ſpace

[e] Tarikh Kozideh & Bina Kiti ap. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ſect, xxiv. Gregor. Abul-Phar. H. D. dynaſt. vii. p. 126.

ſpace after her marriage, ſhe attempted to poiſon him, in order to ſet the imperial crown on her brother's head. Being detected in the fact, Ardſhir gave orders to his prime miniſter to cauſe her to be put to death. When he came to acquaint the unhappy lady with her ſentence, ſhe told him ſhe was with child; upon which the miniſter, without acquainting his maſter, concealed her privately, and cauſed the ſon of which ſhe was delivered to be brought up with the utmoſt care, giving him the name of Schabour, i. e. king's ſon, the ſame name as the Greek Sapor. The vizier waited a long time for a favourable opportunity of breaking this ſecret to his maſter. At length obſerving the king to be one day in high good humour, after exerciſing on horſeback with many of the nobility, he brought forth the young prince, introduced him to his father, and, not without ſome apprehenſion, entered into the whole detail of his preſervation. Ardſhir, on the other hand, received the young prince with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and, after reflecting ſeverely on himſelf for his raſhneſs, highly commended the prudence of his miniſter; and, having cauſed Schabour to be conducted to the palace, declared him not long after his heir, and took all imaginable pains to inſtruct him in the arts of government [f].

His character as a legiſlator.

THE Oriental hiſtorians agree in affirming, that the character of Ardſhir was that of a complete hero; one no leſs diſtinguiſhed for knowledge and virtue, than for valour and military ſkill. From the moment he was ſeated on his throne, he conceived the important deſign of reſtoring all the dominions which had belonged to his predeceſſors in the Perſian throne. By arms he recovered large provinces from all his neighbours; and, when he had recovered them, he took care to make the people very ſenſible of the difference between his government and that which they had been under before. He erected new cities, where-ever he found inviting ſituations; he fortified all the conſiderable towns on his frontiers; he divided the inhabitants of his empire into ſeveral claſſes or tribes, according to their profeſſions, and not only appointed magiſtrates to govern them, but alſo counſellors, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct them in their true intereſt, to procure for them the redreſs of their grievances, as alſo ſuch grants and privileges as might be for their ſervice. Ardſhir likewiſe rebated the edge of the law

[f] Lebtarikh.

law, taking away the exceſſive uſe of capital puniſhments, in order to make way for milder chaſtiſements, purſuant to a maxim frequently in his mouth, "That the ſword was never "to be employed where the cane might do as well." But the greateſt of his performances as a law-giver was in the literary way. He compoſed a book, intitled, Adab alaiſch, i. e. Rules for attaining a happy life. In this treatiſe he laid down the maxims neceſſary to conduct a man in every ſtation, from that of a monarch to that of a mechanic; and this he did with ſuch penetration and perſpicuity, that Nouſchirvan, the wiſeſt and greateſt of his ſucceſſors, cauſed this book to be ſolemnly publiſhed throughout all his territories, obliging every family in Perſia to have a copy thereof [g] (B).

THE

[g] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Raoudhat.al Akhiar.

(B) The true orthography of this prince's name is, Ardeſchir Bâbecân. The reaſon we have not writ it ſo in the text, is this; all the authorities that we have quoted make uſe of that manner of ſpelling which is inſerted therein, and which conſequently became neceſſary in our text. He was not only the reſtorer of the Perſian monarchy in reſpect to its civil concerns, by aſſuming the antient title, following the antient cuſtoms, and laying claim to all the dominions of the antient kings; but he was likewiſe ſo in reſpect to the religion of the Perſians, which by this time, was miſerably corrupted. For the purging out all idolatry and ſuperſtition, the king ſummoned a general council of all the wiſe men in his kingdom; the number of theſe was forty thouſand. Out of theſe were ſelected four thouſand; from theſe four hundred; from them forty; and from theſe ſeven. Among theſe was a young man, whoſe name was Erdâvirâph, of unſpotted reputation, and perfectly verſed in the writings of Zerdûſht. This man, having drank three glaſſes of a certain odoriferous wine, remained, in the preſence of the king and of the other ſix learned men, ſeven nights and days in an ecſtaſy or trance. Then riſing up, he dictated to a ſecretary all that he had ſeen in his viſion, and a very large recapitulation of the magian faith. This miracle, or pretended miracle, wrought ſo ſtrongly on king Ardſchir, that he immediately cancelled all the laws which had been made from the time of Alexander the great in favour of idolatry or polytheiſm, and fully re-eſtabliſhed the religion of Zerdûſht. This, as the reader will perceive by our quotations, we have from the very beſt authorities among the eaſtern writers (3). It is, however, very ſingular and worthy of obſervation, that

(3) Vide lib. cui titul. Erdâvirâph-nâma Shahnâma-neſr.

THE wiſdom, moderation, and ſucceſs of Ardſhir Babegan, as they made him almoſt adored by his ſubjects in his life-time, ſo they cauſed his character to be regarded as a model by thoſe who ſucceeded him in his throne, which he left vacant, after a reign of fourteen years. A certain hiſtorian ſays, he reigned forty; but, if any regard be paid to his aſſertion, we muſt ſuppoſe that term to commence from his firſt taking up arms againſt Ardavan; whereas moſt of the hiſtorians reckon, as they ought to do, from his acceſſion to the throne on the defeat and death of that prince [h].

He dies in peace and glory.

SCHABOUR

[h] Lebtarikh.

that a Rabbinical writer alſo hath conſerved the memory of this very fact: "Orſchir, the ſon of Bábec, the firſt prince of that "family, cauſed it to be proclaimed thoughout all Perſia, that "he had taken away the ſword of Ariſtotle the philoſopher, "which had devoured the inhabitants of that empire five hun-"dred years (4)." By the ſword of Ariſtotle are to be underſtood the political maxims of Alexander and his ſucceſſors, which, by this reformation, Ardſchir thoroughly extinguiſhed; and on this account the Oriental writers attribute to him the ſubverſion of the third dynaſty, which they called Molouck Thaouaif, i. e. the kings of the nations; becauſe tho' the Arſacidæ were Perſians, yet they adhered to the Macedonian maxims, and ſuffered all the petty princes, to whom Alexander had given dominions, to retain them; whereas Ardſchir reſumed them all, aſſumed the title of Shâh in-Shâh, or king of kings, and tranſmitted a new ſet of maxims to his ſucceſſors, who followed them very carefully. As to the famous book mentioned in our text, it may not be amiſs to quote from thence ſome maxims relating to the conduct of princes, as a taſte of that excellent work, which was, and is ſtill, ſo highly eſteemed throughout the eaſt. It begins thus: "So long as a prince applies himſelf with diligence to the ad-"miniſtration of public affairs and the rendering juſtice to all "degrees of people, his ſubjects continue affectionate to him, "and look upon obedience in the light of their own intereſt. "Elſewhere he ſays, The worſt of all princes is he, from whom "the wicked have all things to hope, and the good all things to "fear. That all the branches of ſociety are inſeparably united "to the trunk, and that neither can be affected independent of "the other; whence it follows, that kings have their cares, "and

(4) R. Abrab. in Kab. ap. Tarikh Schichard, p. 108.

Schabour I. SCHABOUR, or Shah-pour, whom the Greeks call Sapor, ſucceeded his father, having been preſerved, as we have related before, by the tenderneſs of his prime miniſter. He was very young when he came to the throne, and therefore the nobility thought it neceſſary to give him a guardian or protector, who was his uncle by his mother's ſide, and might conſequently have pretended to the crown. He not only executed his charge with integrity and reputation; but when the Perſian nobility beſought him to change his title and aſſume that of king, he abſolutely refuſed it, giving up the government to his nephew, as ſoon as he was of an age capable of ruling his ſubjects. Schabour was ſo well educated, that, after he came to the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority, he did not pretend to uſe his uncle as a counſellor, but rather affected to conſult him as a parent; and whenever he had occaſion, either to go into the field againſt the Romans, or to make a progreſs into any diſtant province of his dominions, he left his uncle cloathed with a royal authority; ſo that the Perſian hiſtorians have actually accounted this Ardſhir one of the kings of Perſia. There cannot be any thing more different from another than the character of Schabour, as it is drawn by the Oriental hiſtorians, and that of Sapor, as it ſtands in the Latin and Greek writers. We have already ſeen what the latter ſay; our buſineſs at preſent lies with the former. They report, that this Schabour was a prince of a magnificent diſpoſition, who ſought above all things, to adorn his country with fine cities and ſtately public buildings. With this view he made frequent viſits to all the provinces of his empire, that he might be the better acquainted with their ſituation, their trade, and manufactures, and conſequently have it more in his power to confer upon them real benefits. In the province of Khouhiſtan, which, we call Suſiana, he built a fine new city, reſtored alſo its antient capital to its priſtine beauty, and cauſed a moſt ſtupendous dike to be erected, to bear the weight of a river, which be brought to run over it, for the ſake of ſupplying the adjacent country with water. In the province of Fars,

or

" and ſubjects their duties, which reciprocally anſwer each other,
" and which, when neglected on either ſide, produce ruin and
" confuſion to both (5). The Greeks certainly knew nothing of this book, otherwiſe they would never have ſtyled Artaxerxes a barbarous prince.

(5) D'Herbelot. B. O. Artic-Ardſchir. Babegan.

or Perſia proper, he built the city of Naoubendgian, in one of the fineſt plains in the univerſe; which city, in gratitude to its founder, was a long time called Caſbah Schabour. But the moſt famous, and by far the greateſt city of all he built, was that Niſchabour in Koraſſan. It ſeems the king was marching his army through that province, and by accident encamped near the ruins of an antient city, which had been deſtroyed by Alexander the Great, the remains of which were almoſt every-where over-grown by roſe-buſhes. The king, charmed with the ſituation of the place, returned thither again as ſoon as the campaign was over; and, after having ordered all the roſe-buſhes to be cut up, cleared away the ruins, and by ſending regular detachments from his army to work upon the foundations of his new city, he, in a ſhort ſpace, ſaw it in ſuch a forwardneſs, as invited all the inhabitants of the adjoining country to come and ſettle in it. On account of the roſe-buſhes, he called it Niſchabour, i. e. the roſe of Sapor, "nei" ſignifying, in thePerſian tongue, a roſe. As the Latin and Greek writers are very ſilent as to his victories, ſo the Perſian hiſtorians ſay as little of his vices, and not a ſyllable of his ordering the emperor Valerian to be flayed alive [i]. Mirkhond is the only writer who gives us any account of his death, which, according to him, happened in a very ſurpriſing manner. His ſevere juſtice ſo much alarmed ſome rapacious courtiers, that they took the opportunity offered them by a ſtormy night, to enter the royal tent, where they murdered Schabour and his attendants; which when they had done, they cut its cords, and ſet it on fire; ſo that the guards apprehended his tent had been ſet on fire by lightning. There are different accounts of the years of his reign; but the beſt writers agree, that he held the ſceptre thirty-one years [k].

HORMOUZ, whom the Greeks call Hormiſdas, ſucceeded his father Schabour, and was a moſt generous prince; inſomuch, that moſt of the antient hiſtorians call him Hormouz, alHorri, i. e. Hormiſdas, the liberal. We are told of him, that when one of the governors of his province on the frontiers of the Indies ſent him an expreſs, to inform him, that he could purchaſe a quantity of very fine diamonds for a hundred thouſand pieces of gold, the king wrote him back, that he ſhould let them alone. Upon this the governor ſent him a ſecond expreſs, to acquaint him, that they might be ſold

Hormouz I.

[i] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. [k] Mirkhond, ſect. 25.

ſold for two hundred thouſand; ſo that his majeſty might gain cent. per cent. Hormouz replied, "A hundred, or a hund-"red per cent. will not tempt me. If I become a trader, "who muſt take up the trade of being a king? Or what will "become of the Perſian merchants, if the royal treaſures "are employed to foreſtal them?" He was one of the handſomeſt princes of his time, and exceedingly beloved by his ſubjects, tho' it does not appear, that he was a very martial monarch, or that he made any conqueſts. It is ſaid, that he ſhewed a great deal of favour to the famous heretic Manes, and that he built for him, on the borders of the province of Suſiana, a caſtle or place of retreat, called Daſcarah; and it is further reported, that he embraced his opinions. This, we apprehend, ought to be underſtood in a limited ſenſe, and be conſtrued only as to the notions that arch-heretic held in philoſophy; for tho' it be true, that Manes, or, as the Orientals call him, Mani, held very pernicious tenets in theology, yet it is as true, that he was a very great mathematician, and, by conſtant practice, attained ſuch a facility of drawing geometrical figures, that he would ſtrike circles of any given diameter with a pencil only, without the aſſiſtance of compaſſes. During the reign of Sapor, he was obliged to abſcond, that prince being an enemy to the ſetting up of all new religions in his country; and on this account it was, that Mani fled into Turqueſtan. There, by dint of his eloquence and ſkill in the ſciences, he acquired many diſciples. He affected great auſterity of life, and uſed to retire ſometimes for a day or two to meditate in the deſert. This was very advantageous to him; for it made the people believe him a very holy perſon, and gave him leiſure to ſtudy how to confirm them more and more in that belief. Once, as he was rambling in this manner, he diſcovered a cave, which, tho' it had a narrow entrance, was very large within, and had a fine ſtream running through it. Thither he privately tranſported his books and papers, with as much bread and dried fruits as might ſerve him for a year. Theſe meaſures taken, he told his diſciples, that God would call him for a time up into heaven; but that, after a year, he would return and meet them in ſuch a plain. Upon this he withdrew into his cave, and, during the twelve-month that he lived there, he wrote a large book of enigmatical ſchemes and pretended revelations; which book, at the end of the year he produced to his diſciples, affirming, that he brought it from heaven. Shortly after, hearing that Schabour

bour was dead, and that his ſon Hormouz was a very learned man and a great patron of the ſciences, he returned into Perſia, and, as we have obſerved, ingratiated himſelf ſo with the king, that he built for him an hermitage, which was ſo well fortified, that ſo long as he remained therein, his enemies were not able to do him any hurt. If Hormouz had reigned long, in all probabiliy Mani would have ſecured to himſelf a party ſtrong enough to have ſupported him ; but his protector died before he had reigned two years, with the reputation, however, of having been an excellent prince, one equally tender of his ſubjects welfare, and of the prerogative of the crown [m] (C).

BAHARAM

[m] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. art Hormouz.

(C) Beſides what is ſaid in the text, we ſhall add here ſome anecdotes concerning the heroic Manes. The learned Schikard is much miſtaken, when he affirms, that his name was not Manes, but Manicheus, quaſi mannam fundens (6). The great Epiphanius is as much out. He would needs ſuggeſt, that this heretic aſſumes the name of Manes, becauſe, in the Chaldaic tongue, "Man" ſignifies a veſſel; whereby he would intimate, that he was a pure and choſen veſſel. The truth is, he was a Perſian by birth, and his name Mani. Had he been a Chaldean, or had he lived on the borders of Chaldea, when he firſt vented his hereſy, there might have been ſome ground for this conjecture; but as he ſpread his hereſy firſt in the deſert towards Turqueſtan, what probability is there, that he ſhould aſſume a name, the etymology whereof could not there be underſtood (7)? He was by profeſſion a painter; and we are told, that he could draw a line with a pencil twenty yards exaſtly ſtrait. His excellency in drawing made himconvert moſt of his lectures in religion into emblematical devices, not unlike thoſe of Jacob Boehm. Hence the book he pretended to bring from heaven, was called Ertengh, tengh ſignifying a picture (8). What we have recorded of him in the text, we have tranſcribed verbatim from Khondemir, who opens his account with theſe words: "Mani the Sadducee was a man "excellently ſkilled in painting and ſculpture, who when he "heard that Jeſus had promiſed the Comforter ſhould come, the "devil ſuggeſted to him, that he ſhould pretend to be that "Comforter; which accordingly he did, &c." As to the notions of him and his diſciples, all the Oriental writers agree, that they were a mixture of the magian and chriſtian doctrines; and that, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, they ſplit into ſeveral ſects, according as they entertained different explications of their maſter's prin-

(6) Tarikh. Schikard, p. 111. (7) Hæreſ. (8) Hide relig. vet Perſ. c. xxi. p. 281.

Baharam I. Baharam, the ſon of Hormouz, ſucceeded him. This is the name which the Greeks endeavour to expreſs by the ſeveral appellations of Varanes, Varharanes, and Vararanes. At the beginning of his reign he affected to treat Mani with greater deference than ever his father did, and even ſuggeſted to him a deſign of ſettling his opinions as the national religion of Perſia; in order to which, he invited him to a conference with his magi, that the people might be the better convinced of their monarch's caution in ſo important an affair. His vanity engaged Mani to comply with the king's requeſt; ſo that, leaving his fortreſs, he went, without the leaſt apprehenſion, to court, in order to diſpute with ſuch learned men as he ſuppoſed would be aſſembled there. On his arrival, Baharam ordered him to be ſeized; ſhortly after he cauſed him to be flayed alive, and his ſkin being ſtuffed with ſtraw, he ordered it to be ſet on the top of a hill, with a good guard, as a ſignal to the Manichees of his kind intention towards them. This had the propoſed effect; for all the diſciples of Mani retired immediately out of Perſia, and not believing themſelves ſafe even on its frontiers, they fled into the very heart of the Indies, and ſome of them as far as China [n]. This ſeems to have been the greateſt exploit that Baharam performed, tho' he was a prince of parts, and who earneſtly ſought the welfare of his people, as we may gather from this ſaying of his; "That humanity was "not to be defined, becauſe therein were comprehended "all the other virtues." He reigned with great applauſe three years and three months, at the end of which he was murdered in the baſeſt manner that can be imagined. A tumult happening in his capital, he went in perſon to appeaſe it; which when he had effected, a kinſman of his took the advantage of the croud and confuſion to let fly an arrow, which

[n] D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Mani.

principles (9). The Oriental writers likewiſe agree, that his patron Hormouz was a moſt learned and beneficent prince; his favourite ſaying was this. "That kings were like fire, they "warmed thoſe who ſtood at a diſtance, and ſcorched ſuch as "ventured too near (10)."

(9) Shariſtani in lib. de relig. Orient. (10) D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Hormouz, Ben Schabour.

which struck the king to the heart, to the great grief as well as to the great loss of his subjects ° (D).

Baharam II. Baharam II. succeeded his father Baharam I. Some writers say, he was only the adopted son of the last king. However that might be, it is generally agreed, that, at the beginning of his reign, he gave his subjects no great hopes of him. On the contrary, he acted with such austerity, haughtiness, and cruelty, that the people gave him the surname of Khalef, i. e. the unjust. The nobility of Persia, who were never over-complaisant to tyrants, began to think of ridding themselves of so bad a master, by deposing him at least, if not by putting him to death. The magi, however, checked this design in its birth, offering to risque their own safety for the good of the people, by remonstrating to the king on the folly of his conduct. This they did with such warmth, and at the same time with such an evident display of loyalty, that Baharam acknowledged them for his counsellors and protectors, changed the whole bent of his conduct, and, from being a very bad became a most excellent prince, during the remainder of his reign. A certain christian author affirms, that this monarch vanquished the Romans, and that, having taken prisoner the son of the emperor Galienus, he caused him to be put to death. Of this, however, the Oriental writers say nothing; and there is reason to suspect, that this author was imposed on. Most authors agree, that this prince reigned but seventeen years [p].

Baha-

° Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond, sect. 26. [p] Lebtarikh. Ebn. Batrick. in chron.

(D) As we often quote the excellent work of D'Herbelot in this history, it is necessary to give the reader notice, to prevent his suspecting him or us of a mistake, that we do not reckon the Baharams kings of Persia in the same order as he does; but so, that his Baharan III. is our Baharam II. his Baharam IV. our Baharam III. and so on. The reason is this: He reckons Baharam of the third dynasty Baharam I. which, his method considered, is very just; but as the periods of Persian history in this work are at a distance one from another, such a mingling of dynasties would occasion confusion; which to avoid, we have taken a contrary method. We likewise take this opportunity of noting, that we cite the Oriental historians as we use them; so that the reader may at all times distinguish on what authority any remarkable fact is built (11).

(11) D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Baharam.

Baharam III.

BAHARAM III. ſucceeded Baharam II. During his father's life-time, he was governor of the province of Scigiſtan, which is the reaſon that the Greek writers call him Seganſaa. He reigned thirteen years, without performing any thing extraordinary; or, if he did, the Oriental hiſtorians, as well as the Greeks, have treated him very indifferently; for we find little ſaid of him, even in their moſt copious authors, and as for Mirkhond, he ſays nothing of him at all. Hence it is apparent, that the Oriental writers are not ſo fond of fiction, as they are generally repreſented to be; for, if they were, they would not certainly ſuffer ſuch chaſms in their hiſtories, but rather try to fill them up with inventions of their own, as ſome of our northern writers have done [q].

NARSI BEN BAHARAM, that is, Narſi the ſon of Baharam, ſucceeded Baharam the third his brother, tho' from his ſurname ſome authors have taken him for his father, and in truth he was the ſon, not of Baharam III. but of Baharam II. He proved a prince of a mild temper, gracious to his ſubjects, and deſirous, as far as was in his power, of doing them good; but he had the misfortune to attack the Romans, when they had many great generals and ſeveral potent armies on foot; in conſequence of which he was defeated, and loſt all his frontier provinces; for grief of which, it is ſaid, he broke his heart, when he had reigned nine years [r].

Hormouz II

HORMOUZ the ſon of Narſi, or, according to the Greeks, Hormiſdas the ſon of Narſes ſucceeded his father. All the Oriental hiſtorians agree, that he was a prince endued with all the virtues capable of adding luſtre to a crown. Among theſe his juſtice was by far the moſt conſpicuous. He ſaw with regret the ill uſe that too many of the nobility made of their great power and riches, in oppreſſing the meaner ſort of people, and thereby diſcouraging induſtry and trade, the chief ſupports of all well-governed kingdoms. To eradicate ſo dangerous an evil, he fixed a particular tribunal or court of juſtice, wherein the complaint of the meaneſt man in Perſia might be heard againſt the greateſt; and for fear that intereſt or authority might beget partiality even here, he came frequently and preſided in perſon. He likewiſe deviſed many new laws and regulations, for the benefit of the middling ſort of people, and for the encouragement of trade; out of regard

[q] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. [r] D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Narſi.

regard to which he was extremely careful of the maritime coaſts, and of all the ports of Perſia. He likewiſe built in the province of Kerman, which the Greeks call Caramania, a very famous city and port, which he called by his own name Hormouz, or, as we pronounce it, Ormus. It was ſeated conveniently along the ſea-ſhore, and, towards the land, was ſhaded by groves of palm-trees; ſo that, in proceſs of time, it became equally remarkable for its being a trading city, and alſo the market for the commodities of a multitude of induſtrious people, who cultivated the fertile plain behind it. In the end, however, its riches proved its ruin; ſo that the inhabitants, finding themſelves expoſed to continual ravages, abandoned it, and tranſported themſelves into an iſland in the Perſian gulf, almoſt over-againſt their old place of reſidence; where they built a new city, which they likewiſe called Ormuz, the ſame that was afterwards conquered by the Portugueze, and of which, in the ſubſequent part of our hiſtory, together with its kings, we ſhall give a particular account. But to return to Hormouz or Hormiſdas; he is ſaid to have extended his dominions very conſiderably, and to have been no leſs fortunate in war, than he was wiſe and temperate in peace. The province of Suſiana was peculiarly favoured by this monarch; inſomuch, that he built ſeveral cities therein, and repaired all ſuch as were fallen to decay: more he would, without queſtion, have done, if he had reigned longer; but, having ſat on the throne nine years, he gave way to fate [s] (E).

Schabour II. ſurnamed Dhoulactaf, i. e. Schabour of the ſhoulders, ſucceeded his father even before he was born, Schabour II.

[s] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Hormouz Ben Narſi.

(E) The Oriental writers differ among themſelves as to the foundation of the city of Hormouz on the continent, ſome attributing this to Hormouz the firſt, the ſon of Schabour; but we incline to think it was erected by this prince, becauſe the moſt accurate hiſtorians are of that ſentiment (12). A learned critic ſuggeſts, that the planet Mercury in the Perſian language was called Hormouz (13); but we are of another opinion, for we apprehend it to have been an attribute or name of the Supreme Being (14).

(12) Khozideh, Lebtarikh. (13) Schikard. Tarich. p. 112. (14) Hide relig. vet. Per. c. xi. p. 177.

the crown being placed on his mother's belly, and the nobles ſwearing to acknowledge for their ſovereign the child ſhe ſhould bring forth. In his nonage the Perſians were expoſed to many diſaſters, more eſpecially to the inſults and ravages of the Arabs, who, under their king Thair, broke in vaſt numbers into Perſia, and ſpread deſolation where-ever they came, plundering the royal cities, and carrying off the ſiſter of the late king Hormouz and the aunt of Schabour into captivity. When the young king came to attain the age which qualified him for martial exploits, he determined at all events, to revenge the injuries which had been done him and his ſubjects during his infancy. With this view he, with a choice body of troops, made a quick march, and ſurprized Thair, in one of his frontier provinces. The place was indeed inveſted, before the Arab prince had any notice of it; but it was ſo ſtrong and the garriſon ſo well provided, that, in all probability, Schabour muſt have abandoned his enterprize, if Malekah, whom ſome call the ſiſter, others affirm to have been the daughter, of Thair, had not betrayed the place to Schabour, with whom ſhe fell in love, and thereby put the king, the nobility, and the garriſon into the hands of their mortal enemy. Schabour took this opportunity of revenging the cruelties committed by the Arabs in Perſia, by putting Thair, and all who were with him, to the ſword, aſſigning this as his reaſon, that if a king would ſo far forget his own dignity as to turn robber, he ought not to expect that his enemies ſhould conſider him in any other light. This prince was ſovereign of Yemen, which province Schabour immediately over-ran, putting numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, and cauſing the ſhoulder-bones of all who were able to bear arms to be broke; whence he had the ſurname of Dhoulactaf, as the general opinion is. The Arab writers, however, give us ſomewhat a different account of this matter: they ſay, that, on Schabour's return into Perſia, Malek Ben Naſſer, one of the anceſtors of Mohammed, was deputed by the Arabians to intercede with the king, and to beſeech him to treat them with greater lenity, or at leaſt to diſcover the true cauſe of his implacable hatred. Malek, in purſuance of this commiſſion, took all the pains he could to ſoften the inflexible temper of the Perſian king, who at length told him, that his averſion to the Arabs proceeded from his being adviſed by his aſtrologers, that they would one day ſubvert the Perſian empire, and inflict the greateſt cruelties upon his people.

Malek

Malek Ben Naſſer took this occaſion of remonſtrating againſt the ſeverity of his proceedings on ſo ſlight a pretence, ſince the predictions of ſuch ſort of people were at leaſt as often falſe as true, and therefore could never be of weight enough to paſs for reaſons of ſtate. On the other hand he remarked, that if there ſhould be any grounds for believing this prophecy, the king's conduct was the moſt impolitic that could be; becauſe his treating the Arabs ſo harſhly could not fail of giving them the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the Perſians, which muſt prove fatal to them, whenever they became ſubject to thoſe whom they had thus maltreated. Schabour, having reflected upon this, altered his conduct entirely, and not only put an end to thoſe miſeries which he had inflicted on that unhappy people, but alſo favoured and encouraged them on all occaſions; whence, as the Arab writers ſay, he acquired the ſurname of Dhoulacnaf, i. e. on the wings; by which the Arabs would ſignify, that he was their protector, becauſe the eagles are ſaid to carry their young ones on their wings [t]

SCHABOUR, as we have already ſeen in our former period, was at continual enmity with the Romans; and tho', during the reign of Conſtantine the Great, he durſt not attempt any thing very conſiderable, yet that did not hinder him from taking all the neceſſary ſteps to act effectually, when ever an opportunity ſhould offer. The Oriental writers give us an inſtance of this, of which there is not the leaſt trace to be found in any of the Greek hiſtorians, tho' it be more ſingular than any thing they have recorded: Schabour was ſo deſirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the Roman empire, that he went to Conſtantinople himſelf, under colour of being an embaſſador from Perſia. He had not, however, been long there before he was ſuſpected, and thereupon impriſoned; during which time the Romans made ſeveral incurſions into the Perſian provinces, and treated the people with great ſeverity. At length Schabour having corrupted a lady of the court, ſhe not only procured him his liberty, but fled with him. They were obliged to travel with great circumſpection, and, not without much-ado and after many dangers paſſed, they arrived at a little hermitage in Media; which place hath ever ſince been called Schahbouran. It is not very clear, whether the religious Perſians, who reſided here, were of the chriſtian, manichean, or magian religion; but, whatever

[t] Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

whatever they were, their chief was very loyal, acquainted the king with the preſent ſituation of things, and took pains to convey his orders where-ever he directed; ſo that, by degrees, Schabour aſſembled a very conſiderable body of troops, and with them fell ſo opportunely on the Roman forces, that he gave them an entire defeat. The king's ſtay in Media gave him an opportunity of obſerving the ſituation of that country, and the improvements of which it was capable. This determined him to build a new city not far from the hermitage, where he had repoſed himſelf after his return from Conſtantinople, hoping that, when it became conſiderable and was thoroughly peopled, it would ſerve as a barrier, and protect the open country from the inſults of neighbouring nations [u].

As ſoon therefore as the circumſtances of the times would permit, Schabour laid the foundations of the city of Cazvin, which we call Caſbin. When he firſt began this work, he found himſelf exceſſively annoyed by the Delemites, who began to be jealous of his undertaking. Schabour, who was a very wiſe prince, perceiving that it was not at all in his power to carry on the building of his city and a war with theſe people at the ſame time, reſolved to bribe them; which accordingly he did, by conſiderable gifs for the preſent, and promiſes of ſtill greater things hereafter. When Caſbin was finiſhed, aud the Delemites began to renew their incurſions, Schabour, who was by this time at peace both with the Romans and the Arabs, turned his whole force upon them, and eaſily ſubdued them, adding thereby the province of Deilem to his empire, which had been an antient and independent kingdom till then, and which became ſo again, after the Arabians made themſelves maſters of Perſia. This monarch alſo beautified and inlarged the antient city of Scheuſtar in the province of Khouhiſtan, where he likewiſe re-edified another antient city, called Corkh, and which he afterwards called by his own name. He was one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate monarchs of this dynaſty, and, during his long reign of ſeventy-two years, not only made great conqueſts on all ſides of his dominions, but

[u] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. art'c. Schabour Ben Hormouz.

but alſo wonderfully improved his territories, by building cities and encouraging the trade of his ſubjects [x] (F).

Ardſchir II. ARDSCHIR ſucceeded Schabour, and governed the Perſian kingdom for twelve years. One author aſſures us, that he was uncle by the mother's ſide to the laſt king; another, that he was only his couſin; and a third, that he was brother by the mother's ſide to Schabour Dhoulactaf. However it was, he aſſumed the goverment at firſt as tutor only, or protector, to Schabour III. tho' afterwards the nobility prevailed upon him to take the title of king. The reader will eaſily perceive, that the Perſians were afraid of nothing ſo much as of being governed by a child, which was the true cauſe, that they were deſirous of conferring the regal dignity on him, whoſe birth and abilities made him the moſt proper for diſcharging its eſſential functions. It may be, the miſeries the kingdom had endured, under the minority of the laſt king, might the more ſtrongly incline them to make uſe of this expedient, to prevent their falling under the like misfortunes a ſecond time. It is alſo very remarkable, that the nobility did not ſuffer this Ardſchir to transfer the crown to his family, though they gave it him for life; but immediately

[x] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. artic. Hormouz Schabour Dhoulactaf.

(F) The learned Schikard (15) takes a great deal of pains in rectifying a miſtake in the verſion of Mirkhond by Teixera (16). The ſirname of the Perſian king is there written Zabel Ketaf, which, the judicious critic rightly conjectures, ſhould have been Dhul-Aktaf; but then he is in a great miſtake himſelf, for he attributes this ſirname to Schabour the firſt, to whom it did not belong. He is, however, perfectly juſt in his cenſure of Reineccius (17), who had condemned Nicephorus, an antient writer, for calling Schabour the firſt Choſroes, ſince that was no miſtake, all the kings of this dynaſty preſerving this appellation. The hiſtory of Schabour's being crowned in his mother's belly, is not only to be found in the Oriental writers and in the Greek hiſtorians, but alſo in the writings of the Rabbins; and therefore, tho' the fact is an odd one, yet it cannot be called incredible (18). We thought it unneceſſary to load this reign with recapitulations of facts mentioned in the former period, or with ſuch immaterial circumſtances, as might have ſwelled this part of our hiſtory beyond its due bounds.

(15) Tarich. p. 110. (16) Lib. i. c. 26 (17) De gent. Arſacid. p. 116. (18) Ben Dior. in Kah. ap. Schikard.

diately upon his demiſe called his kinſman the ſon of Schabour II. to the ſucceſſion, who was by this time become a man, and capable of taking the reins of government into his own hands.

Schabour III. SCHABOUR III. the ſon of Schabour Dhoulactaf, governed the kingdom of Perſia five years and four months in great tranquillity. He was cotemporary with Theodoſius the great, with whom he made a ſtrict alliance, and lived in the greateſt friendſhip during his whole reign. As he was a very pacific prince, and ſought nothing ſo much as to keep his kingdom from feeling the plague of war, that his ſubjects might have leiſure to repair all former loſſes, we ought not to wonder, that the account we have of his reign is very ſuccinct, and amounts to neither more nor leſs than we have recorded [a].

Baharam IV. BAHARAM I. ſucceeded his father Schabour, whom he very much reſembled in his diſpoſition. He had in his father's life-time been governor of the province of Kerman, and, according to the privilege of the royal family, was ſtyled Kerman-Shah. This the Greek writers converted into a ſirname, which is the reaſon, that in their hiſtories he is called Varanes Cermanſaa. He governed the kingdom eleven years, in which ſpace of time the Perſians grew ſo extravagantly rich, that their pride inclined them to frequent revolts; in one of which the king, preſenting himſelf ſuddenly among the rebels, and expoſtulating with them on the folly and madneſs of their behaviour, was baſely ſhot with an arrow behind his back, and died upon the ſpot [b].

Jezdegerd. JEZDEGERD ſucceeded his father Baharam, and proved a very bad prince. Equally cruel and avaricious, he diſtreſſed his ſubjects alike in their perſons and their properties. This was the more grievous to the Perſians, becauſe in the life-time of his father he had affected ſo much modeſty, humanity, and condeſcenſion, that never any monarch promiſed more at his acceſſion, or performed leſs during his adminiſtration. Hence he was ſirnamed Al Athim, i. e. The Wicked, or, The Abandoned. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect, that his character hath been injured through the malice of the magi, who could never forgive him his ſtrong inclinations to the chriſtians, and his keeping ſo ſtrict a hand on the clergy of the eſtabliſhed religion. This king had

[a] Khondemir. Debtarikh. Ben Schabour.

[b] D'Herbelot. art, Baharam

had the misfortune to ſee all his children die within a month after they were born. This made him very uneaſy; and therefore he conſulted not only the Perſian phyſicians, but alſo all the travellers who viſited his dominions, as to the wholeſomeſt air they were acquainted with, in order to try, whether, by removing a child as ſoon as poſſible thither, he might not conſerve the ſucceſſion in his family. The reſult of this enquiry was, that the province of Hirah was recommended to him, as that where the beſt air was to be found. This country was a part of Chaldea, which, on the falling out of Alexander the Great's ſucceſſors among themſelves, an Arab prince had ſeized, and having built a city therein, called it Hirah, and made it the cipital of a little principality, which in proceſs of time became tributary to the Perſians. The name of the preſent poſſeſſor of this ſmall ſovereignty was Nooman, for whom Jezdegerd ſent as ſoon as his ſon Baharam was born. When he came to court, the king put the child, who was then about a month old, into his hands; acquainted him how unlucky he had been in the reſt of his children, and told him that what he expected from him was, the education of his ſon, after the manner of the Arabs, in all thoſe exerciſes which uſually encreaſe the ſtrength of the body, and render men healthy and robuſt. Nooman on his part promiſed to take all imaginable care of the child, whom he immediately carried home with him; and Jezdegerd, being now at eaſe in his mind, governed his dominions, according to his own maxims, and little to the ſatisfaction of the magi, twenty-one years. At the end of this ſpace, as he was looking upon a horſe extremely beautiful, and which he much valued, the beaſt ſuddenly ſtruck him with one of its hind feet on the ſtomach, with ſuch force, that he immediately fell down dead, and thereby delivered the diſcontented part of his ſubjects from a maſter, whoſe government they hated, and whom yet they were not able to depoſe. As ſoon as he was dead, thoſe who were ſo much diſaffected to him took advantage of the abſence of the prince his ſon to tranſfer the regal dignity to another family. Accordingly, they fixed on Kerſa, a nobleman of fair qualities and great fortune; from whom having drawn many advantageous conceſſions in their own favour, they ſaluted him king, and actually put him in poſſeſſion not only of the royal robes and ornaments, but alſo of the royal treaſure, procured the

ſubmiſſion

ſubmiſſion of the forces then on foot, and the conſent of the greateſt part of the provinces of that extended empire [c].

Baharam V. BAHARAM V. firnamed Gour, or rather Jur, for a reaſon that will appear in the courſe of our hiſtory, was as we have ſeen, ſent in his infancy to the court of an Arab prince, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing his conſtitution; which end was perfectly anſwered by the care his guardian took of his education. Nooman Ben Mondir, to whoſe care he was committed, cauſed two palaces to be built for his reception in the capital city of his dominions. Theſe were built by the greateſt architect of the eaſt, whoſe name was Sennamar. Theſe caſtles or palaces were called Sedir and Khaouarnak, and the Arab writers tell us, that amongſt other ſingularities, the ſtones of which they were built were hewn in ſuch a manner, as to change their colour ſeveral times in a day, by their different reflections of light; and that they were ſo contrived, as to lean upon a ſingle ſtone, which, if removed, the whole building would have fallen to the ground. Nooman moſt bountifully rewarded Sennamar for his care and ſkill; but that unfortunate perſon having indiſcreetly given out, that he could have performed ſtill greater things, if he had expected to have been paid in ſuch a manner, Nooman began to doubt his fidelity, and whether he might not be induced by money to divulge the ſecret of the ſupporting ſtones in the palaces he had built; and therefore ordered him to be thrown from the top of one of them to the bottom, whereby the miſerable man loſt his life. In proceſs of time, Nooman, the tutor of Baharam, became a convert to the chriſtian religion, and in conſequence thereof, thought fit to retire from the world, and to ſpend the reſt of his days in an hermitage in the deſart, reſigning the crown and the care of the young Perſian prince to his ſon Hendu. This prince was no leſs careful of Baharam than his father had been; he provided for his health both in body and mind, he took care to have him taught all the exerciſes, and to be inſtructed in all the learning, with which a perſon of his high quality ought to be acquainted. He gave him leſſons himſelf in the art of governing, and at the ſame time, that he diſcharged the duty of governor, ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions his friend in the circumſtances of private life, as he was his conſtant companion

[c] Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ſect. xxvii.

nion in all his diverſions. By this means Baharam, who had an excellent genius, grew one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of his age, and had a ſagacity and reſolution almoſt incredible, conſidering his tender years [d].

Enters Perſia at the head of an army.

WHEN the news of his father's death reached Hirah, the young prince could not help expreſſing, not only his amaſement at the conduct of the Perſian nobility, but his reſolution not to part with the crown on ſuch eaſy terms. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to Hendu, and beſought him to furniſh him with ſome troops, that he might endeavour by force to recover what was undoubtedly his right. The king of Hirah, who owed him his allegiance as being dependent on the Perſian empire, promiſed him all the aſſiſtance in his power. When he was thus embarqued in the buſineſs, he thought proper to invite all the Arabian princes his neighbours to a council, wherein he expoſed the right of Baharam to the Perſian throne, and the indignity offered them in his excluſion, on account of his being bred up among them. The petty princes, to whom he addreſſed himſelf, eaſily received the impreſſions he ſought to make upon their minds, and, with great alacrity, promiſed to ſupport the pretenſions of his pupil with their utmoſt force. This point gained, Baharam, at the head of ten thouſand Arabian horſe, entered the Perſian territories, and was ſhortly after followed by Hendu and the confederate princes with thirty thouſand more. The Perſian nobility, obſtinate in their rebellion, drew together a great army, in order to maintain the king they had made choice of upon the throne. Things being in this ſituation, a general and deciſive battle was daily expected, the armies being within half a day's march of each other; but, by the wiſdom of Hendu, a negotiation was ſet on foot. Both parties were deſirous of deciding the buſineſs without blood, and yet neither of them would recede in the leaſt from their pretenſions. In this critical juncture, Baharam propoſed an expedient, which was inſtantly accepted. It was this; that the crown of Perſia ſhould be placed on a cuſhion between two hungry lions, and that the prince who would fetch it ſhould wear it. On the day appointed the experiment was made, and the crown placed between the lions. Then Baharam, turning to his competitor, ſaid, "Kerſa, Why don't you go and fetch the "crown? I need not, anſwered he; I am in poſſeſſion of it al- "ready; you deſire it, therefore do you go and take it." Baha-

ram

[d] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ſect. xxviii.

ram instantly fell upon the lions, killed them both, and took up the crown. Upon which Kersa immediately ran towards him, embraced him, and did him homage. His example was followed by all the Persian lords; and thus this controversy, which had armed all the east, was determined without bloodshed, and to the satisfaction of all parties, the Persians being charmed with the generosity and valour of their new king; and Hendu and his Arabian confederates were no less pleased with the success of their undertaking, and with the vast presents, and other marks of gratitude, which were given them by Baharam at parting [e].

The Turks invade the Persians with a prodigious army.

BAHARAM, on taking possession of the throne, treated his subjects with such lenity, and excused them from so many duties and taxes, that the oriental historians say, he turned the heads of the whole nation; insomuch, that computing the hours between sun-rising and sun-set, they divided these into equal parts: the first for business, the second for diversion. The king was so far from disliking this, that he sent for twelve thousand musicians from India, not only to divert his subjects, but to prevent their becoming fidlers and dancers themselves; and it is said, that those, who follow this profession at this day in Persia are descended from these Indians. The khacan, for so the orientals call the sovereign of Turquestan, having intelligence of the merry disposition the Persians were in, conceived, that a better opportunity would never offer for invading that rich and fertile country. Without therefore any previous declaration of war, he assembled a mighty army, some historians say, of three hundred thousand men, with which he broke into Persia like a torrent, spreading fire and sword, destruction and desolation, wherever he came. Baharam, as soon as he had intelligence of this, knowing well that it was impossible for him to raise any forces sufficient to repell them, left his capital, and with a thousand chosen horse fled to the mountains, leaving the government in the hands of his brother Narsi. The Persians instantly concluded, that the king had abdicated the government, and endeavoured to make the best terms they could with the conquerors; and thereupon sent deputies to acquaint the khacan with the desertion of their prince, and to implore his mercy. The khacan did not, however, take things upon trust; he sent out parties to observe the motions of Baharam and his horse; and

[e] Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Nooman Ben Mondir.

and theſe on their return having reported that they had followed the Perſian king two days march into Armenia, their maſter concluded from thence, that he was fled into the Roman territories, and that Perſia was abſolutely ſubdued [f].

BAHARAM, in the mean time, puſhed with his thouſand horſe through the ſtreights of Derbent, and keeping cloſe by the Caſpian ſea, came quite round into Turqueſtan; and having there refreſhed and remounted his troops, he ſuddenly and ſilently ſtole into Perſia; ſurpriſed the forces of the Khacan, who no longer kept any diſcipline, in the dead of the night; advanced in perſon to that monarch's tent, where he found him ſcarce awake, huddling on his cloaths, ſo that he ſtruck off his head without any reſiſtance; and the Perſians riſing every where upon the flying army, ſcarce a man of this huge multitude returned again into Turqueſtan. This wonderfully raiſed the reputation of Bahaham; his ſubjects began to look upon him as a perſon inſpired, and he on the other hand, being better ſatisfied with his brother's adminiſtration than his own, reſolved to travel for a time, and leave to him the reſettling the affairs of Perſia. This unaccountable vivacity, in otherwiſe ſo great a prince, cannot be accounted for any other way, than by conſidering where he received his education. This roving diſpoſition is the very character of an Arab chief, and indeed all the accounts we have of this monarch ſhew, that his manners were exactly thoſe of that nation. As for inſtance, the word Jur ſignifies a wild aſs, and this prince was called Baharam Jur, becauſe he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in hunting that creature, a diverſion he had learned among the Arabs. But to return to the current of our hiſtory. Leaving the government of Perſia in the hands of his brother, he appeared in the habit of a private perſon at the court of an Indian prince; where he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ſo far as to merit the notice of the king, whoſe favourable inclinations towards him he greatly improved, by killing a monſtrous wild elephant, which had done a prodigious deal of miſchief. At length the king ſent him at the head of an army to oppoſe a very potent neighbour of his, who, notwithſtanding he had offered him tribute, invaded and plundered his country. This prince Baharam was ſo fortunate as to defeat, and he made ſo prudent a uſe of his victory,

They are defeated and deſtroyed.

[f] Khondemir. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Baharam.

ry, that he put it out of the enemy's power to think of renewing the war for a conſiderable number of years at leaſt. On his return to court, the Indian king thought himſelf obliged to promote him to the office of prime vizier, and to give him his daughter to wife; which he accordingly did, with an immenſe fortune [g].

He returns into his dominions from India.

But as the graces of kings uſually produce envy in the minds of their ſubjects, againſt thoſe on whom they are conferred, ſo here the promotion of Baharam drew upon him the hatred of the Indians, though he reſcued them from oppreſſion, and by his wiſe adminiſtration procured them as great felicity as a people could enjoy. When therefore he perceived this, he reſolved to bear no longer with their ingratitude, eſpecially when he found their whiſpers had pierced the king's ear, and inclined him to alter his conduct towards him, though on his ſide not the leaſt occaſion had been given. This reſolution once taken, Baharam ſoon after diſcovered himſelf to the king, who was exceedingly alarmed, when he knew that the perſon, to whom he was ſo much indebted, was the king of Perſia, his potent neighbour, and one whoſe anceſtors had deprived him of a part of his dominions. The Perſian monarch, to rid him of all apprehenſions, acquainted him with his reſolution of returning forthwith into his own territories; and that, as well out of tender affection for his wife, as in return for the many favours he had received, he was content to yield up the places in diſpute. The Indian king received this declaration with the utmoſt joy, and Baharam, conceiving that no time was to be loſt, quitted his court immediately, and returned with his wife and family, with all the immenſe treaſures he had acquired, into Perſia. His ſubjects received him with all the demonſtrations of loyalty and cordial affection; and the king on his part promiſed to apply more aſſiduouſly to public affairs, than the vivacity of his diſpoſition had hitherto allowed him to do [h].

Turns his army on the Greeks and Arabians.

The firſt ſtep of importance he took after his return was, to ſend his brother Narſi with a great body of troops into Rumeſtan, ſo the Perſians call the dominions of the Greek emperor; and being informed that his forces met with no great oppoſition on that ſide, he ventured to make an expedition in perſon into Arabia, where he reduced the kingdom

[g] Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ſect. xxix.

[h] Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

dom of Yemen with all its dependencies. After this he returned into Perſia, and reigned the reſt of his life in peace, beloved by his ſubjects and revered by his neighbours. Authors differ very much concerning the manner of his death. Some, and indeed the moſt conſiderable, ſay, that, being exceedingly addicted to hunting, and paſſing full ſpeed through a wood, his horſe fell with him into a deep pit, where he was ſtifled before any body came to his aſſiſtance [i]. Others affirm, that being engaged in a war with a neighbouring prince, and having defeated his army in battle, Baharam, in the purſuit, was ſo unlucky as to plunge his horſe into a moraſs; whence being unable to extricate himſelf, he was either ſuffocated, or periſhed with hunger. The reaſon this point remains ſo full of doubt and uncertainty, is this; the body of Baharam was never found, and conſequently all accounts ot his death muſt be conjectural only [k]. It is however, generally agreed, that this accident happened in the twenty-third year of his reign, and that, notwithſtanding the many irregularities in his conduct, he left behind him the character of being one of the braveſt and moſt generous, as he was one of the moſt fortunate, princes that ever ſwayed the Perſian ſceptre [l].

JEZDEGERD II. ſucceeded his father Baharam Gour. As he had been chiefly educated by his uncle Narſi, he became a prince of great knowledge and experience, though but a young man, when he aſcended the throne. He followed his father's example, in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, yet without neglecting buſineſs himſelf, or deſerting any branch of it, to give himſelf up to another more agreeable to his temper. He was peculiarly ſtrict in doing juſtice, eſpecially between the great and ſuch as depended upon them. He reſtored all the excellent conſtitutions of his anceſtors, which in proceſs of time were ſunk into diſſuetude; where he found theſe inſufficient, he framed new laws, by the advice of his council. The care of ſeeing theſe executed he took wholly upon himſelf. The army on the other hand he rendered more affectionate to himſelf, than they had ever been to any of his predeceſſors; for he cauſed it to be excellently paid, and though he took care to preſerve diſcipline amongſt his ſoldiers, yet he cauſed Jezdegerd II.

[i] Lebtarikh. [k] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. [l] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi ſupra.

cauſed their duty to be ſo thoroughly explained to them, and when he was obliged to puniſh, did it ſo gently, and with ſuch reluctancy, that he acquired the ſirname of Sipahdoſt, or the lover of his ſoldiers. There is, however, but one expedition of his mentioned, and that is againſt the Greeks, who, in his opinion, had broken the terms of their alliance with the Perſians. In order to convince them of the folly of this proceeding, Jezdegerd marched with a very numerous army into the Roman territories. Far from ſuffering his troops to live as in an enemy's country, he obliged his ſoldiers to pay for every thing they had, to treat the inhabitants with the greateſt civility, and to behave rather like ſtrangers, who came to ſee the country, than like enemies, diſpoſed to deſtroy it. The Greek emperor, fearing the conſequences, in caſe his ſubjects ſhould come to change their opinion as to the Perſian government, ſent to acquaint Jezdegerd, that he was ready to accept the terms he had formerly refuſed, and that he would pay the arrears of the tribute which he demanded; upon which the Perſian retired with his forces into his own country, without committing the leaſt diſorder, which gained him more reputation, than all their conqueſts had done his predeceſſors [m].

Makes choice of his younger ſon for his ſucceſſor.

THIS great prince had two ſons, the eldeſt called Ferouz, and the younger Hormouz. The latter was the favourite of his father, who took all imaginable care of his education, and alſo very aſſiduouſly promoted his intereſt with the nobility, that upon his own demiſe he might ſucceed him in the throne. This naturally induced great diſturbances in the kingdom, the elder brother taking all poſſible meaſures for defeating the project of his father in favour of his brother. To cool theſe heats, as alſo to pave the way to his own deſigns, the king thought fit to make his eldeſt ſon governor of Nimrouz, an antient province of the Perſian empire, comprehending the greateſt part of thoſe countries which are now called Sigiſtan and Makran, obliging him alſo to go and reſide in his government. This had a fair appearance, but was ſo far from anſwering the purpoſe of Jezdegerd, that it proved the means of defeating all the other precautions he had taken. This, however, did not happen in his life-time; for the good king, after a reign of eighteen years, died

[m] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Jezdegerd.

died ſuddenly, to the great grief, as well as to the inexpreſſible loſs, of his ſubjects, who ſaw themſelves plunged upon his death into a miſerable ſituation, out of which they were not extricated, till they had felt almoſt all the various calamities by which providence chaſtiſes offending nations [n].

HORMOUZ III. being upon the ſpot, having a great intereſt through his father's ſollicitations, and being himſelf a perſon of ſo great merit, as to have deſerved the name of Firzaneh, i. e. The Sage, ſeated himſelf upon the throne, and was acknowledged by almoſt all the nobility. As he reigned but a very ſhort time, moſt of the Perſian hiſtorians are ſilent as to his character. One of them, however, aſſures us, that his conduct, after his acceſſion, was very unlike his behaviour during the life-time of his father; for that he no ſooner found himſelf poſſeſſed of the ſovereign authority, but he began to tyrannize over his ſubjects, and to treat the nobility with equal contempt and ſeverity, though his title to the crown depended in a great meaſure upon their choice. However it was, he did not long enjoy that dignity, which it had coſt him ſo much pains to acquire. His brother Ferouz no ſooner heard of his acceſſion, than he determined in himſelf not to loſe tamely what he looked upon to be indubitably his right. It ſo happened, that the province of which he was governor lay on the frontiers of the country of the Haiathelites, who in the works of the Greek hiſtorians are called Nepthalites, and by the tranſlator of Mirkhond Euthalites. To the king of this nation, whoſe name was Khaſchnaouar, he applied himſelf, offering him a part at leaſt, if not the whole of his province, if he would aſſiſt him in taking the crown from his brother's head to ſet it upon his own. This propoſition was readily accepted, and Ferouz furniſhed by him with a body of thirty thouſand horſe. With theſe auxiliaries he entered Perſia, and was quickly joined by ſuch as had a good opinion of his title, and ſuch as had not been well received at his brother's court. Hourmouz was no ſooner acquainted with this ſtep taken by his brother, than he immediately marched towards him with all his father's forces. But it ſo fell out, that part of the Perſian army being diſſaffected, and the other part afraid of the Barbarians Ferouz had brought along with him, made but a poor

Hormouz III.

[n] Khondemir. Mirkhond, ſect. xxix.

a poor reſiſtance; ſo that, without much difficulty, the ſituation of things was entirely changed, and Hormouz was not only thruſt from the throne, but alſo put into chains and committed to priſon, when he had reigned but one year[n].

Ferouz. FEROUZ, being now exalted to the regal dignity, could not think himſelf ſafe, while his brother lived, tho' in a priſon; and therefore the firſt act of his reign was the cutting off the head of Hormouz, together with the heads of three of his chief counſellors. As to his conduct afterwards, it was pretty much of a piece with this extraordinary ſeverity, which darkened the very dawn of it: neither was it long before the Perſians began to perceive, that heaven viſibly puniſhed them, as well for their own offences, as for the great wickedneſs of their prince. The rod by which they were chaſtiſed was, a moſt ſevere drought, all the brooks and ſmall rivers being every-where dried up, the earth parched, and its fruits withered. It laſted ſix years, and in that ſpace deſtroyed ſuch multitudes, and brought the remainder into ſo miſerable a ſituation, that we are told the king and the nobility conſented to do open penance to avert the wrath of the Almighty. This they performed, and in the ſeventh year all the ſeaſons were wonderfully kind and pleaſant; the earth, being thoroughly moiſtened, bore the next year as it was wont, and the ſcourge being removed, Ferouz and his people returned to their old manner of living; that is to ſay, the king ruled according to his will, and his ſubjects, as ſoon as they had the utenſils of luxury, plunged themſelves into all ſorts of exceſſes. The obligations conferred upon the Perſian monarch by the king of the Haiathelites were ſo great, that one may eaſily judge of the diſpoſition of Ferouz, by his behaviour towards his benefactor. The people were no ſooner recovered from that miſery and conſternation, which had been ſpread amongſt them by the late famine and drought, but preſently Ferouz was for turning his arms againſt him who had ſet him on the throne. It is true, that ſome Perſian authors alledge, that the ſubjects of this prince entered the frontiers of Perſia, and plundered them in a hoſtile manner; but there is little reaſon to believe this, becauſe the ſame writers confeſs, that the Perſians were

[n] Khondemir. Mirkhond, ſect. xxx. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Hormouz.

were out of comparison more powerful, and that the misfortunes they afterwards met with could not possibly have befallen them, but by their own temerity and ill conduct [P].

Invades the country of the Haiathelites.

FEROUZ was not long in executing his project; he drew together as numerous an army as the circumstances of the Persian affairs would allow, and, as soon as he had drawn them together, he marched northwards in order to invade the country of the Haiathelites. The king of that people was under the greatest amazement, when he heard of the preparations Ferouz had made. An officer in his troops, as some historians say, but, as others affirm, his grand vizier took upon him to revive his courage, by promising him a victory without fighting, if he would listen to his advice. This man had, as some say, a hand wanting by an accident prior to this event; but others assure us, that when his master had promised him to be entirely guided by his counsels, he cut off his nose, his ears, a hand, and foot. In this mangled condition, he caused himself to be laid in a wood, through the skirts of which he knew that the Persian army must pass. When the vanguard of Ferouz's army reached him, they took him up, and carried him to their king, who, struck with the miserable condition of the man, received him kindly, asked him, Who he was, and by whom he had been so cruelly mangled? The artful Haiathelite readily answered, that he had been thus treated by his king, for having exhorted him to give any kind of satisfaction to the king of Persia, rather than engage in a war, the more, because he was so excessively hated by his own subjects. Ferouz rejoiced at this account, enquired narrowly into the strength of the enemy, and where the king of the Haiathelites was encamped? The wounded man answered, that the king had with him the flower of all his people, and that they lay in ambuscade behind certain mountains, which were but a few days march from thence, if the king took his road through the woods; but if he continued in that wherein he now was, he would be obliged to pass on the other side of those mountains, and thereby give the Haiathelites an opportunity of falling upon his rear. Ferouz, not in the least suspecting the fidelity of his wounded guide, listened readily to the advice he gave him; and without more ado turned

[P] Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, sect. xxxi. Rhondemir.

out of the ordinary road, and ſuffered himſelf to be led, ſometimes through thick woods, at others through wide deſerts, till at length his army was on the very point of being famiſhed for want of neceſſary proviſions. Then the Haiathelites appeared on all ſides, and in ſuch vaſt numbers, that Ferouz ſeeing it alike impoſſible to defend himſelf, or to eſcape, ſurrendered with the ſmall remains of his army, throwing himſelf entirely on the mercy of his injured benefactors. The king of the Haiathelites, ſuppoſing that this diſaſtrous expedition would prove a ſufficient warning to Ferouz, offered to ſend him, and thoſe that were with him, ſafely back into their own country, provided they took an oath never to invade his dominions any more. This they readily conſented to do, and, as ſoon as they had done it, were permitted to return without the leaſt injury done them [q].

Invades the Haiathelites a ſecond time.

The firſt thing Ferouz projected after his return into his own kingdom was, the attacking the Haiathelites a ſecond time, in breach of the ſolemn oath which he had ſo lately made. The chief reaſon which induced him to apprehend that he ſhould be more ſucceſsful in this expedition than his firſt was, the obſervation he had made of the number of forces about the king of that people, when he had aſſembled the whole force of his nation. The Perſian army appeared to Ferouz capable of beating twice the number of Haiathelites he had ſeen, if they had not been circumvented by the policy of the wounded vizier. This fault therefore he determined to repair by marching directly into the heart of the country, without turning either this way or that. Accordingly, as ſoon as the neceſſary levies could be made, he appointed Saouk, a prince deſcended from the antient kings of Perſia, regent in his abſence; and with a prodigious army marched once more againſt the people, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was ſeated on the throne. There is no need of repeating here the ſame ſtory, which hath been already inſerted, in the hiſtory of this prince's life under the name of Perozes, in the former period. Let it ſuffice that he and his army were by a new ſtratagem buried altogether in a pit, and the Haiathelites delivered from all apprehenſions of ſuffering any more by the incorrigible diſpoſition of Ferouz. The oriental hiſtorians

[q] Khondemir, Lebtarikh. Mirkhond, ſect. xxxi. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Firouz.

torians differ, however, widely from the text, in the accounts they give us of the conſequences of this war; for they affirm, that Saouk the lieutenant of Ferouz, as ſoon as he received the news of his maſter's defeat, marched with a conſiderable body of horſe he had drawn together from an apprehenſion of this diſaſter, and encamping with them on the borders of the Haiathelites, prevented their invading Perſia, and even obtained from their king, who was a prince of great wiſdom and juſtice, a peace upon honourable terms, on a ſuggeſtion that the Perſians were by no means well affected to the meaſures of Ferouz, but were conſtrained to follow that unhappy prince, becauſe he was their ſovereign. The king of the Haiathelites, on this conſideration, not only made peace, but ſent back all the Perſians he had taken priſoners without ranſom, as thinking the death of Ferouz a ſufficient ſatisfaction for the injuries he had done him. According to the beſt of the eaſtern hiſtorians, Ferouz reigned thirty, though ſome ſay not above twenty-ſeven years [r].

BALASCH ſucceeded his father Ferouz or Firouz, and was not his brother, as the Greeks give out. His acceſſion to the throne was very grateful to his ſubjects, but his younger brother Cobad was ſo diſſatisfied therewith, that he inſtantly retired from court, and fled to Turqueſtan with the ſon of Saouk, who was his friend and counſellor. It does not appear, that Balaſch either ordered his brother to be purſued, or attempted by any means to take away his life; but, on the contrary, left him at full liberty to live abroad at his eaſe, ſince he would not live at home. This, however, had no effect upon Cobad; his heart was full of ambition, and his head as full of ſiniſter contrivances. His friend had prevailed upon him to marry his daughter, who is repreſented by the Perſian hiſtorian, from whom we have theſe particulars, as a woman of exquiſite beauty, and of exquiſite parts. By her Cobad had a ſon, whom he left with his mother, that he might return again to the court of the Khacan, in order to ſolicit his aſſiſtance againſt his brother. Having prevailed in his ſuit, and orders being iſſued for raiſing an army, at the head of which he was to make an irruption into Perſia, Cobad thought fit to make a viſit to his father-in-law's family, in order to have his ſentiments of this expedition; and while

Balaſch II.

[r] Khondemir. Mirkhond, ſect. xxxi. D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient. artic. Firouz.

he was there ſeeking to draw the beſt intelligence he could from his friends in Perſia, he firſt received advice that his brother was ſo extremely beloved by his ſubjects, that any attempt to dethrone him would be vain; and while he was afflicting himſelf with thoughts of being defeated in all his ſchemes, he received another courier, who brought him advice, that Balaſch died ſuddenly a few days before, and that there required no army to ſet him on the throne, his ſubjects being very ready to receive him. Upon this he ſet out with his father-in-law, his wife, and young ſon Nouſchirvan, to receive that crown by ſucceſſion, which he fought to have ſeized by force, or to have acquired by his intrigues. Authors are not agreed how long Balaſch reigned, ſome giving him fourteen years, and others little more than four [s].

Cobad. COBAD, aſcended the throne with all the advantages poſſible: he was in his perſon one of the handſomeſt men in Perſia, very adroit in his exerciſes, of a very generous diſpoſition, and of quick parts; but as to his morals they were exceedingly depraved, and he had in his exile ſucked in ſuch falſe notions of politics, as ſerved only to make himſelf uneaſy, and to put him upon oppreſſing his ſubjects. The firſt wrong ſtep he took was, the putting to death Saouk, his wife's grandfather, becauſe that under his father and brother he had had the chief direction of all things, which Cobad ſuppoſed he would expect during his reign, a thing he did not care to grant, and which, conſidering Saouk's great power, he thought it might not be ſafe to refuſe. He therefore made uſe of one Schabour, a ſoldier of fortune, who offered him his ſervice on his acceſſion to the throne, and to whom he gave orders to take off Saouk, in ſuch a manner, as might leaſt reflect upon his government. Having this commiſſion, Schabour went to pay his reſpects to Saouk; and having drawn him into a converſation, quarrelled with him, and cut his throat. In the tenth year of the reign of Cobad a certain impoſtor appeared, whoſe name was Mazdek [t]. He followed the ſteps of Mani pretty cloſely; for he ſet himſelf up for a prophet in the deſert, and having drawn together a multitude of people by his ſpecious pretences, firmly perſuad-

[s] Mirkhond, ſect xxxii. Lebtarikh. [t] Shariſhtani de religion. orient. Megjdi in vita Kobad. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. artic. Mazdak.

perſuaded them of his having revelations from heaven. The drift of theſe revelations was to the old purpoſe, viz. the eſtabliſhing of a more pure and holy religion, than had been hitherto made known to mankind. But as auſterity and ſelf-denial were never very popular doctrines, he invented ſome new notions of purity; and, in order to take away the luſt of wealth and of women, he propoſed rendering them both common. This ſuited well with the diſpoſition of Cobad, who, as we obſerved before, was a very diſſolute prince; and therefore he countenanced this impoſtor, brought him to court, treated him with reſpect, and, under pretence of promoting purity in religion, fell to plundering his nobility and debauching their wives and daughters. This is that decree for rendering women common, which the Greek writers ſpeak of, and which they make the pure effect of the corruption of the king's heart, and repreſent as an action which loſt him the hearts of all his people. But this is ſo far from being true, that the bulk of the people were more attached to this prince than any of his predeceſſors. The poor hoped to have a ſhare in the treaſures taken from the rich, and the youth were ſo tranſported with the thoughts of having all the women they pleaſed, that the nobility found it a very difficult matter to do what they did. Cobad had a ſiſter, who was wonderfully beautiful, and of whoſe adventures the oriental romance-writers have written very largely. This ſiſter Mazdek gave him a diſpenſation to marry, which is the cleareſt proof in the world, that the Greek writers are altogether in the wrong in ſuggeſting that ſuch marriages were conformable to the magian religion; had it been ſo, Cobad needed not have turned heretic to have obtained ſuch a diſpenſation, nor would his making uſe of it have alarmed the nobility as it did. It was this that put the finiſhing ſtroke to his ruin; for the Perſian lords looked upon it now as a thing certain, that he would ſtick at nothing. Coming therefore in great numbers to court, with ſuch of their dependents as they could truſt, they ſeized the perſon of the king, committed him to priſon, and appointed one Giamaſp, a perſon of great wiſdom and integrity, regent of the kingdom [u]. As to the impoſtor Mazdek, they would likewiſe have ſecured his perſon, if they could; but he was too circumſpect to put it in their power. His

[u] Mirkhond. ſect. xxxiii. Khondemir. Shariſtani de religion. orient.

disciples were very numerous, and he failed not to keep a sufficient number of them about him to repel any attempt of this sort; and he likewise took care not to trust himself in cities or fortresses, where the nobility might shut him up as in a cage [x].

Cobad recovers the kingdom.

THE account the Oriental writers give us of the manner in which Cobad escaped from his prison, differs so little from that given by the Greeks already inserted at large in the life of Cavades, that, to avoid prolixity, we shall repeat nothing of it here. The eastern writers assure us, that it was some time before the king of the Haiathelites could be prevailed on to raise forces, in order to re-establish Cobad on his throne. At length he sent thirty thousand horse into the frontiers of Persia to try the disposition of the people; and it appearing that they were well affected to Cobad's interest, that prince followed in Person, and was shortly after peaceably restored, Giamasp readily resigning all title to the imperial thrown, which procured him a very favourable reception from Cobad, who treated him with much respect as long as he lived. After his restoration, it is said, he altogether reformed his conduct, and became in every respect an excellent prince, equally careful of extending his empire by arms, and of improving it by the encouragement of arts. It appears not, however, that he quitted the sect of Mazdek, though he durst never attempt to carry his notions into practice after his return; and in all probability he was the less inclined to attempt any thing of this sort, on acount of the trouble he had with one of his own sons, who embraced the opinions of Mani, and in whose favour all the Persians, infected with that heresy, discovered an inclination to revolt, in order to have placed him on the throne before the death of his father, had they not been prevented by the diligence of Cobad, who was of a most active disposition, and preserved his activity even in old age. Authors are not very well agreed as to the length of his reign; some giving him more years, some less. The best historians, however, agree, that he reigned forty-three years with great variety of fortune, and that he died beloved by his subjects, and revered by his neighbours, after having restored peace and order throughout Persia, repaired such cities as were falling to decay, and erected

[x] Khondemir. Sharistani de religion. oriental. Mirkhond. sect. xxxiii. Megjdi in vita Kobad. Lebtarikh.

erected many new ones to ſerve as monuments of glory to his poſterity [t] (G).

To Cobad ſucceeded his ſon Khoſrou or Choſroes, ſo famous throughout all the eaſt under the ſirname of Nouſchirvan, i. e. the magnanimous. This word, literally taken, ſignifies a ſoul candied in honey, and metaphorically a mind equally diſtinguiſhed by ſweetneſs of temper and great abilities. He was by very far the greateſt prince of this dynaſty, and, in the opinion of moſt of the oriental hiſtorians, the moſt glorious monarch, that ever reigned in Perſia; happy in his genius, more ſo in his education, excelling in all royal virtues, and deficient in none requiſite to diſtinguiſh a man in private life. The dawn of his government promiſed much felicity to his people, and he reigned long enough to make good to them much more than that promiſed. The firſt act of ſovereignty with Nouſchirvan.

which

[t] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Khondemir. Shariſtani de religion. orient.

(G) There are ſome varieties in the relations we have of the reign of Khobad, which deſerve to be remarked. Khobad, according to Mirkhond, married Zarmeher, the grand-daughter of Saouk, who had governed the kingdom after the miſerable defeat of his father; but of this we find no diſtinct account in any other hiſtorian. What is ſtranger ſtill, Mirkhond makes this lady the mother of Nouſchirvan. As to his ſiſter, whoſe beauty and accompliſhments tempted him to accept of the impoſtor Mazdek's diſpenſation, Mirkhond aſſures us, that ſhe was taken priſoner at the time her father Ferouz was killed, a circumſtance we did not inſert in the text, becauſe it ſeems to be altogether improbable. The march which Ferouz made into the enemy's country was in itſelf attended with great difficulties, and who can imagine, that he would expoſe a young lady the only daughter he had, in ſuch a manner? All the oriental hiſtorians agree, that during his reign there were prodigious numbers of Jews ſettled in his dominions, eſpecially in Chaldæa, where ſometimes he treated them with great lenity, and at others he loaded them with heavy taxes. It does not appear, that he ever had any good opinion of the Manichees, though they had been in favour with his father, and though the impoſtor Mazdek had concurred with them in ſome of their notions. The truth ſeems to be, that he was far from being nice in religion himſelf, and only pretended a high zeal for the ſect of Mazdek, becauſe it gave him an opportunity of filling his coffers, and gratifying his paſſion for his ſiſter (19).

(19) Mirkhond ſect. xxxiii. Lebtarikh. Shariſtani de religion. orient.

which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf was full of ſeverity, though he was naturally the mildeſt prince in the world. He found means to cauſe the impoſtor Mazdek to be ſeized, and to be brought priſoner into his preſence. On this occaſion Nouſchirvan made a long oration, in which he explained the many and great miſchiefs brought on mighty kingdoms by ſuch deluders, declared his ſettled reſolution to extirpate all this new ſect, and as an earneſt thereof, he ordered Mazdek to be immediately put to death. That deceiver, deſirous of keeping up ſome reputation, addreſſed himſelf to Nouſchirvan in theſe words, as the officers were about to take him out of that prince's preſence: "Providence, O king! appointed thee to rule over us, "that thou mighteſt protect and not deſtroy. True, "thou ſon of corruption, anſwered Nouſchirvan; but "doſt thou not remember, that thou didſt once impudently demand of Cobad my father permiſſion to lie with "my mother, and that thy followers have pillaged all the "reſt of my ſubjects? I do not therefore ſeek to deſtroy "thee and thine, but to preſerve my ſelf and the people "committed by providence to my care". After the execution of Mazdek, Nouſchirvan did not proceed to any farther ſeverities. The death of their chief ſtruck ſuch a damp to the hearts of his followers, that they willingly laid hold of the alternative offered them by the king's edict, viz. either to reſtore what they had wrongfully taken from others, or to ſuffer capital puniſhment as thieves. Thus the peace and properties of the people of Perſia were ſecured againſt the attempts of theſe debauched enthuſiaſts, without any extraordinary effuſion of blood [u].

Inſtances of his generoſity and wiſdom.

NOUSCHIRVAN alſo removed at the very beginning of his reign ſuch officers of his court, as, by their conduct in his father's life-time, had rendered themſelves diſagreeable to his people. Among theſe there was one particular perſon whom he forbad ever to come into his preſence, and who by this ſudden and total diſgrace fell into extreme poverty. On the birth-day, however, of the king, when all the Perſian nobility came to make preſents, and to pay their duty to their ſovereign, this officer appeared among the reſt, and, after having dined at the royal table, put one of the golden plates into his boſom, unperceived by any but Nouſchirvan. When the plate was miſſed, and the ſervants

[u] Megjdi in vita Nouſchirvan. Mirkhond, ſect. xxxiv. Khondemir. Shariſtani de religion. orient.

vants began to make ſome ſtir, the king bade them be at quiet; "For," ſaid he, "the man who took it will not "bring it again, and he who ſaw him take it will not diſ-"cover him". On the next birth-day the officer came to court again, clad in a new robe, upon which the king calling him, whiſpered in his ear, "Did my plate go to "buy that fine robe?" The man readily anſwered, Yes, and then drawing it aſide, ſhewed him a pair of ragged breeches: but you ſee, Sir, ſaid he, that it would go no farther. Nouſchirvan was ſo charmed with the frankneſs of the man, that he reſtored him to his place as well as favour, and the Perſians were ſo delighted with the generoſity and good-humour of their prince, that in all their hiſtories this ſtory is preſerved, as a monument of his beneficence and clemency. For the better diſpatching of juſtice, and the more eaſy management of all public affairs, the king in the ſecond year of his reign divided all the Perſian dominions into four vizierſhips: the firſt conſiſted of the frontier provinces towards Tartary and India: the ſecond included Parthia, Armenia, and the provinces bordering on the Caſpian ſea; the third comprehended Perſia Proper, and all the provinces between it and the gulph: the fourth was compoſed of Meſopotamia, Chaldea, the countries taken from the Arabs, and thoſe conquered from the Greek emperors. Over each of theſe he appointed a governor of the royal blood, who, in all ordinary caſes, judged without appeal: but in all extraordinary caſes and where judgments were capital they could not proceed, till they had inſtructions from court [x].

And of his martial diſpoſition.

EARLY alſo in his reign he made an expedition into Rumeſtan, or the territories of the Greek emperor, of which we have given a long account in the foregoing period. In this war, however, he did not ſo much endeavour to augment the bulk of his territories, as to encreaſe the number of his ſubjects. It was with this view that he tranſported all the inhabitants of the great city of Antioch into the province of Irak, where he gave them the city of Mahouza for their habitation, the name of which, to oblige them, he changed for that of Antioch. This city lay at no great diſtance from Babylon; but the new name conferred upon it by Choſroes did not remain with it long; for

[x] Khondemir, Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Megjdi in vita Nouſchirvan. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Nouſchirvan.

for after his decaſe the old one of Mahouza came again into uſe, and it is ſo called even at this day. After this he reſolved to reſtore the Perſian frontier on the other ſide of his empire, on which the Haiathelites had treſpaſſed exceedingly, ſuppoſing they could never be too well rewarded for the aſſiſtance they had given to his father Cobad. At firſt Nouſchirvan endeavoured to proceed by way of negotiation, repreſenting to theſe people, that the wide-ſpread countries of Thebet, Candahar, and Brantolah, ſuited better their way of life, than the provinces they had uſurped from Perſia; but the Haiathelites having treated theſe repreſentations with contempt, Nouſchirvan was conſtrained to have recourſe to force; whereby he anſwered his purpoſe better, and obliged this barbarous people to repaſs the mountains, by which means his ſubjects were delivered from thoſe apprehenſions, with which the neighbourhood of this mighty nation had tormented them for upwards of fifty years. This manner of proceeding alarmed all the neighbouring princes, and more eſpecially the khacan, who immediately raiſed a great army, and, while Nouſchirvan was on the borders of India with his troops, broke like an inundation through the Perſian provinces into the very heart of the kingdom. Nouſchirvan, as ſoon as he was acquainted with what had happened, reſolved to ſend his ſon Hormouz againſt this formidable invader, being afraid to leave his frontiers towards India uncovered, leſt ſome advantages ſhould be taken by his enemies on that ſide[y].

His ſon Hormouz defeats the khacan.

HORMOUZ diſcharged his duty to his father and to the Perſian nation, not only with great fidelity, but with great capacity alſo. Though but a young man, he had been a ſoldier from his childhood, and therefore wanted not experience, as he naturally abounded with courage. The troops he had about him were daily augmented by the country people, who looked upon the army as the ſureſt aſylum, and prudently choſe to hazard their lives in the ſervice of their country, rather than to fly and hide themſelves from the enemy with equal hazard. Hormouz judged perfectly well of the ſtrength of his own forces, and did not, becauſe they were numerous, pretend to give the enemy battle, which, if he had loſt, muſt have loſt Perſia; but by haraſſing the unwieldy army of the khacan by continual ſkirmiſhes, by withdrawing all ſorts of proviſion out of

[y] Khondemir. Mirkhond, ſect. xxxiv. Megjdi in vit. Nourſhirravan

of the open country, by garriſoning ſtrong cities, and by abandoning weak ones, he obliged that monarch to think of retiring, as by burning all the country behind him, he had rendered his retreat almoſt impracticable. The khacan, ignorant of this, began to march back, and was amazed when he found a deſert before him, and the Perſian forces behind, and on every ſide. In this miſerable ſituation himſelf, with the principal nobility and a great corps of the beſt horſe, deſerted the reſt, and precipitately eſcaped into their own country, leaving to the young prince of Perſia the glory of having defeated him, and of having defeated him by his conduct. Nouſchirvan on the other hand, having completed his deſigns in reſpect to his Indian frontiers, made an offenſive war on the khacan, and puſhed his conqueſts ſo far, that he obliged him to accept peace on the terms he thought fit to give him; after which Nouſchirvan married his daughter. This remarkable event happened in the twelfth year of his reign, and as it delivered him from any apprehenſions of danger from foreign enemies, ſo he laid hold of this opportunity to ſettle the boundaries of his vaſt dominions, and then to return to Madain his capital city, where he gave audience to the embaſſadors of the greateſt potentates of the world, who came to compliment him on his victories, and to penetrate, if poſſible, any new deſigns he might have formed [z].

The bounds of the Perſian empire.

It may not be amiſs to take notice here of the boundaries which Nouſchirvan gave to his empire, becauſe the reader will from thence perceive, with how great juſtice the Perſian writers acknowledge this prince for the greateſt monarch that ever ruled in their country. The city and country of Farganah, which lies along the river Sihon or Jaxartes, was the limit of Perſia on that ſide; the river Indus ſeparated his territories from thoſe of the independent Indian princes. Arabia, to the frontiers of Egypt, acknowledged him for its ſovereign, and in Syria he had puſhed his conqueſts as far as the ſea would permit. While Nouſchirvan enjoyed in peace an empire of ſuch an extent, he formed two projects highly commended by the eaſtern writers, and which, it may be would not have gained him ſo much honour, had he reigned in another part of the world. The firſt was the bringing out of India a certain book, intitled Homaioun Nameh, i, e. The Royal

[z] Mirkhond ubi ſupra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir

Royal Manual, the work of the famous Pilpai, containing a multitude of parables, relating to the art of government. This, by the care of his chief miniſter Buzurge Mihir, he procured, and cauſed it to be tranſlated into the Perſian language for his own uſe. His other project was of the ſame ſort, but undertaken for the ſake of his people. It was the publication of his predeceſſor Ardſchir's inſtructions for all degrees of men. Of this he cauſed a multitude of copies to be made, and obliged every family in Perſia to receive one [a].

Nouſchizad the ſon of Nouſchirvan rebels againſt him.

We muſt not, however ſuppoſe, that the life of Nouſchirvan was ſpent without meeting with any troubles: For what prince, what private man, ever ſpent his life ſo? The ſource of his uneaſineſs was his own family, and the enemy who gave him muſt trouble was his own ſon. In one of his expeditions into Rumeſtan, or the dominions of the emperors of Greece, he had taken a female captive, by whoſe beauty he was ſubdued himſelf. This woman was a chriſtian and very devout. Nouſchirvan eſpouſed her, and had by her a ſon whom he dearly loved. The name of this young prince was Nouſchizad. His mother took care from his cradle to educate him in her religion, and impreſſed the truths thereof ſo ſtrongly on his mind, that when he grew up, he was not to be moved by the arts of the magi, or by the threats or promiſes of his father. Nouſchirvan, perceiving this and being afraid of the conſequences, confined him. For, as we have ſeen, religious diſputes were dreadful to this wiſe prince, who thought he could not be maſter of the hearts of his ſubjects if they were not united amongſt themſelves. The prince's cuſtody was eaſy enough, the king deſigning, not ſo much to puniſh him as to prevent any thing which might deſerve puniſhment; and therefore, when he found himſelf obliged to viſit the frontiers of his empire towards India, he did not think fit to alter Nouſchizad's condition, but left him under the ſame gentle reſtraint, wherein he had lived for ſome years. During his abſence from his capital, he had a fit of ſickneſs, whereupon a report was ſpread that he was dead. Nouſchizad hearing this took inſtantly an opportunity of making his eſcape; and as there were many chriſtians in Perſia, he quickly drew together a conſiderable force, and continued to encreaſe his army,

[a] Megjdi in vit. Nourſhirravan. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi ſupra.

army, even after he was informed, that his father was alive and well. The news of this revolt greatly afflicted Nouſchirvan, who did not, however, immediately ſend an army againſt his ſon, but ſuffered things to remain as they were, that the young prince might have time to conſider the condition he was in and return to his duty. But when he ſaw this delay produced nothing, but that on the contrary, many of the grandees, who were diſcontented at the ſeverity of the king's juſtice took this opportunity of fortifying themſelves againſt his reſentment, Nouſchirvan reſolved to wait no longer; and therefore inſtantly diſpatched a body of forces under the command of Ram Berzin, one of his principal generals, to reduce the rebels. However, when that officer took his leave of him, he gave him theſe inſtructions: "I underſtand that my ſon "hath not only taken arms, but hath alſo poſſeſſed him-"ſelf of my treaſures, opened the priſons, augmented "his army with thoſe he found in them, and, by the "help of my money and his own promiſes, hath drawn "abundance of my officers to his party. My commands "therefore are, that you advance with all poſſible dili-"gence towards him, yet without attacking him, or thoſe "of my ſubjects who are about him, till you have advi-"ſed him of your arrival, and exhorted him to return to "that obedience he owes me; which if he inclines to do, "I expect that he ſhould ſend back to their priſons thoſe "whom he has releaſed; that he ſhould put to the ſword "the officers who have deſerted to him, and diſband his "army. If he refuſes to execute theſe things, do your "utmoſt to reduce him by force, even though it ſhould "be at the expence of his life. But if the young "man falls alive into your hands, do not offer him the "leaſt in dignity, nor ſo much as reproach him with his "want of duty; his conſciouſneſs thereof will be a ſuffi-"cient puniſhment". Ram Berzin followed his inſtructions exactly, but the prince proving obſtinate, a general engagement enſued, in which Nouſchizad was defeated and received a mortal wound, which when he perceived, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, Tell the queen my mother, that it is my laſt requeſt, that my body may be buried among the chriſtians. Nouſchirvan ſucceeded no leſs happily in his Indian war, than he had done in this domeſtic one; he compelled all the princes on his frontiers to do him homage and to pay him tribute. After

this he marched with a great army into Arabia, where he was fortunate in the higheſt degree, and uſed his fortune to the beſt purpoſe imaginable. He found the country diſtreſſed by tyrants, whom he diſpoſſeſſed of their power, reſtored the lawful ſovereigns, whom they had driven from their dominions, and did ſo many kindneſſes to the people in general, that Mohammed himſelf was wont to boaſt, that he was born under the reign of this monarch, ſurnamed by the Arabians Al-malek, i. e. The Juſt [b].

After all his victories Nouſchirvan adorns his capital,

AFTER this he returned to Madain, his capital, and began to adorn it with a multitude of new and ſumptuous buildings; amongſt the reſt with a palace, which was accounted one of the wonders of the eaſt. It was called Thak Khoſrou, i. e. The dome of Choſroes. It had a beautiful cupola, and underneath ſtrong and large vaults, in which were depoſited all the mighty treaſures of this powerful monarch. In order to have a juſt idea of this wonderful building, the reader muſt be informed, that the caliph Almanzor ordered this palace to be pulled down, in order to employ its materials in adorning the citadel of Bagdat; but, after working ſome time thereon, he found the expence ſo great, that he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and leave the greateſt part of the palace of Choſroes undemoliſhed, on which a Perſian poet wrote the following diſtich, alluding to the founder of this glorious edifice:

Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy;
Nor rage, nor time, can thy deſigns deſtroy.

If we were to mention a twentieth part of the acts recorded of this prince, which have come even to our hands, it would take up much more room than we have allowed to this period; we ſhall content ourſelves therefore with giving the reader an account of his laſt expedition and death, and a ſhort view of his character, according to the Oriental writers, in a note, that we may not be condemned of negligence, amidſt ſuch immenſe materials. The laſt war, which Nouſchirvan made againſt the Conſtantinopolitan emperor, was occaſioned by his ſupporting the petty princes of Armenia, againſt the Perſian prince, who was their ſovereign. At firſt Nouſchirvan had the ſame good fortune in this as in his other wars; but truſting it too far, he was defeated, and conſtrained to paſs

[b] Mirkhond, ubi ſupra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Megjdi in vit. Nouſhirrevan.

to paſs the river Euphrates on the back of his elephant, and not without great danger of being drowned. On his return to his capital Madain, wich is either the ſame with Cteſiphon, or a city built upon its ruins, he began to find himſelf extremely weak, and not a little indiſpoſed. He therefore judged it time to think of making peace, and then of ſettling the ſucceſſion; for being now eighty years old, and having reigned forty-eight, he had not either cauſe to hope for much longer life, or to repine at his approaching deceaſe, after having ſo long and fully enjoyed the good things of this world. When therefore he heard, that the Greek emperor was willing to conclude a treaty on reaſonable terms, and ſaw that the nobility were well inclined towards his ſon Hormouz, he diſpoſed himſelf chearfully to ſubmit to fate, having firſt delivered in writing the following inſtructions, or political teſtament, to his ſon [d].

"I Nouſchirvan, the poſſeſſor of the kingdoms of Perſia "and India, addreſs theſe my laſt words to Hormouz my ſon, "that they may ſerve him as a lanthern in the days of darkneſs, as a path when he ſhall enter the deſerts, and as a poleſtar when he navigates through the ſeas of this tempeſtuous "world. When my eyes are cloſed, which are already unable to bear the light of the ſun, let him be ſeated on my "throne, and let his luſtre be equal to that glorious planet: "but let him remember in the midſt of his greatneſs, that "kings rule not for themſelves, but for their people, and "that they are, with reſpect to them, what the heavens are "to the earth. Can the earth be fuitful, if it be not watered, if it be not cheriſhed by the heavens? My ſon, let all "your people be ſenſible of your benefactions; thoſe who are "neareſt you firſt; by degrees thoſe who are at the greateſt "diſtance. If I durſt, I would propoſe to you my own example: but I will rather put you in mind of that which "hath been example unto me. Behold the ſun, it viſits all "parts of the world; and if it is ſometimes viſible, and at o"thers removed from our ſight, it is becauſe the univerſe "partakes of its ſplendor and is cheriſhed by its beams. Enter not any province but with a proſpect of doing good to its "inhabitants; neither quit it with any other view, than to do good

[d] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Lebtarikh. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Madain, Nouſchirvan.

" good elſewhere. Ill men muſt be puniſhed; to them the
" ſun of majeſty is eclipſed: the good deſerve the utmoſt en-
" couragement, and ought to experience the morning beams.
" As that glorious luminary anſwers all the purpoſes for which
" it was created at all times, be thou careful to act
" always like a king, ſince you will deſire at all times to be
" revered as a king. My ſon, preſent thyſelf often before
" heaven to implore its aid; but be ſure that thou approach it
" not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple?
" If thou ſhalt obſerve exactly this rule, thy prayers ſhall be
" heard, thy enemies ſhall be ſtruck with terror, thy friends
" ſhall be ever faithful; thou ſhalt be the delight of thy ſub-
" jects, and thou ſhalt have reaſon to delight in them. Do
" juſtice, abaſe the inſolent, comfort the unhappy, love your
" children, protect learning, follow the advice given you by
" antient counſellors, ſuffer not the young to meddle in affairs
" of ſtate, and let the good of your people be the ſole and ſu-
" preme end of your deſigns. Farewel: I leave you a great
" kingdom, which you will keep, if you will follow my
" counſels; and which it will be impoſſible for you to keep, if
" you follow others [e]." Such was the end of Nouſchirvan, the moſt beloved prince of his age, and whoſe reputation ſurvives to this day in the works of all the eaſtern hiſtorians, in the writings of their moraliſts, and more eſpecially in the works of their poets [f] (H).

[e] Hiſtoir ed'une revolut. arrivé en Perſe dans le ſixieme ſiecle ap. de l'academ. royale des inſcrip. Tom III. edit. Amſterd. p. 510.
[f] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Megjdi in vita Nouſhirravan.

(H) Khondemir cloſes his account of the reign of Nouſchirvan with this obſervation: " Princes in ſucceeding times ought to place
" him, of whom we have been ſpeaking, as a model before their
" eyes, and make his conduct the rule of theirs, ſince he poſſeſ-
" ed in a ſovereign degree, as well the good qualities which ren-
" der amiable a private man, as the exalted virtues which add
" luſtre to a diadem; but, above all, juſtice without biaſs, liber-
" ality without any other bounds than thoſe aſſigned by reaſon, con-
" tributed moſt to his high reputation while living, and have pre-
" ſerved his fame freſh to poſterity (20)." We have ſeen, in the foregoing hiſtory, many inſtances of the grandeur of this prince's ſoul,

(20) Hiſtor. Perſar.

Hormouz IV.

HORMOUZ, whom the Greeks call Hormiſdas, and who was the fourth of that name of this dynaſty, aſcended the throne with the faireſt proſpect that ever any Perſian prince had. He was naturally of a very indifferent diſpoſition, addicted to his pleaſures, haughty, and cruel. His father who was too wiſe a prince not to perceive theſe defects in his ſon, endeavoured to correct them by education. With this view he put him under the care of the celebrated Buzurge Mihir, the wiſeſt man in Perſia, and the firſt miniſ-

ſoul, in undertaking the moſt ſtupendous works for the benefit, and for the ornament, of the ſeveral parts of his dominions. There is one, however, of which we have not ſpoken; and as it makes a great figure in all the Oriental hiſtories, it is requiſite to take ſome notice of it here: This is the wall of Jagouge and Magouge or a thick and high rampart commencing at Derbent, and running from mountain to mountain, ſo as to ſecure the frontiers of Perſia from the northern nations. It was projected by Alexander the Great, and, as ſome ſay, begun by his command. However, it remained unfiniſhed, tho' not altogether unproſecuted, till the reign of Nouſchirvan, who undertook and happily concluded it (21). The court of Nouſchirvan was one of the moſt magnificent that the world ever ſaw. The deputies from all the provinces of Perſia conſtantly attended therein, as did the embaſſadors of all the great princes in the world. The expence of their entertainment was defrayed by Nouſchirvan, who, in the midſt of all his proſperity, preſerved a mind ſo equal and undiſturbed, that he was never ſurprized into any expreſſion unworthy of a philoſopher. A courier coming haſtily into his preſence, cryed out, God is juſt! God is juſt! the implacable enemy of our king is taken away by death. Nouſchirvan anſwered without the leaſt emotion, "Far be it from me to rejoice at the death of my enemy. "There can be nothing more ridiculous, than for mortals to be "pleaſed with inſtances of mortality (22)". When he had been hunting, and was deſirous of eating ſome of the veniſon in the field, ſome of his attendants went to a neighbouring village, and took away a quantity of ſalt to ſeaſon it. The king ſuſpected it, and ordered that they ſhould immediately go and pay for it; then turning to his miniſter, he ſaid, "This is a ſmall matter in itſelf, "but a great one as it regards me. A king ought ever to be juſt, "becauſe he is an example to his ſubjects; and if he ſwerves in "trifles, they will become diſſolute. If I cannot make all my "people juſt in the ſmalleſt things, I can at leaſt ſhew them that "it

(21) D'Herbelot B. O. artic. Jagouge. (22) Saadi in Guliſtan. c. i.

ter of Nouſchirvan. This excellent perſon took ſuch pains with Hormouz, and knew ſo well how to ſet folly and vice in their proper lights, that he vanquiſhed his natural proneneſs to evil, and made him, in ſpite of himſelf, a great and a good man. For the firſt three years of his reign, while his old tutor remained about his perſon, he as far tranſcended Nouſchirvan, as Nouſchirvan had all his predeceſſors. His diſcourſes were fraught with wiſdom, his actions were all beneficent. He carried ſo far his reſpect for Buzurge Mihir, that he would not wear his royal ornaments in his preſence; and when ſome of his courtiers intimated, that his reverence

" it is poſſible to be ſo (23)." The ſame way of thinking induced him to put the following inſcription on his diadem, after he had ſettled the immenſe dominions he had acquired, and was revered at home and abroad, as the mightieſt of all monarchs:

What is long life? or what a glorious reign?
Since our ſucceſſors cloſe upon us tread.
My fathers left this crown, and I again
Muſt leave it too, and mingle with the dead (24).

Theſe are ſufficient ſpecimens of the ſolidity of his underſtanding, and of the ſtrength and rectitude of his ſentiments. We have therefore all the reaſon in the world to believe, what all the oriental hiſtorians poſitively affirm, that he was one of the moſt learned men, not only in his own dominions, but in his age; that he was the moſt beneficent patron of the ſciences, and of thoſe who cultivate them; and that his court was the aſylum of merit in diſtreſs. He held regular aſſemblies for the promoting of real, that is, uſeful knowledge, at which he aſſiſted himſelf, with his miniſters of ſtate, as will be ſeen in the next note; and he was ſo far from being a ſmatterer, that not only in the politer branches of learning, but even in the buſineſs of mechanics, he knew as much as the artiſts themſelves. With all this, he was the moſt debonnaire man in his court; and tho' he never ſaid a light or trivial thing himſelf, yet he would laugh at the jeſts of others, and never took ill any poignant expreſſion that eſcaped a man in a flow of humour (25). No wonder then, that the wits of his own time loved him; that the wits of ſucceeding ages have done their utmoſt to embalm his character. The facts related of him muſt ſtrike all generous minds; and therefore we make no excuſe for ſo long a note.

(23) Id. ibid. p. 100. (24) Id. ibid. p. 119.
(25) Lebtarikh. Mirkhond, ſect. 34. Hafez, Giami. cum mult. al. poet.

rence to him was exceſſive, ſince it was more than was due to a parent, he anſwered, "You ſay well, my friends; "but I owe more to him than I do to my father. The "life and kingdom I received from Nouſchirvan will remain "with me but a few years; but the reputation I ſhall ac- "quire, in virtue of his inſtructions, will ſurvive to lateſt "times". Happy had it been for this prince, had he always adhered to theſe notions; but when old age had rendered Buzurge Mihir unfit for the great employments he poſſeſſed, he requeſted, and had leave from Hormouz to retire; and with him retired the happineſs and fortune of his maſter (I). The young courtiers who were about Hormouz

(I) The character of Buzurge Mihir makes ſo great a figure in the oriental hiſtories, that it is but juſt we ſhould beſtow a note upon it here. In the firſt place we muſt remark, that this is the ſirname only of the prime miniſter of Nouſchirvan, and that it ſignifies, in the Perſian tongue, well beloved. We have taken notice in the text of his being appointed governor to Hormouz; and that, with great difficulty, he triumphed over the evil diſpoſition of that prince. It cannot be improper to give an inſtance of his addreſs in this reſpect; he ſaw with regret that his pupil ſlept till noon, ſpent the afternoon in dreſſing, and the night in debauches; he reproved to no purpoſe, he expoſtulated to no end; yet he continued to expoſtulate and reprove, hoping, that importunity might effect what was unattainable by reaſon. Hormouz at length, quite tired out, deviſed a method, to rid himſelf of theſe lectures: he ordered ſome of his favourites to diſguiſe themſelves, and to ſtrip his preceptor quite naked, as he came in the morning from his father's court to wait upon him. This being accordingly done, when Buzurge Mihir related his misfortunes, "You ſee, ſaid the young prince, what comes of all this diligence; "if you had not been up ſo early, you had not been robbed. You "miſtake, Sir, ſaid the preceptor, the thieves were more ſucceſs- "ful than I, becauſe they roſe earlier. Vigilance, Sir, is a copy "of the divine activity; it is the torch by which ſcience becomes "viſible, the great treaſure of virtue and true pleaſure, and the "key of victory in all things. Riſe then, my dear prince, that "the ſon of good fortune may diſplay his beams on thy head, and "the freſh air in the morning may diſpoſe thy mind to receive "thoſe graces from heaven, which may in time make thee a "bleſſing to the whole earth (26)." One day Buzurge Mihir being with his maſter Nouſchirvan at one of the aſſemblies of the learned

(26) D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Buzurge Mihir.

began from that moment, to have a viſible aſcendency over him, and to influence him to do many things alike contrary to his intereſt and injurious to his reputation. Such of his old counſellors as were about his perſon, and had ſtill ſome ſhare in his eſteem, theſe ſycophants found means to remove, either by miſinforming their king, or by treating thoſe they diſliked in ſo rude a way, that they made it their choice to retire from court. It had been the policy of Nouſchirvan to provide the ſhorteſt and ſpeedieſt methods of diſtributing juſtice throughout his wide empire. Every little village had its judge, and, in all courts of judicature, care was taken, that decrees ſhould not coſt either more time or money than they were worth. At the time of his death he left thirty thouſand perſons in judicial offices in his dominions. Numbers of theſe were removed when Hormouz fell into the hands of bad counſellors; and the miſchiefs which followed on this raſh ſtep were ſo great, that the inſpectors of juſtice in the ſeveral provinces of the empire joined in a remonſtrance upon that head; which Hormouz was ſo infatuated

learned, the king propoſed for the ſubject of debate this queſtion, What is the extreme degree of miſery? A Greek philoſopher, who was eſteemed one of the moſt learned men of his age and country, anſwered, Poverty in extreme old age. An Indian ſage alſo, of great reputation, gave it as his opinion, "That great pain, attended with dejection of mind, was the moſt "unſupportable of evils. And what ſay you? ſaid Nouſchirvan "turning to his maſter. My judgment is, replied he, that he "is the moſt miſerable of men, who begins to repent, when he "finds his life is at an end (27)." He had no ſooner ſaid this, than the other two ſages came immediately over to his opinion. It would take up a great deal of room to inſert a tenth part of the examples we have met with of this man's wiſdom: One inſtance, however, of his miniſterial virtues may not be amiſs. One day at counſel, after a good deal had been ſpoken by others, it was obſerved, that he remained ſilent; upon which Nouſchirvan aſked him, Why he did not ſpeak his ſentiments, as well as the reſt? Becauſe anſwered he, a ſtateſman ought to give his advice, as a phyſician does medicines, that is, when there is occaſion (28). At this the king ſmiled, and the reſt of the counſellors teſtified their ſatisfaction at ſo well turned a compliment. This great man was privately a chriſtian, which chiefly induced him to retire from court, and for which the cruel Khoſrou Parviz cauſed him to be put to death, when he had arrived at an extreme old age (29).

(27) Saadi in Guliſtan. (28) Idem ibid. (29) Khondemir.

infatuated as to conceive a libel on his government, in reſentment of which he perſecuted this whole uſeful and venerable race of men with implacable hatred, and by a new ſtrain of tyrannical madneſs, would be the ſole judge of his people himſelf. On this pretence he wore every day the tiara or royal diadem, which his predeceſſors never put on, but when they were about to adminiſter juſtice to their ſubjects. Hence his people gave him the ſurname of Tagedar, i. e. the crown wearer [g].

The khakan invades Perſia.

It is impoſſible for a bad prince to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the hearts of his people, as well as of their obedience; and it is as impoſſible for a nation univerſally diſaffected to hinder their prince from perceiving the diſlike they have of his meaſures. This quickly became the caſe of Hormouz and his ſubjects. His jealouſies induced him to murder by thouſands. His people, believing themſelves in continual danger, could not avoid betraying an earneſt deſire of ſeeing themſelves ſafe, which begat further inclinations of revenge in their prince. To compleat the misfortunes of both parties, the frontier provinces towards India and Arabia threw off the Perſian yoke, and ſet up princes of their own; and the Khakan, who long waited for ſuch an opportunity, entered Perſia with an army of three hundred thouſand men, tho' he was uncle by the mother's ſide to Hormouz. The Perſian monarch, in this diſtreſs, called a general council of the nobility about him; and after hearing, without following, the advice of moſt of the great lords preſent, he ſuffered himſelf to be guided on this important occaſion by the counſel of an old man, who had been embaſſador for Nouſchirvan in the country of the khakan, at the time that prince demanded the mother of Hormouz in marriage. This old nobleman aſſured him, that, on this occaſion, an aſtrologer predicted, that, under the reign of a Perſian king to be born of a princeſs choſen for Nouſchirvan's queen, a certain khakan ſhould invade, and almoſt conquer, his dominions; but would be at length vanquiſhed himſelf by a Perſian general, whoſe face ſhould reſemble that of a wild cat; that the aſtrologer being further entreated to endeavour by his art to diſcover the name of this general, he by degrees placed ſeveral letters on a tablet, which taken together, compoſed theſe words, Baharam Tchoubin. One cannot conceive any thing more viſibly abſurd than this ſtory, which was certainly in-

[g] Mirkhond. ſect. 25. Khondemir. Lebtarikh.

vented to amuſe Hormouz, who was exceſſively addicted to the occult ſciences, and thereby to engage him to place this officer at the head of his armies, of whom otherwiſe he would probably not have thought, tho' he was the moſt capable of that command of any man in his dominions. He was at this time governor of Media, from whence the king ſent for him, and offered him the ſupreme command of all the troops in Perſia; which Baharam declined, and, to the amazement of his maſter, choſe only twelve thouſand men, at the head of whom he marched inſtantly againſt the khakan [i].

The khakan entirely defeated by Baharam, who is himſelf diſgraced.

He moved with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he attacked the enemy upon their march, with ſuch a fortunate vivacity, that the khakan was conſtrained to advance againſt him in perſon at the head of his guards. This poiſed the ſcales for ſome time; but at length the khakan being killed and his ſon taken priſoner, their army fled in ſuch confuſion, that they left their baggage behind them; ſo that the Perſian collected two hundred and fifty camels load of treaſure. The moſt precious of the ſpoils, together with the captive prince, Baharam ſent to the king his maſter, with a very dutiful letter, and an exact account of the advantages he had gained. At firſt Hormouz was extremely well ſatisfied with his general's good fortune, gave the higheſt commendations to his valour, and propoſed to beſtow on him mighty rewards. His favourites, however, ſuſpecting, that Baharam might not have any great complaiſance for them, in caſe he arrived at the chief employments in the ſtate, reſolved to ſecure themſelves at his expence. With this view they inſinuated to the king, that, under pretence of ſending the richeſt of the ſpoils, Baharam had only given him a ſmall ſhare thereof, and kept the reſt for himſelf; that it was to be feared he might make an ill uſe of this, and that it was a dangerous thing to truſt ſo ambitious a man at the head of an army. The ſuſpicious temper of Hormouz rendered any proof in ſupport of theſe conjectures quite unneceſſary. Inſinuations were with him always ſufficient evidence; and therefore, on no better grounds than theſe, he not only diſtruſted his general, but moſt imprudently and ſhamefully diſgraced him, by ſending him, inſtead of a habit of honour, the uſual preſent of Perſian kings, all

[i] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Relation d'une revolution, &c. p. 512. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Hormouz.

all the neceſſary apparel of a woman. This ſo far provoked Baharam, that, in his own mind, he reſolved to dethrone his maſter, and therefore having arrayed himſelf in the woman's habit the king had ſent him, he came out and ſhewed himſelf to his ſoldiers; and having aſked them, whether they thought he deſerved ſuch treatment? he, by a premeditated harangue, drew them to concur with him in his reſentments, and to aſſiſt him in his project of depriving the ſon of Nouſchirvan of the regal dignity [k].

The army ſupport Baharam againſt his maſter.

The Perſians, however, retained ſuch a reſpect for the royal family, that Baharam ſaw there was a neceſſity of making choice of ſome other prince of the ſame line. Accordingly he proclaimed Khoſrou Parviz, the eldeſt ſon of Hormouz, king. That young prince, being perſuaded by his uncles, retired from court, and countenanced the rebellion, cauſing money to be coined in his own name, and practiſing in other reſpects as if his father had been dead. Hormouz, having intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſeized Hindouiah and Botham his wife's brothers, whom he knew to have encouraged his ſon to deſert him. Their confinement, however, did not laſt long; for the whole maſs of the people, having contracted an irreconcileable averſion to their king, broke open their priſon, releaſed theſe lords, and aſſiſted them in ſeizing Hormouz; and notwithſtanding the excellent ſpeech made by that prince, at the motion of Hindouiah, put out his eyes. Khoſrou, who was at this time in Media, returned with all imaginable ſpeed to his capital, where, as the Eaſtern writers unanimouſly agree, he went and comforted his father, aſſured him, that his uncles had acted entirely without his permiſſion or conſent, and beſought his forgiveneſs in the moſt humble terms. The old blind king, ſufficiently humbled by his misfortunes, and having no hopes but in his ſon, promiſed to forgive him, provided he puniſhed thoſe who depoſed him and put out his eyes; which Khoſrou promiſed to comply with, as ſoon as he ſhould be thoroughly ſettled on the throne. In the mean time, Baharam, having inſinuated to the principal officers of his army, that Khoſrou, notwithſtanding he owed his crown to them, had yet a ſtronger affection to his family than to his people, whereby they had no hopes left, in caſe he ſhould have it in his power to puniſh them for the revolt, they determined, for

[k] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Hiſtoire d'une revolution, &c. p. 514. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Hormouz ben Nouſchirvan.

for their own ſakes, to ſupport their general, and to hazard all things, rather than his and their ſafety under a ſettled government. With this view they ſuffered him to lead them to Madain; before which city when they arrived, Khoſrou drew out his forces in a plain called Niherſan, and offered them battle. The engagement was long and bloody; but Khoſrou was at length beaten, and forced to retire into the city, where going to viſit his father, the poor old man adviſed him not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in the place, but to retire into the territories of the Greek emperor, till his affairs ſhould take a happier turn. Khoſrou, having indeed no other meaſure to take, followed his father's advice, and diſpoſed all things for his retreat. When he was about to withdraw, or, as ſome writers ſay, when he was actually out of the city, his uncles came to him, and repreſented the danger of leaving his father alive, even tho' he was blind, on a ſuppoſition that Baharam might re-inſtate him and govern under his name; wherefore they very humanely propoſed to go back and put him to death. Khoſrou oppoſed all he could this deteſtable project; but his uncles, however, turned back, and, to ſecure themſelves, ſtrangled the old unhappy prince with a bow-ſtring, when he had reigned fourteen years. This is a very different account from that given by the Greek hiſtorians, and yet all the Oriental writers concur therein; and their authority ſeems to be of at leaſt as much weight as that of ſtrangers, in a point regarding their own hiſtory [1].

Baharam Tchoubin.

BAHARAM TCHOUBIN, on the flight of Khoſrou, aſſumed the regal authority, tho' without the title. He was deſcended of the antient princes of Rei, and was the talleſt man in the Perſian dominions. He had ſerved, when a youth, as a voluntier in the armies of Nouſchirvan, and had riſen, gradually and purely through merit, to the government of Media. As he was an excellent officer and mightily beloved by the ſoldiers, ſo he was naturally loyal to his prince, and, in all probability, had maintained him on his throne, notwithſtanding his ill conduct, if Jezdan Bakſche, who was his firſt miniſter, had not inſtigated Hormouz to treat him as he did. When he had once taken the reſolution of rebelling againſt the king, he reſolved alſo to dethrone him, and to transfer the empire to his own family; but not daring to declare this, he made uſe of the name of Khoſrou, till his ſcheme

[1] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Hiſtoire d'une revolution, &c. p. 514.

ſcheme was ripe for execution. When he was informed of the flight of that prince, he ſent a great detachment of horſe in purſuit of him, under the command of Siaonſchan the captain of his guards, with orders to re-take, if it was poſſible, and to bring him priſoner to his camp. This officer executed his orders ſo punctually, that he came up with Khoſrou and his uncles at a certain hermitage; whereupon Hindouiah to preſerve his nephew, put on the royal robes, and looking out of a window, which was very high, told the ſoldiers, who had already inveſted the place, that, as ſoon as their commanding officer came up, he would ſurrender. On the arrival of the captain of the guards, Hindouiah reſumed his own cloaths, appeared at a window, and, in the name of the king, beſought that officer to grant him ſome reſpite for his repoſe; which was accordingly allowed, a ſtrong guard being poſted round the place. At evening Hindouiah came again to the window, told the captain of the guards, that the king was very ſenſible of the civility ſhewn him, and beſought him to lie there that night, that he might recover his ſpirits a little, and be the more able to bear the fatigue of travelling next day, where-ever they ſhould think proper to carry him. This likewiſe was allowed; but the next morning Hindouiah acknowledged the fraud, and confeſſed that he did it to ſave his nephew, whom he perſonated when the place was firſt inveſted, that they might not purſue him any farther. Upon this he was made priſoner, and conducted to Baharam, who ordered him to remain in confinement; but did not put him to death, becauſe he affected to govern with greater lenity than his predeceſſor. He alſo gave out, that he would follow the example of Nouſchirvan, and reſtore the luſtre of the Perſian diadem to its antient ſplendor. A while the nobility remained faithful, and the people loved him; but by degrees they became diſſatisfied with his conduct; and hearing that Khoſrou was powerfully ſupported by the Greek emperor, they began to ſhew leſs inclination to his ſervice. Baharam, however, ſet a great army on foot, and for a time maintained himſelf in poſſeſſion. At laſt, after having been defeated in a general engagement, and finding himſelf quite borne down by numbers, he determined to retire to the khakan, by whom he was at firſt well received, and to whom he rendered great ſervices by his military ſkill; but, after having been put off for many years with fair promiſes,

he

he was at length poisoned, at the solicitation of Khosrou, who could never be easy so long as he lived [m].

Khosrou II. KHOSROU, the son of Hormouz, was sirnamed Perviz or Aperviz; concerning which appellation the Orientals are by no means agreed. Some say, that, in the antient Persian tongue, it signifies victorious; others the most glorious king. A great critic in that language affirms that it signifies "fish"; and that Khosrou had this sirname given him because he was a great lover of fish. If we durst offer our own judgment amongst so many great opinions, we should say, that, as Aperviz in the antient Persian tongue, signifies a violent mover forwards, whence it is understood to signify "fish", we should apprehend it ought here to be taken allegorically; and that, as a sirname, it implies "Khosrou the impetuous", which, we think was well justified by the whole current of his conduct. We have seen, in the foregoing period, how he was set upon his throne by the assistance of the Greek emperor, whose forces, in conjunction with those of Khosrou, defeated Baharam Tchoubin in a pitched battle. Mirkhond relates this matter differently; he says, that when the two armies were drawn in order of battle, it was proposed by three general officers belonging to Baharam, that three others should be chosen by Khosrou, and that, to spare the effusion of blood, the issue of the business should be decided by these six champions; which being accepted, Khosrou put himself at the head of his troops, and, notwithstanding all that his uncles could do, fought Baharam's three generals one after another, and slew them all on the spot; whereupon the army of Baharam saluted him king, and Baharam himself; with a few of his friends, were forced to place their safety in flight. The eastern writers agree with the Greek historians in this, that Khosrou married a christian and made her queen; but then they differ exceedingly as to the quality of this lady, most of the oriental writers affirming, that she was the daughter of the emperor Maurice; whereas the Greek authors alledge, that she was a woman of ordinary birth, with whom Khosrou fell in love for her beauty. This woman, whatever her quality was, by the Greek writers is called Mary or Irene, and by the oriental historians Schirin, a name which signifies "soft" or "agreeable". They report, that Khosrou loved her

[m] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond ubi supra. Histoire d'une revolution, p. 520. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Baharam Tchoubin.

her to diſtraction; and that, on the other hand, ſhe deſpiſed him, and was in love with one Ferhad, a perſon of no great quality. They celebrate exceedingly the ſweetneſs of her voice and her ſkill in muſic; which, together with her amour, renders it improbable that ſhe was the daughter of a Greek emperor, but that ſhe was rather a dancer or muſic-girl. For her ſake Khoſrou was for a long time very kind to the chriſtians; but in proceſs of time, either from his jealouſy of her, or from ſome other cauſe, he conceived a moſt implacable hatred againſt them; and finding a fair opportunity on the acceſſion of Phocas to the Greek empire, he began to enter its provinces, to beſiege its fortified cities, and to plunder all its ſubjects, without mercy, as hath been largely ſhewn in the former period. In the invaſion of Judæa and the ſacking of the city of Jeruſalem, he was aſſiſted by the Jews, who made high profeſſions of loyalty to this prince, that, under his protection, they might exhauſt the chriſtians by uſury, and, when they were totally deſpoiled of property, enſlave their perſons. Arabia, Egypt, and the iſlands in the Mediterranean, fell under the power of this victorious prince, who, as we before noted, might well deſerve the ſirname of impetuous, from the rapidity of his conqueſts [n].

Becomes a tyrant, and is depoſed.

On his return to Madain, he wonderfully embelliſhed the palace of his grandfather, diſpoſing the upper part thereof in the form of a throne, which was ſupported by forty thouſand ſilver columns, and the concave over them was adorned by a thouſand globes of gold, wherein all the planets and great conſtellations were ſeen to perform their natural revolutions, all the walls of this ſumptuous place being covered with tapeſtry, wrought with gold flowers, and enriched with pearls and other precious ſtones. Underneath he had a hundred vaults filled with treaſure. In the apartment of his women he had three thouſand ladies, who were free, and twelve thouſand ſlaves, the moſt beautiful that could be found throughout his dominions. His houſhold troops were compoſed of ſix thouſand men. In his ſtables he had ſix thouſand horſes and mules for his own riding; twelve thouſand large mules, and eight thouſand of the ordinary kind, which ſerved to carry his baggage. He had alſo nine hundred and ſixty elephants, which he made uſe

[n] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ſect. 36. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Khoſrou Perviz, Schirin, &c.

uſe of in his armies. In the midſt of all theſe fine things, the mind of Khoſrou was very little at eaſe; for, not to enter into his family concerns and the uneaſineſs he had on account of his miſtreſs Schirin, it is ſufficient for us to know, that as he grew in years, he grew exceſſively covetous, loſt all manner of tenderneſs and compaſſion, and plundered his ſubjects in ſuch a manner, that he alone was rich in all his vaſt dominions. He grew alſo exceſſively ſuſpicious, and ſo jealous of the wealth he had amaſſed, that he made himſelf a ſlave in guarding it. His avarice likewiſe made him exceſſively cruel, inſomuch, that he put numbers of perſons to death, without any viſible cauſe. This was the rock on which his father ſplit, and which proved no leſs fatal to him. His nobility, finding themſelves abſolutely unſafe while he remained upon the throne, determined to ſecure themſelves at all events, and therefore addreſſing themſelves to an officer of his, who was then at the head of the army, they prevailed upon him to ſeize the perſon of Khoſrou, whom they inſtantly depoſed, and elevated to the throne his eldeſt ſon • (K).

KHOBAD

• Mirkhond, ubi ſupra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. ubi ſupra.

(K) The character of Khoſrou, both in this and in the former period, hath been ſo fully treated, that it might ſeem unneceſſary to add any thing more concerning him; but if it be conſidered, that this prince was more terrible to his neighbours than any of his predeceſſors, his grandfather Nouſchirvan not excepted, and that he really poſſeſſed greater dominions than any monarch of his dynaſty, it will not ſeem ſtrange, that we have ſo much to ſay about him. He promiſed, as we have ſeen in the text, to do juſtice on his father's enemies, of whom the principal were his own uncles; and in this he kept his word, for when they had eſtabliſhed him upon the throne, he cauſed them to be put to death; and, by his example, his ſon firſt directed him to be murdered, then buried him ſplendidly, and laſtly ſlew the perſon who executed his own commands. He was ſo exceſſively covetous, that, in his wars, he acted more like a partizan than a great prince; for, throughout all Syria and Meſopotamia, he firſt plundered the churches of all that was valuable in them, and then he ordered them to be demoliſhed, that he might carry away the beſt of the materials employed in building them. He was likewiſe an outrageous perſecutor, not certainly from any religious principle, but that he might maintain himſelf in the good opinion

KHOBAD Schirouieh, whom the Greeks call Siroes, was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the diadem by the choice of the nobility, than he reſolved to ſecure it, by depriving his father of life. To this purpoſe he ſent for Mihir Hormouz, a nobleman, whoſe father Khoſrou had cauſed to be put to death, and diſpatched him inſtantly to the priſon, where Khoſrou lay in chains. As ſoon as the king ſaw him, Schirouieh.

opinion of the magi. It was impoſſible he ſhould keep his conqueſts, becauſe he ſtripped the people of all things that they poſſeſſed, and thereby drove them, if they eſcaped ſlavery, into other territories; whence if ever they returned, it was in quality of ſoldiers, to revenge themſelves of ſo barbarous an enemy; whereas Nouſchirvan treated all his new ſubjects in the frontier provinces with ſuch extraordinary lenity, that there was nothing they feared ſo much as changing their maſter. All theſe devaſtations and plunderings were merely to fill thoſe vaults, which, with ſo much care, he had built under his palace, and wherein he greedily deſired to lay up the treaſures of the whole earth. Indeed, if what the Perſian hiſtories ſay be true, he did amaſs more riches than any of his predeceſſors had ever ſeen. They tell us likewiſe, that when his protector, the emperor Maurice, and his family were in diſtreſs, and had put all their jewels and riches on board two or three veſſels, theſe ſhips coming on the coaſts of Perſia, he cauſed them to be ſeized, and confiſcated all the treaſure on board them, which he ordered to be brought and placed in one of the vaults under his palace, of which he had an hundred; and having ſealed the door, placed over the head of it an inſcription, ſignifying, that theſe treaſures were brought him by the winds. When his ſubjects had depoſed him, they could not find any priſon ſo ſafe, or ſo proper, as one of thoſe vaults, where, it is ſaid, he was loaded with chains of gold, and had ſeveral days leiſure to conſider, to how little purpoſe he had oppreſſed ſo great a part of the world; ſince neither power nor wealth could hinder his feeling as exceſſive a load of miſery, as he had ever inflicted on the meaneſt of his ſubjects (30). Beſides the account of his death given in the text, we have in another hiſtorian that which follows: Siroes his ſon ſent for him into his preſence, and having entered into a long detail of his cruelties and mal-adminiſtration, he concluded thus: "You cannot think "it unjuſt or unnatural in me to order you to be put to death, "ſince, for leſs than this, you pronounced the ſame judgment "on your own father (31).

(30) Mirkhond. ſect. 37. Khondemir. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Khoſrou Ben Hormouz. (31) Lib. cui titul. Raoudhat almenadir. per Ben. Schunah.

him, he roſe up, and looking upon him with an air of wildneſs and fury, "Man," ſaid he, "I cauſed your fa-"ther to be put to death, and I hold him to be a baſtard, "who takes not the life of his father's murderer, when "he has it in his power." Hormouz upon this drew his ſcymitar, and plunging it into the bowels of Khoſrou, left him wallowing in his blood. Returning to Khobad, he gave him an exact account of what he had done, repeating alſo the ſtrange ſalutation he had from Khoſrou, to which the king at that time made no anſwer; but having cauſed his father to be ſumptuouſly interred, he ſent for Mihir Hormouz, and having repeated to him the words of his father, ſaid, "You ſee how juſtly you are put to death," and ordered him to be ſlain in his preſence. After this, Khobad ordered all his brethren to be ſeized and put to death. He had eighteen in all, and two ſiſters. Of theſe ſeventeen were murdered, and the eighteenth, whoſe name was Scheheriar, was concealed in the antient city of Perſepolis, and ſo eſcaped. As for his ſiſters, Khobad ſpared them on account of their ſex, and treated them with all imaginable kindneſs; but theſe ladies, when they ſaw their country invaded by peſtilence and famine at once, and obſerved the general diſaffection of the people, could not help reproaching their brother with his cruelty, charging on him the miſeries of his people, and exhorting him, if it was poſſible, to repent. Theſe diſcourſes made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he began to grow extremely melancholy, and at laſt the diſpoſition of his mind inducing a fever, the plague ſeized him, and he died after a reign of ſix or eight months. He was ſucceeded by his ſon [P] (L).

ARD-

[P] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond. ſect. 37. D'Herblot. B. O. art. Schirouieh.

(L) The name of this prince is ſo differently written, that many miſtakes and great confuſion have ariſen therefrom, not only among the Greek writers, but alſo among ſome of the moderns. Khondemir, Mirkhond, and the reſt of the Perſian hiſtorians agree in calling this prince Khobad; but then they diſtinguiſh him by the ſirname of Schirouieh; whence the Greeks form their Siroes, tho', if they had followed their uſual cuſtom, they ſhould rather have called him Cavades. He was certainly well inclined to the chriſtian religion; and that is the reaſon we have ſuch different accounts of him. The Greek writers, and

ARDSCHIR II. a youth of ſeven years old. His ſiſters and the nobility promiſed themſelves great bleſſings under his reign, hoping they might have time to ſettle the affairs of the kingdom, and to eaſe the people of the exceſſive taxes with which they were burdened; but in this they were miſtaken, for Scheheriar, the general of the army, who had ſeized and depoſed his father, taking umbrage at the ſetting up of the ſon of his maſter without his participation, or rather making uſe of this and other frivilous pre- Ardſchir II.

and indeed the chriſtian authors, in all languages, ſpeak of him very tenderly, and either drop the ſtory of his father's murder, or endeavour, tho' that be a hard thing, to palliate it. The oriental hiſtorians again draw him in the blackeſt coulours, and ſay, that he broke his heart on account of the reproaches of his ſiſters, and of the terrible judgments from God, which fell upon his realm and people (32). There is, however, a circumſtance relating to this prince, which, tho' it happened long after his death, deſerves to be taken notice of, ſince it is one of the moſt curious paſſages in the eaſtern hiſtory, and is perfectly well atteſted. The caliph Montaſer having cauſed his father to be put to death, ſome ſmall time after looking over the rich furniture in the palace, and cauſing ſeveral rich pieces of tapeſtry to be opened before him, that he might examine them the more exactly, amongſt the reſt he met with one, which had in it the figure of a very beautiful young man, mounted on a Perſian horſe, with a diadem on his head, and a circle of Perſian characters round himſelf and his horſe. The caliph, charmed with the beauty of the tapeſtry, ſent for a perſon who underſtood the antient Perſic, and deſired him to explain to him that inſcription. The man read it, changed colour, and, after ſome heſitation, told the caliph, it was a Perſian ſong, that had nothing in it worth hearing. That prince, however, would not be ſo put off; he readily perceived, that there was ſomething in it extraordinary, and therefore he commanded the interpreter to give him the true ſenſe thereof immediately, as he valued his own ſafety. The man then told him, that the inſcription ran thus: "I am Siroes, the ſon of "Choſroes, who ſlew my father to gain his crown, which I kept "but ſix months". This affected the caliph ſo much, that he died in two or three days, when he had reigned about the ſame ſpace of time (33).

(32) See the life of Siroes in the former period. (33) Abul-Phar. hiſtor. dynaſt, dyn. ix. p. 297.

pretences to colour the deteſtable ſcheme he had formed of ſeizing the crown and extirpating the royal family, he marched with his forces to the capital city, and having eaſily vanquiſhed thoſe who remained faithful to their infant monarch, he put the child to death, with all the nobility who were ſtrictly attached to him, and filled the palace with blood; after which, in purſuance of his project, he ſeized the ſovereign authority, which he had ſo dearly bought. Authors do not agree as to the time Ardſchir reigned; moſt of them allow him a year and a half; but Mirkond is poſitive, that he reigned no more than fifty days [q].

Scheheriar. SCHEHERIAR, as he attained the ſovereign authority by treachery and cruelty, ſo he governed by all the arts of a tyrant, and made the people know the difference between a natural prince, and one raiſed to empire by his ſword. The army, as it aſſiſted him in his enterprize againſt the young Ardſchir, ſo they expected, on his ſucceeding him, that he ſhould pay the wages of their infidelity. This he was deſirous enough to do; but as they not only demanded money, but inſiſted likewiſe on ſetting a price on their labour, he found it not very eaſy to content them; and this drove him upon extortion and oppreſſion, the exerciſe of which did not hinder them from being guilty of the moſt notorious rapine. The eldeſt princeſs of Perſia perceiving, that the nobility were generally diſaffected, ſecretly influenced their minds, and inſtigated them to ſet their country free, by putting to death this uſurper. Her arts had their effect, the people began univerſally to deteſt a monarch, whoſe conduct was as offenſive, as the method by which he gained his crown was unjuſtifiable; yet ſtill there was nothing done; the cruelty of Scheheriar, and the madneſs of the army reſtrained all things but complaints. Every one readily confeſſed they ſhould be glad to be delivered from the miſeries they were under; but nobody durſt undertake this deliverance, leſt ſo great a work ſhould miſcarry in their hands. At length Touran Dockht fixed upon three brothers, all young men, of great quality and diſtinguiſhed courage. She explained to them the preſent ſituation of affairs, the miſerable condition of their country, and the impoſſibility there was of removing theſe grievances, any other way than by the death of Schaheriar. She

[q] Khondemir. Mirkhond. ſect. 38. Lebtarikh. D'Herbelot. B. O. art. Ardſchir Ben Schirouieh.

She likewiſe obſerved, that, however dangerous this might appear, it was as eaſily accompliſhed as projected; and that as he was not of the royal family, but an upſtart, and generally hated, his death would be agreeable to the people, and the man regarded as a hero, from whoſe hand he ſhould receive it. Theſe leſſons had their effects; the brothers fixed themſelves one day at the palace gate, and as Scheheriar came out and was about to mount on horſeback, they fell upon him, and killed him before he could receive any aſſiſtance from his adherents, when he had been called a king little more than two years. He was no ſooner dead, than all the inhabitants of the city of Madain aſſembled to protect thoſe who had killed him. In this aſſembly it was reſolved to reſtore the crown to the royal family, and ſince there was not an heir male, to elevate the eldeſt of the princeſſes to the throne [r].

Touran Dockht.

Touran Dockht, as ſoon as ſhe received the crown, made choice of the eldeſt of the three brothers, whoſe name was Ferokhzad, to be her prime minister and general of her armies. This nobleman diſcharged his truſt perfectly well; for he not only reduced the army to the obedience of his miſtreſs, and engaged them to live peaceably among their fellow ſubjects, but he alſo diſappointed the Arabs, who, in the reign of this princeſs, made a vigorous effort to conquer Perſia. Ferokhzad, with a conſiderable body of horſe, was quartered in Chaldea, when he received advice, that Abou-Obeidah, general of the forces of caliph Omar, had thrown a bridge over the Euphrates, in order to come and attack the Perſian army quartered in the vicinity of Babylon. Ferokhzad ſent orders to the Perſians to act on the defenſive, while he, with the horſe under his command, marched directly to the bridge, forced the Arab guard, and having filled the veſſels of which it was compoſed with combuſtible matter, ſet them on fire; then following the enemies camp, he cut off their proviſions, till a fair occaſion offered of fighting, and then having given a ſignal to his Perſians to charge the Arabs in front, he, while the battle was hot and doubtful, fell upon them in flank and rear, ſo that they were totally defeated; and this vigilant general purſued the remains, that not ſo

[r] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Mirkhond, ſect. 38. D'Herbelot. B. O. Scheheriar. Schikard. Tarich. p. 165.

much as their leader eſcaped to carry the news of their defeat. In the mean time, the queen acted in civil affairs with a firmneſs not to be expected from a woman; for having in vain endeavoured, by fair means, to engage ſome of the nobility to forbear plundering the people, ſhe had recourſe at length to harſher methods, cauſing them to be ſuddenly ſeized, and as ſuddenly put to death. This endeared her to the commonalty, and ſo humbled the nobility, that they durſt neither oppreſs their vaſſals, as they were wont, nor undertake any thing againſt their ſovereign, as they deſigned. But this peaceable ſituation of things laſted but a very ſhort time; Ferokhzad being marched into the frontier provinces, in order to oppoſe the attempts of the Greek emperor, his miſtreſs was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, which, in a little time, hurried her out of the world, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions, that ſhe died a martyr to that love which ſhe had ſhewn for the people. On her deceaſe the public affairs fell into the greateſt confuſion: the nobility began to ſee, that there was no truſting to the weakneſs of a woman; and therefore they fixed upon Gihan Schedah, a prince of the royal blood, but a man of very mean parts, and declared him king that they might govern as they pleaſed themſelves. But when he came to be inaugurated, he ſaid, That the imperial diadem was very heavy, and that it did not fit him. This the nobility would needs underſtand metaphorically, and as the effects of his modeſty; but the people either ſaw, or fancied they ſaw, ſuch evident ſimplicity in his looks, that, after a few days, they depoſed him, and ſeated the youngeſt daughter of Khoſrou Perviz on the throne [s] (M).

AZURNI

[s] Mirkhond. ſect. 40. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Touran. Dockt.

(M) The confuſion of this country could not be greater than that of all its hiſtorians, in reſpect to its princes, or thoſe who were called its princes, at this time. We have followed the catalogue of Khondemir, becauſe he was an author of great judgment, and did not adhere implicitly to thoſe from whom he wrote. The Spaniſh copy of Mirkhond hath a prince called Joonſchir, who is called the twenty ſecond monarch of this dynaſty; and it is ſaid, that he was nephew to Baharam Tchoubin; and this ſurname is ſaid to ſignify a young lion, or a beautiful lion; but we acknowledge, that we are able to give no account of this matter, or to divine who this man ſhould be. It is true, ſome chriſtian writers mention one Khoſrou

Azurmi Dockht.

Azurmi Dockht had as much ſenſe as her ſiſter, and is ſaid to have ſurpaſſed her very much in beauty. On her firſt acceſſion to the throne, ſhe gave the people the ſtrongeſt hopes of a mild and happy reign; but when the news of her becoming queen reached the province of Khoraſſan, Ferok Hormouz, who had been long governor thereof, conceived a violent deſire of marrying her; and therefore, entruſting the province with his ſon of the ſame name, he ſet out for Madain, in order to carry his ſcheme into execution. The queen, knowing the reſtleſs diſpoſition of the people, and the great power of this nobleman in his province, received him with great civility, and did him all the honours in her power; but all this had no effect; his paſſion or his ambition was ſo very ſtrong, that nothing could poſſibly ſatisfy him, leſs than being made the partner of her bed and throne; a thing ſhe could not grant. Upon her refuſal, her lover had the inſolence to threaten her, and even to have recourſe to force; upon which, in her own defence, ſhe was conſtrained to ſeize him and put him to death. His ſon, when informed of his father's cataſtrophe, forgetting the duty he owed his ſovereign, and that his

Khoſrou or Choſroes, the grandſon of the laſt Choſroes; but this is unintelligible, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the meant Ardſchir, who might be called Choſroes, becauſe all the Perſian kings were ſo called; which, however, is improbable. Perhaps after all, this Joonſchir might be the ſame with Gihan Schedah, of whom we have ſpoken in the text; and whoſe reign of a few days Khondemir hath omitted in his liſt. We muſt acknowledge, that there is little affinity between the names; but all the names in Teixera's verſion are ſo ſtrangely written, that at leaſt half the German critics obſervations on the Perſian kings are ſpent in reconciling them to the Arabic. There is, we know, a ſtrong objection to this account of the matter; and that is, that Teixera alſo mentions this monarch, and likewiſe a ſon of his, whom he calls Keſere, by which doubtleſs he meant Khoſrou. But to all this it may be anſwered, that, as we find theſe kings no where elſe, we may ſafely ſuppoſe them to be but one and the ſame perſon; and that, inſtead of Joonſchir, Jaſancedah, and Keſere, we ought to read, Khoſrou Ginan Schedah. But all this is left to the deciſion of the reader (34).

(34) Teixera, c. 41. Schikard Tarich. Khondemir. Eben Batrick. Lebtarikh, &c.

father had drawn this evil upon himſelf, marched immediately with an army to revenge what he held a diſgrace; and having forced the city of Madain, ſtormed the palace, made the queen priſoner, and afterwards, notwithſtanding all the tears and entreaties of her ſubjects, cauſed her in cool blood to be put to death. This enormous crime rendered him ſo obnoxious to all who had any ſenſe of humanity, that, diſtruſting the army he had brought with him, he immediately retired back into Khoraſſan. After his departure, it was diſcovered, that when the children of Khoſrou Perviz were put to death, a boy, his grandſon, had been preſerved by his aunts. This young man therefore the nobility brought from the place where he was hid, and reſolved to beſtow upon him the crown, the rather perhaps, becauſe, excepting his birth, he had nothing that could recommend him [t]. The name of this young prince was

Ferokhzad

FEROKHZAD. He was eſteemed a good-natured, inoffenſive lad, and, in quiet times, might very probably have made a very gracious prince. As it was, he had not time to give any ſigns either of ability, or want of it; for before he had reigned a month, he was, on what account we know not, poiſoned by one of his ſlaves, and the kingdom thereby thrown once more into confuſion [u].

Jezdegerd III.

WE are now arrived at the laſt of the Perſian kings, whoſe name was Jezdegerd Ben Scheheriar, of whoſe pedigree it is neceſſary that we ſhould give a clear account. Some of the Greek writers call him the ſon of Siroes; which is abſolutely impoſſible he ſhould have been. Others, acknowledging this, ſay, he was the deſcendent of that prince in a remote degree. This, however, only carries the miſtake a little further out of ſight; for it is juſt as impoſſible that he ſhould be his deſcendent, as that he ſhould be his ſon. Mirkhond gives us the following account, which, tho' it hath ſomething in it of the marvellous, yet, as it hath manifeſtly a mixture of truth, the reader muſt take it, till our acquaintance with the oriental hiſtories procures him a better. Khoſrou Perviz, towards the latter end of his reign, had a very odd dream. He fancied he ſaw the city, in which he then was, ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, adorned with eleven fine towers, and that theſe, while he was looking upon them, fell, one

[t] Mirkhond. ſect. 43. Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Schikard. Tarich, p. 169.
[u] Mirkhond. ſect. 45. Schikard. Tarich. p. 170.

one after another, to the ground; ſo that the city was left quite open and defenceleſs. In the morning the king ſent for ſome of the magi, told them his dream, and beſought them to explain it; which they did to this purpoſe: That, by the fortified city, was repreſented the kingdom of Perſia; by the towers, the princes who ſhould ſucceed him; and by the open and defenceleſs condition in which it was at laſt left, the final ſubverſion of the monarchy. The king, ſtrangely alarmed by his dream, and quite diſtracted with its interpretation, began to caſt about in his mind how to prevent its taking effect. Amongſt other notions that came into his head, one was that the number of his ſons might cauſe great diſturbance; for he had no leſs at that time than eighteen. He therefore ordered, that they ſhould be all committed to cuſtody, and ſo ſtrictly kept, as not to have the permiſſion of ſeeing their wives or children. One of them, Scheheriar, having lately married a lady, whoſe name was Schirin, and being paſſionately fond of her, he firſt contrived a means of writing to her, and then of ſeeing her. The ſtratagem he made uſe of was this: he pretended to be ſeized with a fever, and deſired that he might be let blood. Schirin, upon this occaſion, perſonated a ſurgeon; and from this interview ſhe became with child. When it was known, the hiſtorian tells us, that Khoſrou ordered the child to be made away with, as ſoon as it ſhould be born; but being at laſt mollified by the tears and paſſionate entreaties of the mother, he directed, that it ſhould be expoſed in the woods; which was accordingly done, but, by the care of its parents, it was ſoon taken from thence, and privately educated. If this be true, then the reaſon why Siroes put his brethren to death will no longer remain a ſecret, but ſerve as a ſufficient warrant to diſtruſt all interpretations of dreams, whch, we ſee, are often fatal and almoſt always deluſive. However, we think, that the dream of Khoſrou might have been better interpreted; and, if it had, none of theſe bad conſequences would have followed. It appears, by the age at which Jezdegerd mounted the throne, viz. ſixteen, that this dream happened to Khoſrou in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign. The eleven towers therefore might have been underſtood to be the years he was ſtill to ſit upon the throne; and the deſolate condition in which he ſaw the city, after they were fallen down, expreſſed perfectly well his own miſerable circumſtances at the end of that period. But to proceed [x].

[x] Mirkhond. ſect. 46. Schikard Tarikh. p. 270. & ſeq.

Jezdegerd defeated.

JEZDEGERD the third, who appears to have been the grandson of Khosrou Perviz, ascended the Persian throne, and made choice of Ferokhzad, who had been his aunt's general, for his prime minister and commander in chief. He was scarce arrived at man's estate, before he found the crown totter on his head, being attacked on all sides of his dominions by powerful enemies. Authors are extremely divided as to the beginning of his wars; for some alledge, that the Turks, that is, the inhabitants of Turquestan, the inveterate enemies of the Persians, invaded the frontiers of his dominions next them, and that while he marched to make head against them, the Arabs invaded Chaldea; whereupon he was forced to return to oppose these. Others affirm that the Turks did not invade his dominions; but that he sent for them to his assistance, but was so unfortunate as to be obliged to fight before they could come up. In this confusion, all that we can do is to report facts, as clearly and as methodically as we can. It seems then, that the caliph Omar, being extremely desirous of reducing Persia under his dominion, sent a part of his army, under the command of Sâd, to penetrate into that country through Chaldea. Ferokhzad, who was upon the spot, took all imaginable pains to harass the Arabs in their march; and having an army superior to them in numbers, employed them continually in skirmishes, which were sometimes favourable to him, and sometimes otherwise. But Sâd perceiving clearly, that this lingering war would destroy his army, and that to very little purpose, determined to push forward and force the enemy to a general engagement. The Persians declined this as long as thy could; but at length finding a convenient plain, where all their forces might act, near the city of Cadessia, Ferokhzad drew up there in order of battle, and resolved to wait for the Arabs. It was not long before Sâd and his forces appeared, who seeing how advantageously the Persian army was posted, rejoiced thereat, hoping that he would now be able to fight, which was all he sought; since a long war, at so great a distance from his own country, would have destroyed him, even if he had been successful in slight engagements. He therefore disposed his troops in the best order he could, and attacked the Persians with great fury. There never was a battle more famous in history than this, nor one that deserved it better, either on account of the resolution with which it was fought, or of the consequences that followed thereupon. It lasted three days and nights, the Persians retiring continually from one post to another, till at length

length they were entirely defeated; and, by this defeat, the capital city, and the greateſt part of the dominions of Perſia, fell into the hands of the Arabs. Moſt of the oriental writers call the Perſian general Roſtam; but we believe that was rather a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of their country. The firſt thing they did was, to ſeize on the treaſures of Khoſrou, which were ſo immenſe, that ſome Mohammedan writers tell us their prophet, to encourage his diſciples, carried them to a rock, which, at his command, opened, and gave them a proſpect through it of the treaſures in the vaults of Khoſrou [y].

He retires into Chorraſſan.

On the loſs of this battle, Jezdegerd retired into Chorraſſan; and tho' he had not reigned above three years, loſt, from that time forwards, all the reſt of his dominions, except the two dependent provinces of Kerman and Sigiſtan, which he held as long as he lived, partly by force, keeping up a conſiderable army about his perſon, and partly becauſe the Arabs were not at leiſure to carry on a war at ſuch a diſtance. But tho' the king retired ſo early, ſome of the governors of his provinces maintained themſelves longer, hoping to turn them into little kingdoms for their own benefit. Among theſe Hormozan poſſeſſed himſelf of Khouhiſtan, and held it for ſome time; but being at length reduced to great extremities, he ſurrendered it up, and went in perſon to pay his duty to the caliph Omar, who received him kindly, and at whoſe requeſt he embraced the Mohammedan religion [z].

Is killed in a battle.

When Jezdegerd had poſſeſſed the royal title about nineteen years, a new misfortune fell upon him; for one of the governors of the few towns he had left, betrayed it, and called in the Turks. This place was called Merou, ſeated on the river Gihon or Oxus, and therefore called Merou al Roud, or Merou of the river, to diſtinguiſh it from another Merou, lying, as well as this, in the province of Choraſſan. Jezdegerd immediately marched with his army to give battle to the rebels and their allies the Turks. In this engagement he was defeated, and having, with much difficulty, reached the river, he found there a little boat, and a fiſherman to whom it belonged. To him the king offered a bracelet of precious ſtones; but the fellow being equally brutal and ſtupid, ſaid his fare was five farthings, and he would not take more or leſs. While the king and

[y] Khondemir. Lebtarikh. Abul-Phar. hiſt. dynaſt. dyn. ix.
[z] Lebtarikh. Khondemir. Mirkhond, ubi ſupra.

and he diſputed, a party of the rebel horſe came up, and knowing Jezdegerd, killed him. This happened in the year after Chriſt 652 [a] (N).

THE

[a] Khnodemir. Lebtarikh.

(N) There hath been a great deal of diſpute as to the ſettling the commencement of the æra Jeſdegerdica, ſo called from this laſt king of the Perſians. It would be needleſs to cite what ſeveral chronologers have advanced upon this head, many of them, tho' great men in other reſpects, having ſhewn little ſkill on this ſubject, and at the ſame time not a little arrogance, in expecting that their deciſions ſhould be implicity yielded to, even by thoſe who were better informed; and therefore Dr. Hyde (41) had great reaſon to teſtify his amazement, that Petavius ſhould aſſign three years for the reign of Jezdegerd; whereas there is no fact more certainly eſtabliſhed, than that he died about the cloſe of his twentieth year. The true ſtate of this queſtion is not, as moſt writers put it, whether the commencement of this æra ought to be fixed to the acceſſion, or to the death, of Jezdegerd? but where it is really fixed by the beſt Oriental authors? ſince our conjectures can have no effect upon their computations, and the utmoſt we can expect from them is, to know how to regulate our own. The beſt of the Oriental writers fix the commencement of this æra very preciſely at the 16th of June in the eleventh year of the Hegira, and in the year of Chriſt 632 (42). Now, it is certain, that this date coincides not with the death, but the acceſſion, of Jezdegerd; and if any are of opinion, that this æra ought to begin at his death, then it muſt begin in the thirty-firſt year of the Hegira, and in the year of Chriſt 652. Why the Eaſtern authors made choice of the acceſſion, rather than the death, of Jezdegerd is a queſtion that we can eaſily reſolve. It is before ſhewn, that Jezdegerd had lived as a private man, as his father always did, till the Perſians, underſtanding how juſt a title he had thereto, ſet him upon the throne. Now, the Arabs ſay, this was done with the conſent of their khalif, who, therefore, looking upon him as his tributary, reckoned the kingdom of Perſia among the reſt of his dominions thenceforward, regarding the ſubſequent reduction of that country not as a conqueſt, but as the re-uniting a part of his empire torn away by a rebel. This is plainly the cauſe why the commencement of this æra is and ought to be fixed at the acceſſion of Jezdegerd; which was what we undertook to prove.

(41) Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 201. (42) Olugh Beigh. Alpherganius, &c.

Account of his family.

THE common opinion is, that with this unfortunate prince the majesty of the Sassanian line sunk irretrievably. But this like many other common opinions, is far from being strictly true. Jezdegerd left behind him a son and daughter. The name of the son was Firouz, and of the daughter Dara. The latter espoused Bostenay, whom the rabbinical writers qualified with the title of head of the captivity. In fact he was the chief or Capital prince of the jews settledin Chaldea. As for Firouz, he still preserved a little principality, and dying, left an only daughter, whose name was Mah Afrid, who married Valid the son of the caliph Abdalmalek, by whom he had a son named Jezid, who became caliph, and consequently sovereign of Persia; who was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him by his mother, that he constantly styled himself the son of Khosrou king of Persia, the descendent of the caliph Maroan, and among whose ancestors, of the side of the mother, were the Roman emperor and the khakan. This end had the dynasty of the Sassanians, according to the Oriental historians; and consequently here ends this section [b].

[b] Abul Phar. ubi supra. Khondemir. D'Herbelot. B. O. artic. Jezid ben Valid.

BOOK

BOOK III.

The ROMAN Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

The antient ſtate of Italy, to the building of ROME.

SECT. I.

Deſcription of Italy.

AS the ſeveral petty ſtates and kingdoms, which we are to write of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the common name of Italy; for the better underſtanding of the preſent hiſtory, we ſhall premiſe a general deſcription of that country, following therein the beſt guides of antiquity, and conſidering this beautiful region in its moſt flouriſhing condition, that is, in the times of the Roman republic and in the reign of Auguſtus, that prince having introduced a new partition of the Italian provinces, which continued, without any conſiderable alteration, to the diviſion of the empire.

Names. ITALY, a country once revered, and ſtill admired, by all nations, was, in more ant[illegible] times, known by the names of Saturnia, Oenotria, Heſperia, and Auſonia. It was called Saturnia from Saturn, who, being driven out of Crete by his ſon Jupiter, is ſuppoſed to have taken refuge here. The names of Oenotria and Auſonia it borrowed from its antient inhabitans the Oenotrians and Auſones; and that of Heſperia, or Weſtern, given it by the Greeks, from its ſituation with reſpect to Greece. The name of Italia, or Italy which in proceſs of time prevailed

North

West

East

South

ANCIENT ITALY

THE LIGUSTIC SEA

THE SARDINIAN SEA

MARE INFERUM

TYRRHENIAN SEA

MARE SUPERUM or ADRIATIC SEA

THE IONIAN SEA

PART OF GREECE

PART OF SICILY

Stoechade Islands

Diomedes Island

Oenotrides or Aeolie Islands

Bay of Tarentum

Rhætian Mountains

Alpes Juliæ

Apennine Mountains

TRANSALPINE GAUL

CISALPINE GAUL

GALLIA TRANSPADANA

GALLIA CISPADANA

THE ETRURIA

UMBRIA

PICENUM

LATIUM

CAMPANIA

APULIA

CALABRIA

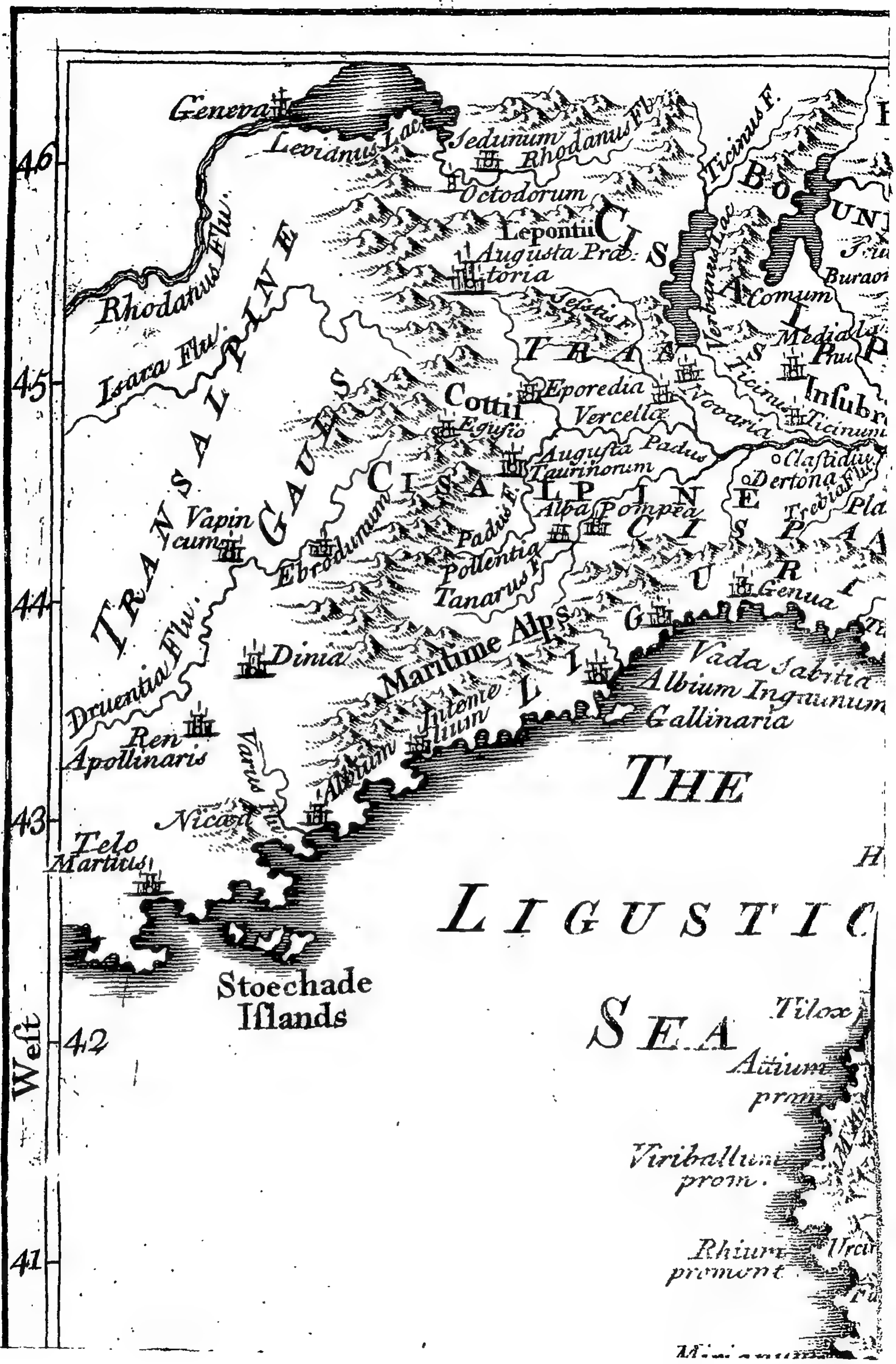
LUCANIA

BRUTII

LIBURNIA

DALMATIA

Geneva
Levianus Lac.
Rhodanus Flu.
Sedunum
Octodorum
Lemonti
Augusta Præt.
toria
Isara Flu.
Cottii
Eporedia
Vercellæ
Egitio
Augusta
Taurinorum
Vapincum
Ebrodunum
Alpa Pompeia
Pollentia
Tanarus Flu.
Dinia
Druentia Flu.
Ren. Apollinaris
Maritime Alps
Albium Intemelium
Albium Ingaunum
Gallinaria
Varus Flu.
Nicæa
Telo Martius
Rhodanus Flu.
Lacus Lemanus
Vienna
Bodincus F.
Bodincus Flu.
Bodincus Flu.
Bauzanum
Tridentum
Feltria
Beluno
Vinum
Concordia
Jonius Flu.
Frigidus Fl.
Guileia
Tergeste
Istria
Flanona
Parentium
Allionis
Pola
Tedanius Flu.
Aenona
Tragurium
Salonæ
Pharia
Narona
Melite
Epidaurus
Rhizinium
Olchinium
Drilo Fl.
Lissus
Epidamnus
Dyrrachium
Aulon
Jason
Lupia
Hydruntum
Veretum
Brundisium
Lapygia
Engatia
Canusium
Barium
Venusia
Aufidus Flu.
Peucetia
Frentani
Cannæ
Sipus
Sipuntum
Garganus
Teate
Marrucini
Peligni
Sabini
Marsi
Tibur
Roma
Anio Flu.
Tiberis Flu.
Matrinus Flu.
Narnia
Nursia
Interamna
Reate
Trasimenus Lac.
Perusia
Cortona
Arretium
Clusium
Volaterræ
Pisæ
Arnus Flu.
Florentia
Luca
Pistoria
Metaurus Flu.
Pisaurum
Fanestris Colonia
Sena Gallica
Ariminum
Ravenna
Boii
Bononia
Regium
Mutina
Spina
Padus Flu.
Eridanus Flu.
Mantua
Atrianus Flu.
Adria
Atesis Flu.
Patavium
Altinum
Vicentia
Verona
Veneti
Brixia
Bergomum
Insubres
Comum
Lacus Benacus
Mediolanum
Ticinum
Padus Flu.
Vercellæ
Eporedia
Augusta Prætoria
Segusio
Cottii
Lacus Sebinus
Lacus Verbanus
Lacus Larius
Lacus Ceresius
Lacus Verbanus
Rhodanus Flu.
Isara Flu.
Druentia Flu.
Varus Flu.
Ligures Montani
Ligures Montani
Ligures Montani


Geneva
Leviānus Lac.
Sedunum
Rhodanus Fl.
Octodorum
Lepontii
Augusta Præ-
toria
Ticinus F.
Verbanus Lac
Comum
Buraon
Jegatis F.
TRANS
ALPINA
GAUL
CISALPINA
Eporedia
Vercellæ
Vocaria
Cottii
Egusio
Augusta Padus
Taurinorum
Ticinus
Ticinum
Clastidium
Dertona
Trebia Fl.
Vapincum
Ebrodunum
Padus F.
Alpa Pompeia
Pollentia
Tanarus F.
Genua
Maritime Alps
Dinia
Druentia Fl.
Ren
Apollinaris
Varus
Albium Intemelium
Vada Sabbatia
Albium Ingaunum
Gallinaria
Nicæa
Varus Fl.
Telo
Martius
Stoechade
Islands
THE
LIGUSTIC
SEA
Tilaxc
Atium
prom.
Viriballum
prom.
Rhium
promont
Ura
Fu
West
46
45
44
43
42
41

vailed over all the reſt, ſome derive from Italus king of the Siculi; others from the Greek word Italos, ſignifying an ox, this country abounding, by reaſon of its rich paſtures, with oxen of an extraordinary ſize and beauty [a]. All theſe names were originally peculiar to particular provinces of Italy; but afterwards applied to the whole country.

Limits.

THE limits of Italy have been fixed by nature itſelf, which ſeems not only to have taken more than ordinary care in ſupplying this happy region with every thing neceſſary both for the ſupport and pleaſures of life, but in parting it from all other countries, and defending by ſtrong barriers its native riches from foreign invaders. Thus it is divided from Africa, Greece, the antient Dalmatia, and Liburnia, by the Tyrrhenian, Ionian, and Adriatic ſeas; and from Tranſalpine Gaul, and Rhætia, now part of Germany, by a long ridge of ſteep mountains, called the Alps. The country comprized within theſe boundaries is, according to Cluverius, about nine hundred miles in length; for ſuch is the diſtance between Auguſta Prætoria, now Aoſta, at the foot of the Alps, and cape Leucopetra, now Capo del Armi, in the country of the Brutii, or the Farther Calabria, as it is called by the preſent inhabitants. In ſhape it reſembles a man's leg, rather than the leaf of an oak, to which the antients compared it, and is conſequently very unequal in breadth, being, at the foot of the Alps, according to the above-mentioned writer, five hundred and ſixty miles broad; in the middle parts, that is between Ancona and the mouth of the Tiber, an hundred and thirty-ſix; and in ſome places ſcarce twenty-five.

Diviſions.

ITALY, taking that word in its moſt extenſive ſignification, was in antient times, like moſt othther countries, parcelled out into endleſs petty ſtates and kingdoms, which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory. In after-ages, when the Gauls ſettled in the weſtern, and many Greek colonies in the eaſtern, provinces of this ountry, it was divided, with reſpect to its inhabitants, into three great parts, viz. Gallia Ciſalpina, Italy properly ſo called, and Magna Græcia. This diviſion, as it has been generally adopted by the antient geographers and hiſtorians, we ſhall

[a] Vide Dion. Halicar. l. i. p. 28. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 1. & Servium in l. 1. Æn. ver. 533.

ſhall follow in our preſent ſurvey of Italy, after having acquainted our readers, that we do not deſign to deſcribe in this place the many towns and cities of note which antient Italy contained, being well apprized, that ſuch an undertaking would prove tedious to them, and at the ſame time oblige us to exceed the limits we preſcribe to ourſelves. On theſe two conſiderations, we ſhall at preſent take only a curſory view of them, ſuch as may give our readers a clear idea of their ſituation with reſpect to each other, and reſerve a more diſtinct account of them for the particular countries to which they belonged.

Ciſalpine Gaul.

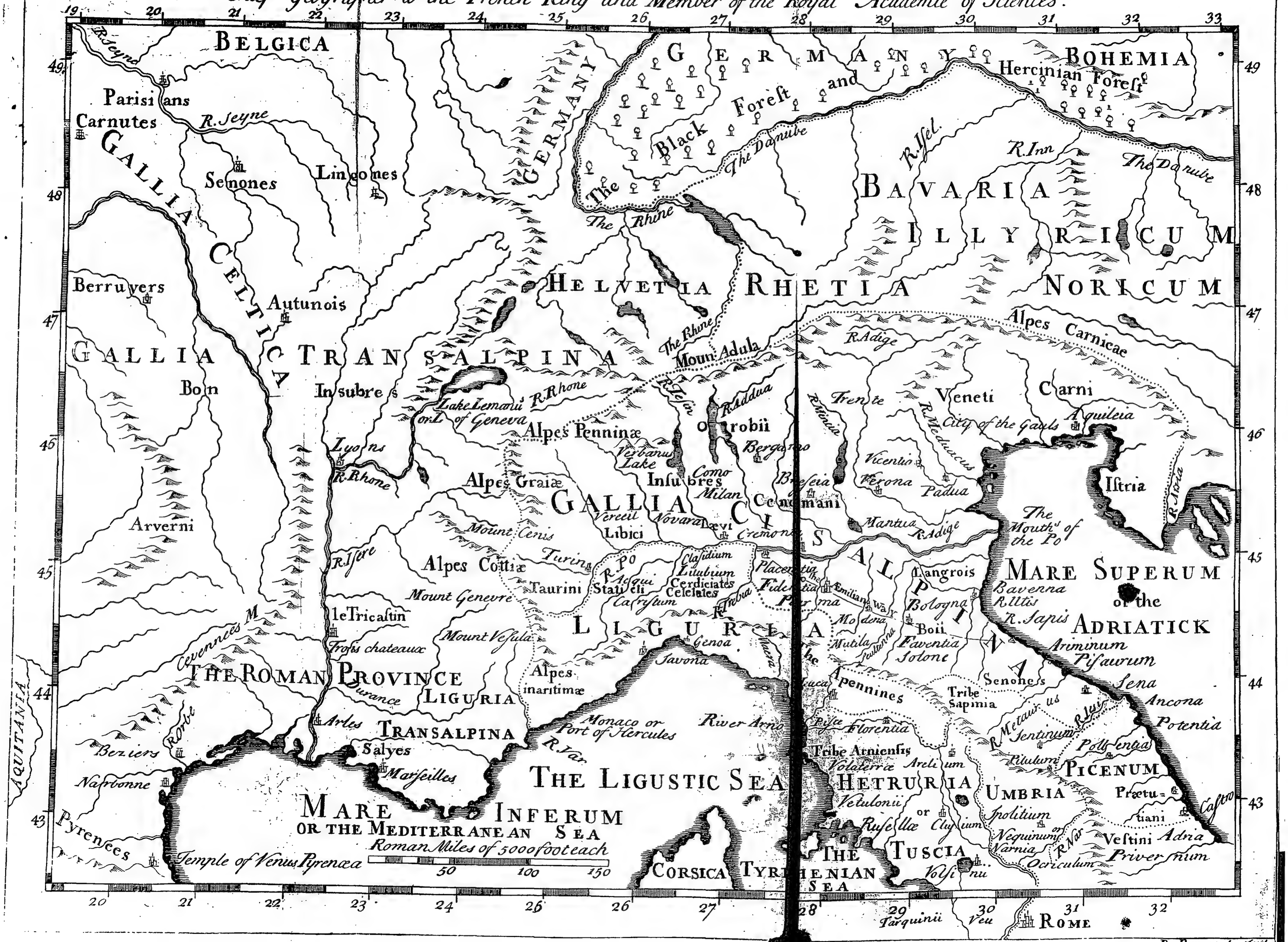
To begin with the firſt member of the above-mentioned diviſion: The moſt weſtern and northern provinces of Italy were in great part poſſeſſed by the Gauls, and thence called Gallia, or Gaul, with the epithets of Ciſalpina and Citerior, becauſe they lay on the ſide of the Alps next to Rome, and Togata, with relation to the Roman gown or dreſs, which the inhabitants uſed; but this laſt epithet is of a much later date than the former [b]. Plutarch [c] and Pliny [d] call the country we are ſpeaking of Italia Subalpina, or Italy at the foot of the Alps; and Polybius ſimply Italy [e]. In like manner Brutus, in one of his epiſtles to Cicero, and Cicero in his anſwer to him [f], gave the name of Italy, without any epithet, to that tract at the foot of the Alps, where the antient city of Eporedia, now Ivria, ſtood. Whence it is plain, that the large and fruitful provinces formerly poſſeſſed by the Gauls were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, part of Italy, and called Gaul, only becauſe inhabited by the Gauls, who firſt ſettled there in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus. This appellation was antiquated in the reign of Auguſtus, when the diviſion of Italy into eleven regions, introduced by that prince, took place. And hence it is, that the name of Ciſalpine Gaul frequently occurs in the authors who flouriſhed before, and ſcarce ever in thoſe who wrote after, the reign of Auguſtus. As to the boundaries of this country, it extended [illegible] the Alps and the river Varus, parting it from Tranſalpine Gaul, to the river Aeſis, according to Livy [g]; or, as Pliny will have it [h], to the city of Ancona in the antient Picenum. Cicero [i], Suetonius

Its boundaries.

[b] Vide Dio. Caſs. l. xlviii. p. 364. [c] Plut. in Marcel. ſub init. & in Cæſ. [d] Plin. l. xvi. c. 11. [e] Polyb. l. xi. c. 13. [f] Cic. l. xi. epiſt. 23, & 24. [g] Liv. l. v. c. 35. [h] Plin. l. iii. c. 14. [i] Cic. Philip. vi. c. 3.

A Map of Gallia, Cisalpina, Liguria and the Neighbouring Countries.

By G. Delisle
Chief Geographer to the French King and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.

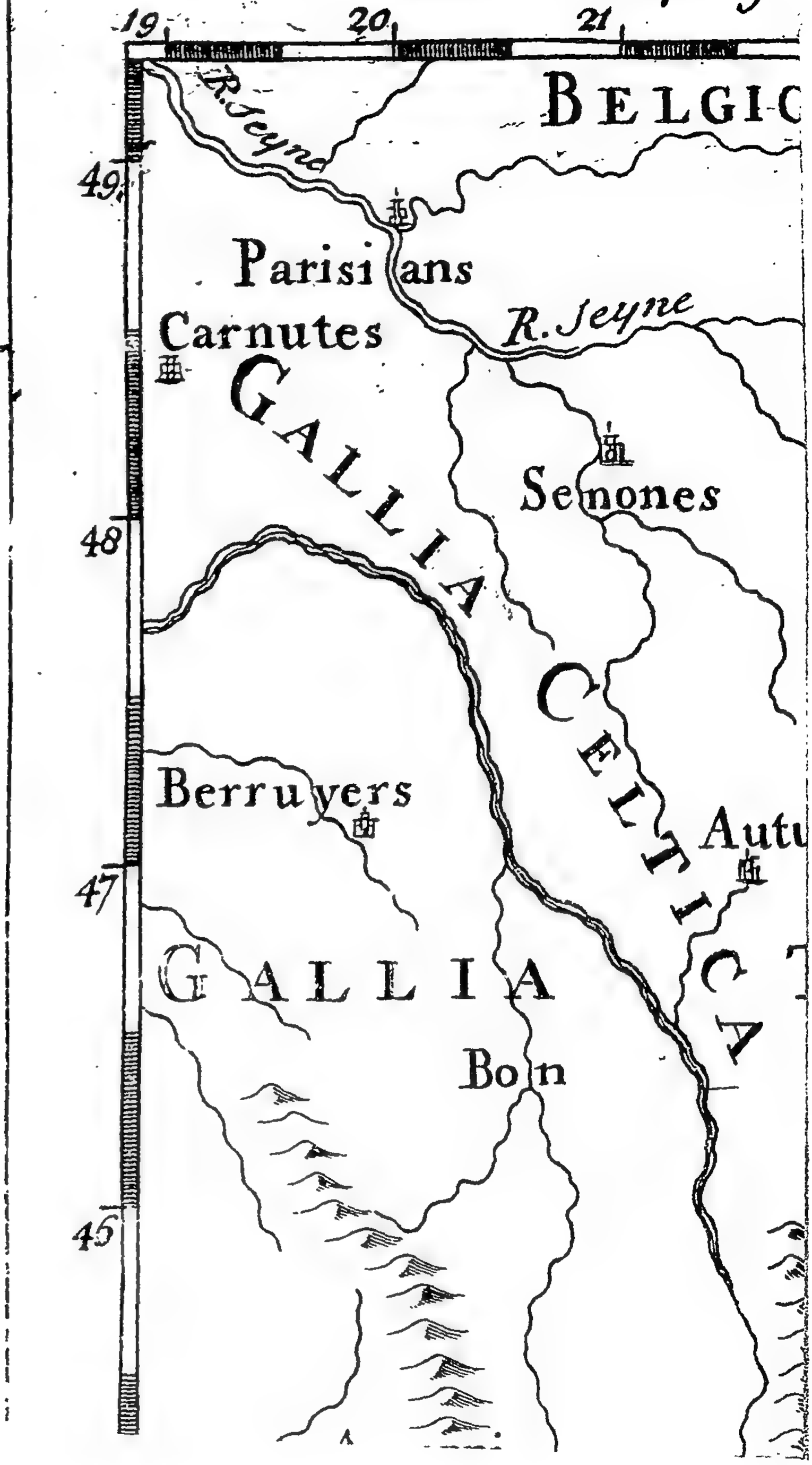


D. Pomarede Sculp.

Vol. 4

A Map of Gallia

Chief Ga



tonius [k], and Plutarch [l], make the river Rubico, between Ravenna and Ariminum, the eaſtern boundary of Ciſalpine Gaul. But theſe writers are to be underſtood as ſpeaking of Gaul, after the Romans, under the conduct of M. Lepidus, had made themſelves maſters of Picenum and Umbria, and reduced them to the form of a Roman province, there being nothing more certain, than that theſe countries were antiently poſſeſſed, in great part, by the Senones [m], and conſequently comprized within the limits of Ciſalpine Gaul; nay, they retained the name of Ager Gallicus, or Gallicanus, even after they were become a Roman province [n]. On the north, Ciſalpine Gaul was divided from Rhætia by the Alps, called Rhæticæ, and from Illyricum by the river Formio; but on this ſide the borders of Italy were, in Pliny's time, extended to the river Arſia in Iſtria [o]. On the ſouth it reached to the Liguſtic ſea and the Appennines, parting it from Etruria; ſo that, under the common name of Ciſalpine Gaul were comprehended the countries lying at the foot of the Alps, called by Pliny and Strabo the Subalpine countries, Liguria, Gallia Ciſpadana, and Gallia Tranſpadana. The countries bordering on the Alps were inhabited by the Vediantii, or Veſtiantii, as Ptolemy calls them, the Vagienni, the Taurini, the Seguſiani, the Salaſſi, the Lepontii, the Libicii, and the Canini. The Vediantii inhabited the ſmall tract lying on the eaſt bank of the Varus, and extending from the Alpes Maritimæ to the territory of Nicæa. Next to them, on the north ſide of the Alpes Maritimæ and near the ſource of the Padus or Po, were the Vagienni. Cemelium, or Cemenelium, was the metropolis of the Vediantii; and Auguſta Vagiennorum, now Saluzzo, of the Vagienni. The Taurini were parted from the Vagienni by the Po, on which river ſtood their metropolis, called firſt Tauraſia [p], and afterwards, from a colony ſent thither by Auguſtus, Auguſta Taurinorum [q]. Forum Vibii, another city of the Taurini, is placed by Pliny [r] at a ſmall diſtance from the head of the Po. North of the Taurini and among the Alps lay the kingdom of Cottius, from whom the neighbouring mountains were called Alpes Cottiæ. The Seguſiani were ſubject to him;

The Subalpine nations.

[k] Sueton in Cæſar. c. 31. [l] Plut. in Cæſar. [m] Vide Strab. l. v. p. 150, 157. [n] Cic. in Catilin. orat. 2. c. 3. & 12. [o] Plin. ibid. c. 18 & 19. [p] Appian. in Hannibal. [q] Plin. ibid. c. 17. Tacit. hiſt. l. xi. c. 66. [r] Plin. ibid. c. 17 & 18.

him; and Seguſio, Secuſia, or Seguſium, now Suſa, on the Druria, was the metropolis of this ſmall kingdom [s]. The Salaſſi poſſeſſed the country lying between the Alpes Graiæ, on the north, and the country of the Libicii, on the ſouth. Their chief cities were, Auguſta Prætoria and Eporedia, now Aoſta and Ivrea, both on the Great Druria. For in this country there were two rivers, as Pliny obſerves [t], bearing the ſame name; the one called the Great Druria, ſpringing from the Alpes Graiæ, the other, which he ſtyles the Little Druria, riſing on the Alpes Cottiæ. Auguſta Prætoria was ſo called from a colony of three thouſand Prætorian ſoldiers ſent thither by Auguſtus. Eporedia, built about an hundred years before the chriſtian æra, was firſt a Roman colony, and afterwards a municipium [u]. The territory of the Lepontii lay between the Salaſſi and the Lacus Verbanus, now Lago Maggiore. Their metropolis was Oſcela, called by the modern inhabitants Domo d'Oſcela. Next to them were the Libicii, or Libui, who poſſeſſed that tract, which was watered by the Seſſites, now the Seſſia. Their chief cities were Vercellæ and Laumellum, which ſtill retain their antient names. The country of the Canini lay between the lakes Verbanus and Larius. The Alpes Maritimæ, or maritime Alps, which we have mentioned above, extended from the mouth of the Varus to mount Veſulus, now Veſo, in Piedmont, and were ſo called from their ſituation. The Alpes Graiæ, or Greek Alps, reach from mount Cenis to the antient Mons Jovis. at preſent known by the name of The Great St Bernard. Some antient writers ſuppoſe, that Hercules paſſed the monntains at the head of an army of Greeks on his return from Spain, after he had ſuddued Geryon, and derive from thence the appellation of Alpes Graiæ. But Livy [w] looks upon this expedition of Hercules as altogether fabulous.

THE countries, which we have hitherto deſcribed, are by Strabo and Livy placed within the confines of the antient Liguria, and the inhabitants counted among the Ligurian nations, with the epithets of Montani and Comati, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who inhabited Liguria properly ſo called. Some

[s] Idem. l. iii. c. 20. Vide Jac. Spon miſc. Er. antiq. p. 198.
[t] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. [u] Idem ibid. c. 17. Vell. Patercul. l. i. c. 15. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 70. [w] Liv. l. v. c. 33.

Some antient writers, quoted by Pliny [x], derive the Lepontii from the Greeks, whom they ſuppoſe Hercules to have left in theſe countries after he had paſſed the Alps, by reaſon of their being diſabled, by the hardſhips they had ſuffered on that occaſion, from purſuing their march with the reſt of the army. But this opinion has no other foundation than the ſimilitude between the name of that people and the Greek verb 'leipo' to leave.

Liguria. LIGURIA, properly ſo called, was bounded on the eaſt by the river Macra; on the weſt by the Varus; on the ſouth by the Liguſtic ſea; and on the north by the Po. Cities of note in this country were, on the coaſt, Nicæa, now Nizza, built by the Maſſilienſes as a barrier againſt the Ligures Montani [y]; Portus Herculis Monæci, now Monaco. Portus Herculis and Portus Monæci were, according to Ptolemy, two diſtinct cities; for that writer ſpeaks of a place, which he calls Tropæa Auguſti, lying between them. But herein he was certainly miſtaken, ſince all the antient geographers and hiſtorians call the ſame place ſometimes Portus Herculis, and ſometimes Portus Herculis Monæci. This city is ſpoke of by Virgil [z], and deſcribed by Lucan [a]. Albintemalium or Albium Intemelium, Albium Ingaunum, or Albingaunum, Vada, Sabata, Genua, Portus Delphini, and Portus Lunæ; now Vintimiglia, Albenga, Vado, Savona, Genoa, Porto Fino, and Golfo delle Spezie, were all on the coaſt now called La riviera di Genoa. Cluverius ſuppoſes Vada and Sabatia, or Sabata, to be one and the ſame city, which he calls Vada Sabatia, but is therein contradicted by the learned Lucas Holſtenius. Genua was in antient times, as it is at preſent, the chief city of Liguria, and an empory, as Strabo ſtiles it [b], to which merchants reſorted from all parts. The modern writers call it Janua, and pretend, that it was built by Janus; but the antients conſtantly write it Genua. It was deſtroyed by Mago the Carthaginian and rebuilt by the Romans. Portus Lunæ is placed by all the antients in Liguria, but the city of Luna, which ſtood on the eaſt bank of the Macra, in Etruria [c]. The inland

[x] Plin. l. iii. c. 20. [y] Strab. l. iv. p. 140 [z] Virgil l. vi. Æneid. ver. 830. [a] Lucan. l. i. Pharſal. ver. 405. [b] Strab. l. iv. p. 139. [c] Strab. ibid. Tacit. hiſt. l. ii. c. 15. Mela, l. ii. c. 1. Plin. l. ii. c. 5.

inland cities of Liguria were Pollentia, Alba Pompeia, Aſta, Aquæ Statiellæ, Forum Fulvii, or Valentium, Induſtria, Dertona, and Iria, now Pollenza, Alba, Aſti, Acqui, Valenza, Tortona, Voghera. Induſtria was called by the antient Ligurians Bodincomagum, becauſe it ſtood on the Po, which was known to them by the name of Bodincus, that is, the bottomleſs [d]. Some writers make the river Iria the eaſtern boundary of Liguria; but as Livy [e] places the cities of Calſtidium and Litubium in that country, Cluverius extends its confines on this ſide to the river Trebia.

Galla Ciſpadana.

NEXT to Liguria lay Gallia Ciſpadana, extending from the Trebia to the city of Ancona, and bounded on the north by the Po and part of the Adriatic, and on the ſouth by the Apennines, parting it from Etruria. It was called Gallia from its inhabitants, and Ciſpadana, becauſe it lay on the ſide of the Po next to Rome. This country was poſſeſſed by the Boii, the Lingones, and the Senones. The chief cities of the Boii, were Placentia, Parma, Mutina, and Bononia; of the Lingones, Ravenna, Forum Cornelii, Faventia, Solona, Forum Livii, Forum Popilii, and Cæſena; now Ravenna, Imola, Faenza, Citta di ſole, Forli, Forlinpopoli, Cæſena; of the Senones, Ariminum, Piſaurum, Fanum Fortunæ, Sena Gallica, and Ancona; now Rimini, Peſaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona.

Gallia Tranſpadana

GALLIA TRANSPADANA extended from the countries of the Lepontii, Libicii, and Carni, mentioned above, and counted by Strabo and Pliny among the Subalpine nations, to the Adriatic ſea and the river Formio, now Il Riſano, parting it from Iſtria, being bounded on the ſouth by the Po, and on the north by the Alpes Rhæticæ and Carnicæ; the former ſeparating it from Rhætia, now the Trentin, and the latter from the country of the Carni, now Carniola. This part of Ciſalpine Gaul was inhabited by the following nations, the Orobii, the Inſubres, the Lævi, the Cenomani, the Euganei, and the Veneti, and contained many cities of great note. Of theſe, Comum, Bergomum, and Forum Lucinii, now Como, Bergamo, and Pieve d'Incino, or, as others will have it, Berlafina, belonged to the Orobii; Mediolanum, Laus Pompeia, and Forum Intuntorum, now Milan, Lodi, Crema, to the Inſubres; Novaria and Ticinum, now Novara and Pavia, to the Lævi; Brixia, Cremona, Mantua, and

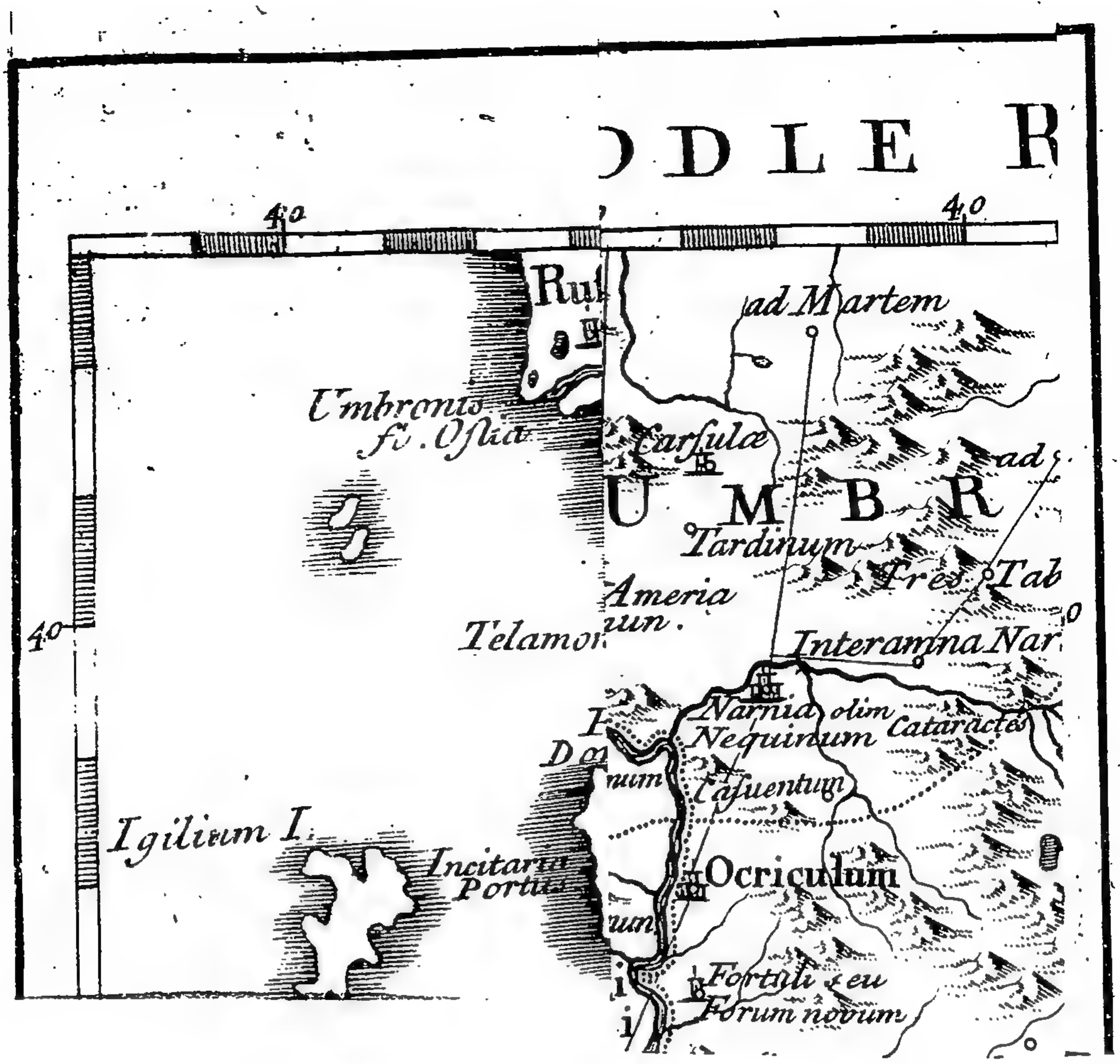
[d] Idem ibid. & c. 16. [e] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 29.

A MAP OF THE MIDDLE REGIONS OF ITALY

THE TUSCAN OR TYRRHENIAN SEA

MARE ETRUSCUM SIVE TYRRHENUM

Russellæ
Caletra
Aurinia posses. Saturnia Col.
Suana
Umbronis fl. Osa
Hasta
RUSELLANI
Herbanum sive Urbs vetus
Falneum Regis
Vulsinii
Vulsinia pos.
Vulsinium
Verentum
Lacus
VULSINIENSES
Telamon
Telamon Portus
Statonia
Portus Domitiani
Igilium I.
Cosa
Sub Cosa
Incitaria Portus
ETRURIA
Sudertum sive Sudernum forte Maternum
Lartes
Trosaulm
Olim Artimum
Castellum Aqueri num
Hrtianum
Ferentinum Col.
Fanum Voltumnæ
Cæpena mun.
Forum Aurelii
Armenita sive A.
Cosanum Promontor.
Regisvilla
Quintiniana
Sive
Falerii
Falisci
Forum Cassii
Cumin.
Vicus Elbii
Foscennia
Fortuli seu Forum novum
Tarquinii
Izia
Blera
Tabellaria
TARQUINIENSES
Granisca Col.
Centenebræ Livii
Nepete Col.
Sutrium Col.
FALISCI
Aqua viva
Minio fl.
Artemisia seu Dianium Ins
Alga
Centum Cellæ
Portus Trajani
Boscanæ
VEIENTES
Sabate
ad Nonas forte
Novem pagi
Castrum novum
Punicum
CÆRITES
Agylla
Pyrgi
navale Caretanorum
Caretæ
Artena
Cremera fl.
Gallina
Veii Col.
Fidena
Ficulea
Nomentum
Ameriola
Crustumerium
Cameria
Tibur
Empulum
Corniculum
Scaptia
Pedum
Gabii
Prænestæ
Trebia
Labicum
Villa Neronis
Tusculum
Vitellia
Fortana multebris Fon.
Forum Popilii
Algidum
Ficana
Tellena
Aricia
Politorium
Velitræ olim Alonii dictæ
Sueſsa
Aubræ
Sacriporum
Tumulum Col.
Cometia
Patricium
Cora
Sigina Col.
Artena
Norba Col.
Sulmo
Laurentum
Numicus fl.
Lavinium
RUTULI
Ardea
Longula
Coriolo
Polustra
Aphrodisium
Castrum Inui
Antium
Asturæ Ins.
Circæi
Villa
Clostra Romana
ad Medias
ad Turres albas
Circæum Promontorium
Palmaria I.
Sinnonia I.
Ponzia I.
Ad Martem
Spoletum
Carsulæ
ad Fines
Viridina
UMBRIA
Tardinum
Tres Tabernæ
Ameria mun.
Interamna Nartes
Narnia olim Nequinum
Cataracta
Fasuentum
Ocriculum
Falerii
Fortuli seu Forum novum
Reate
SABINI
Regillus
ad Novas seu Vicus novus
Cures
Trebula Suffenatis
Eretum
Medullia
Crenina
Varia
Lamina
Fons Aquæ Mariæ
Mandelæ pagus
Carfeoli
Vitica villa Horatii
Lucus Feroniæ
Nomentum
Gallina
Veii Col.
Fidena
Ficulea


DDLE R
40
40
40
Umbronis
fl. Ostia
ad Martem
Carsulæ
U M B R
Tardinum
Ameria
Telamon
Interamna Nar
Narnia olim
Nequinum
Cataractæ
Casuentum
Igilium I.
Incitaria
Portus
Ocriculum
Fortuli seu
Forum novum

and Verona, to the Cenomani; Sabium, Voberna, Edrum, and Vannia, cities long ſince demoliſhed, to the Euganei; Patavium, Vicetia, or Vicentia, Ateſte, Forum Allieni, Tarviſum, Ceneta, Aquileia, Forum Julii, and Tergeſte, near the Formio, now Padua, Vicenza, Eſte, Ferrara, Treviſo, Ceneda, Aquileia, Civitad di Friuli, Trieſte, to the Veneti, by whom all that tract, which extends from the territories of the Euganei to the Formio, was antiently poſſeſſed; but in after-ages the Carni made themſelves maſters of the country lying between that river and the Tilaventum, now the Piave.

Italy properly ſo called.

ITALY, properly ſo called, extended on the coaſt of the Adriatic from the city of Ancona to the river Frento, now the Fortore, and on the Mediterranean from the Macra to the Silarus, now the Sele, and comprehended Etruria, Umbria, Sabiniuin, Latium, Picenum, the countries of the Veſtini, Marrucini, Peligni, Marſi, Frentani, Samnites, Hirpini, Campani, and Picentini.

Etruſia.

ETRURIA, inhabited by the Etrurians, Tuſcans, or, as the Greeks ſtyle them, Tyrrhenians, was bounded on the eaſt by the Tiber, on the weſt by the Macra, on the ſouth by the Tyrrhenian ſea, and on the north by the Apennines. The inhabitants are divided by Livy [f] and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus [g] into twelve different nations, or rather tribes, each of which had their peculiar city, whence they borrowed their names. The cities were, Volſinii, Cluſium, Peruſia, Cortona, Aretium, Falerii, Volaterræ, Vetulonium, Rouſellæ, Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære, now Bolſena, Chiuſi, Perugia, Cortona, Arezzo, Civita Caſtellana, Volterra, Groſſeto, Cerveteri. The cities of Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære, lie at preſent in ruins. Beſides theſe, the following cities were in antient times of great note in Etruria; on the coaſt, or at a ſmall diſtance from it, Luna, Piſæ, Portus Herculis, Labronis, or Liburni, Populonia, Telamon, Coſa, Coſæ, or Coſſa, Centumcellæ, and Alſium, now l'Erice, Piſa, Livorno, Telamone, Anſidonia, Civita Vecchia, Palo. The ruins of Populonia are to be ſeen near Piombino. In the inland country ſtood Nepete, Sutrium, Falerii Faliſcorum, Fanum Voltumnæ, Hortanum, Herbanum, Suana, Saturnia, Senæ Juliæ, Florentia, Fæſulæ, Piſtoria, Luca, called by the modern inhabitants, Nepe, Sutri, Civita Caſtellana, Viterbo, Orti, Orvieto, Saturna, Saona, Florenza, Fieſoli, Piſtoia, Lucca.

[f] Liv. l. iv. c. 23. &. l. v. ſub init. [g] Dionyſ. Halicar. l. iv. p. 399.

Umbria. UMBRIA was bounded on the ſouth by the Nar, now the Nera; on the north by the Adriatic ſea; on the eaſt by the Æſis, new Fiumicino; and on the weſt by the Tiber on the ſide of the Apennines next to Rome, and on the other ſide by the Bedeſis, now il Ronco, which falls into the Adriatic at Ravenna. So that this city, Ariminum, Piſaurum, Fanum Fortunæ, Sena Gallica, and Cæſena, though poſſeſſed by the Lingones and Senones, were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in Umbria. The other places of note in this country were, Sarſina, Urbinum, Metaurenſe, and Hortenſe, Sentinum, Æſis, and Camerinum, or Camers, now Sarſina, Caſtel Durante, Urbino, Sentino, Jeſi, Camerino. Theſe cities ſtood between the Adriatic ſea and the Apennines. On the other ſide of theſe mountains, were Iguvium, Mevania, Spoletium, Tifernum, Nuceria, Camellaria, Aſiſium, Hiſpellum, Fulignium, Tuder, Interamnium, or Interamna, Narnia, Ameria, and Ocriculi, or Ocriculum, known at preſent by the names of Ugubio, Bavagna, Spoleti, Citta di Caſtello, Nocera, Aſſiſi, Iſpello, Foligno, Todi, Terni, Narni, Amelia, Otricoli.

Sabini. THE country of the Sabini lay between the Nar and the Anio, now the Teverone, the former ſeparating it from Umbria, and the latter from Latium. Cures, whence the Romans were called Quirites, was at firſt the metropolis of the Sabini, and in after-ages Reate, now Riete. The ruins of Cures are ſtill to be ſeen at a place called Vecovic di Sabina. The other cities in this country worth notice were Nurſia, Eretum, Nomentum, Cutiliæ, and Amiternum, now known by the names of Norcia, Monte Rotondo, Lamentario. The cities of Cutileæ and Amiternum have been long ſince deſtroyed; but there are ſtill remaining ſome ruins of the former at Civita Ducale, and of the latter near the city of Aquila.

Latium. NEXT to the country of the Sabini was Latium, compriſed at firſt within very narrow limits, viz. the Tiber, the Anio, and the Circæan promontory, now Monte Circilli; but after the reduction of the Æqui, Hernici, Volſci, and Auſones, reaching to the river Liris, called by the preſent inhabitants il Garigliano. And hence the diſtinction that frequently occurs in the antients between Old and New Latium. In Old Latium ſtood the following cities; Rome, once the moſt powerful, and ſtill the moſt ſtately and beautiful, city of the world, Tibur, Præneſte, Gabii, Tuſculum,

15 | 18 | 17

MIDDLE or PROPER ITALY.

Roman Miles.

20 40 60 75

English Miles

10 20 30 40 50 60

CK SEA

[illegible] Castellum
[illegible] ora maritima
[illegible] Fluentum

45

44

43

MIDDLE or PROPER ITALY.

Roman Miles.
20 40 60 75

English Miles.
10 20 30 40 50 60

THE ADRIATICK SEA

PART OF ISTRIA

TRANSPADANA

CISPADANA

GALLIA

ETRURIA

UMBRIA

PICENUM

SABINI

MARSI

LATIUM

CAMPANIA

APULIA

Cenomani

Boii

Ingones

SENONES

Apuani

Marrucini

Peligni

Vestini

Praetutiani

Frentani

Hirpini

Mantua

Verona

Brixia

Cremona

Placentia

Parma

Mutina

Bononia alim Felsina

Ravenna

Caesena

Sarsina

Ariminum

Pisaurum

Fanum Fortunae

Forum Sempronii

Sena Gallica

Ancona

Auximum

Asculum Picenum

Firmum

Pinna

Sulmo

Corfinium

Alba Fucentis

Lacus Fucinus

Aufidena

Aesernia

Venafrum

Sepinum

Allifae

Luceria

Teanum Sidicinum

Capua

Suessula

Abella

Acerrae

Nola

Abellinum

Beneventum

Equotuticum

Salapina

Salapia

Canusium

Cannae

Aecae

Sipontum

Garganus Mons

Diomedis I.

Rome

Tusculum

Praeneste

Gabii

Tibur

Lavinium

Ostia

Laurentum

Ardea

Antium

Circeii

Terracina

Anxur

Formiae

Minturnae

Sinuessa

Cumae

Tarquinii

Caere

Veii

Falerii

Nepete

Sutrium

Volsinii

Clusium

Arretium

Cortona

Perusia

Trasimenus Lake

Fidenae

Crustumerium

Nomentum

Collatia

Gabii

Labici

Praeneste

Tusculum

Algidum

Bolvillae

Aricia

Alsium

Fregenae

Castrum novum

Centum cellae

Portus Trajani

Graviscae

Pisae

Luca

Florentia

Pistorium

Faesulae

Volaterrae

Populonium

Ilua or Aethalia

Igilium I.

Telamon

Cosa

Heraclis Herculis Liburni or Labronis portus

Forum Clodii

Luna

Forum Novum

Forum Popilii

Forum Livii

Forum Cornelii

Forum Aurelii

Forum Appii

Aquae Sextiae

Aquae Pisanae

Aquae Caietanae

Aquae Voconiae

Aquae Cutiliae

Aquae Passeris

Aquae Apollinares

Aquae Albulae

Aquae Salviae

Aquae Tauri

Aquae Neptuni

Aquae Labanae

Aquae Ferentinae

Aquae Caesenates

Aquae Patavinae

Aquae Cumanae

Aquae Sinuessanae

Aquae Sextiae

Aquae Pisanae

Aquae Caietanae

Aquae Voconiae

Aquae Cutiliae

Aquae Passeris

Aquae Apollinares

Aquae Albulae

Aquae Salviae

Aquae Tauri

Aquae Neptuni

Aquae Labanae

Aquae Ferentinae

Aquae Caesenates

Aquae Patavinae

Aquae Cumanae

Aquae Sinuessanae

Padus or Eridanus R.

Athesis R.

Atria or Hadua R.

Tartarus or Atrianus R.

Vatrenus R.

Sagis Ostium

Caprasiae Ostium

Padusa

Spina

Caterna

Insula Virorum

Trium Virorum

Sapis R.

Rubicon R.

Arminius R.

Metaurus R.

Isis or Isaris R.

Vicus Ticiensis

Pitina

Sena R.

Misa R.

Suasa

Aesis R.

Asinia R.

Cumerinum

Camerinum

Nuceria

Tinia R.

Hispellum

Fidenae

Fanum Jovis

Spoletium

Interamna

Nar R.

Velinus R.

Reate

Matrinus R.

Pinna

Hadria

Aternum

Ortona

Teate

Alernus R.

Sangrus R.

Frentanus R.

Histonium

Buca

Larinum

Teanum Apulum

Monticanus

Fria

Gerionum

Lucera

Arpi

Corbatis R.

Aufidus R.

Cannae

Canusium

Venusia

Matilica

Pitulum

Septempeda

Potentia

Ricina

Firmum Castellum

Cupra montana

Truentum

Helvia R.

Truentus R.

Cingulum

Ancona

Cale

Ad Ensem

Tolentinum

Prolaqueum

Falacria

Tinna R.

Iguvium

Fusicum

Tifernum Tiberinum

Tifernum Metaurense

Vibinum

Fons Tiberis

Metaurus R.

Forum Sempronii

Fanum Fortunae

Pisaurum

Ariminum

Mons Feretrius

Forum Livii

Forum Cornelii

Forum Popilii

Forum Novum

Forum Aurelii

Forum Appii

Aquae Sextiae

Aquae Pisanae

Aquae Caietanae

Aquae Voconiae

Aquae Cutiliae

Aquae Passeris

Aquae Apollinares

Aquae Albulae

Aquae Salviae

Aquae Tauri

Aquae Neptuni

Aquae Labanae

Aquae Ferentinae

Aquae Caesenates

Aquae Patavinae

Aquae Cumanae

Aquae Sinuessanae

Longitude from London

J. Davison Sculpt.

Tuſculum, Aricia, Lanuvium, Alba Longa, ſo called from its length, and to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in the country of the Marſi, Lavinium, Laurentum, Oſtia, Antemnæ, Collatia, and Ardea, the metropolis of the Rutuli, a Latin nation. Of Gabii and the four laſt-mentioned cities there are now ſcarce any footſteps remaining; but the others are ſtill known by the names of Tivoli, Paleſtrina, Fraſcati, l'Aricia, Citta Lavina, Albano, Patricia, Paterno, Oſtia. Carſeoli, or Carſula, Valeria, Sublaqueum, Algidum; now Arſuli, Vico Varo, Subiaco, belonged to the Æqui. Of Algidum ſome ruins are to be ſeen near an inn, which the Italians call l'Oſterio dell Aglio. Anagnia, Alatrium, Verulæ, Ferentinum, now Anagni, Alatri, Veroli, Ferentino, were the chief cities of the Hernici. In the country of the Volſci ſtood Antium, Circæi, or Circæum, Tarracina, called alſo Anxur, Sueſſa Pometia, whence the neighbouring marſh was named Palus Pometina, or Pomptina, Velitræ, Cora, Norba, Privernum, Setia, Signia, Sulmo, Fruſino, Frabrateria, Aquinum, Caſinum, Atina, Arpinum, Arz, Sora, Fregellæ, and Interamna. The ruins of Antium, Circæi, and Sueſſa Pometia, are ſtill to be ſeen at Capo d'Anzo, Citta Vecchia, and in the neighbourhood of Velëtri. The other cities bear at preſent the names of Terracina, Veletri, Cora, Norma, Piperno, Sezza, Segni, Sermoneta, Fruſinone, Falvaterra, Aquino, Monte Caſino, Atina, Arpino, Arce, Sora, Ponte Corvo, l'Iſola. In the country of the Auſones were Cajeta, Fundi, and Formiæ, at preſent Gaeta, Fondi, and Mola.

Picentes. PICENUM, the country of the Picentes, lay between the Æſis and the Aternus, now Peſcara, extending from the Adriatic to the Apennines, where it joined Umbria, and beyond them reaching to the country of the Sabini. Their chief cities were, Ancona, once poſſeſſed by the Gauls, Caſtrum Novum, Caſtellum Truentinum, ſo called from the river Truentum, now the Tronto, Auximum, Septempeda, Tollentinum, Firmum, Picenum, Aſculum Picenum, Interamnium, and Atria, at preſent Ancona, Flaviano, Torre Segura, or, as others will have it, Porto d'-Aſcoli, Oſimo, S. Severino, Tolentino, Fermo, Aſcoli, Teramo, Atri. Eaſt of this country lay the country of the Veſtini, which contained the following cities; Angulus, Pinna, and Avia, or Avella, now called Civita di S. Veſtini.

Marrucini. Angelo, Civita di Penna, Aquila. Next to the Veſtini were the Marrucini, whoſe ſmall territory had but one city, viz. Teate, now Chieti.

Peligni. The Peligni inhabited a ſmall tract lying between the countries of the Veſtini and Marrucini to the north, and the Apennines to the ſouth. Their chief cities were, Corfinium and Sulmo; the ruins of the former are ſtill remaining about eight miles from Sulmo, now known by the name of Sulmona.

Marſi. The Marſi were ſeated in an inland country, having the Peligni and Veſtini between them and the Adriatic ſea; on the other ſide the Apennines they bordered on the countries of the Sabini and Æqui. They had only two cities, viz. Alba Fucentes, ſo called from the lake Fucinus, now Lago di Celano, near which it ſtood, and Marrubium. The former ſtill retains the antient name of Alba; but the latter is now called Morrea.

Frentani. Samnites. Next to the Marrucini on the coaſt were the Frentani; in the inland country the Samnites between the Frentani and the Campani; and the

Hirpini Hirpini ſeated between Samnium, and the river Silarus, having Apulia Daunia on the north-eaſt, and Campania on the ſouth-weſt. The cities of Ortona, Anxanum, and Hiſtonium, now Ortona, Lanzano, Guaſto d'Amone, belonged to the Frentani; Bovianum, Æſernia, Sepinum, Allifæ, and Teleſia, now Boiano, Iſernio, Sepino, Alifi, Teleſe, to the Samnites. Beneventum, Equus Tuticus, Abellinum, and Compaſa, now Benevento, Ariano, Avellino, Conza, to the Hirpini.

Campani. CAMPANIA extended from the Liris to the promontory of Minerva, called ſtill il capo di Minerva, being bounded on the north-eaſt by Samnium, and on the ſouth-weſt by the country of the Hirpini. In this tract, which was the moſt pleaſant and fruitful of all Italy, ſtood the following cities; on the coaſt Literaum, Bajo, Miſenum, Puteoli, Neapolis, or Parthenope, Herculaneium, Pompeii, and Surrentum, now Torre di Patria, Baie, Monte Miſeno, Puzzuolo, Napoli, Torre di Greco, Scafati, Sorrento; in the inland country, Capua, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen about two miles from the preſent city of the ſame name, Sueſſa Aurunca, Venafrum, Caſilinum, Teanum Sidicinum, Calatia, Cales, Atella, Acerræ, Nola, and Nuceria, known at preſent by the names of Seſſa, Venafro, Nova Capua, Tiano, Cajazzo, Calvi, Averſa, Acerra, Nola, Nocera. The ſmall tract, lying between the promontory

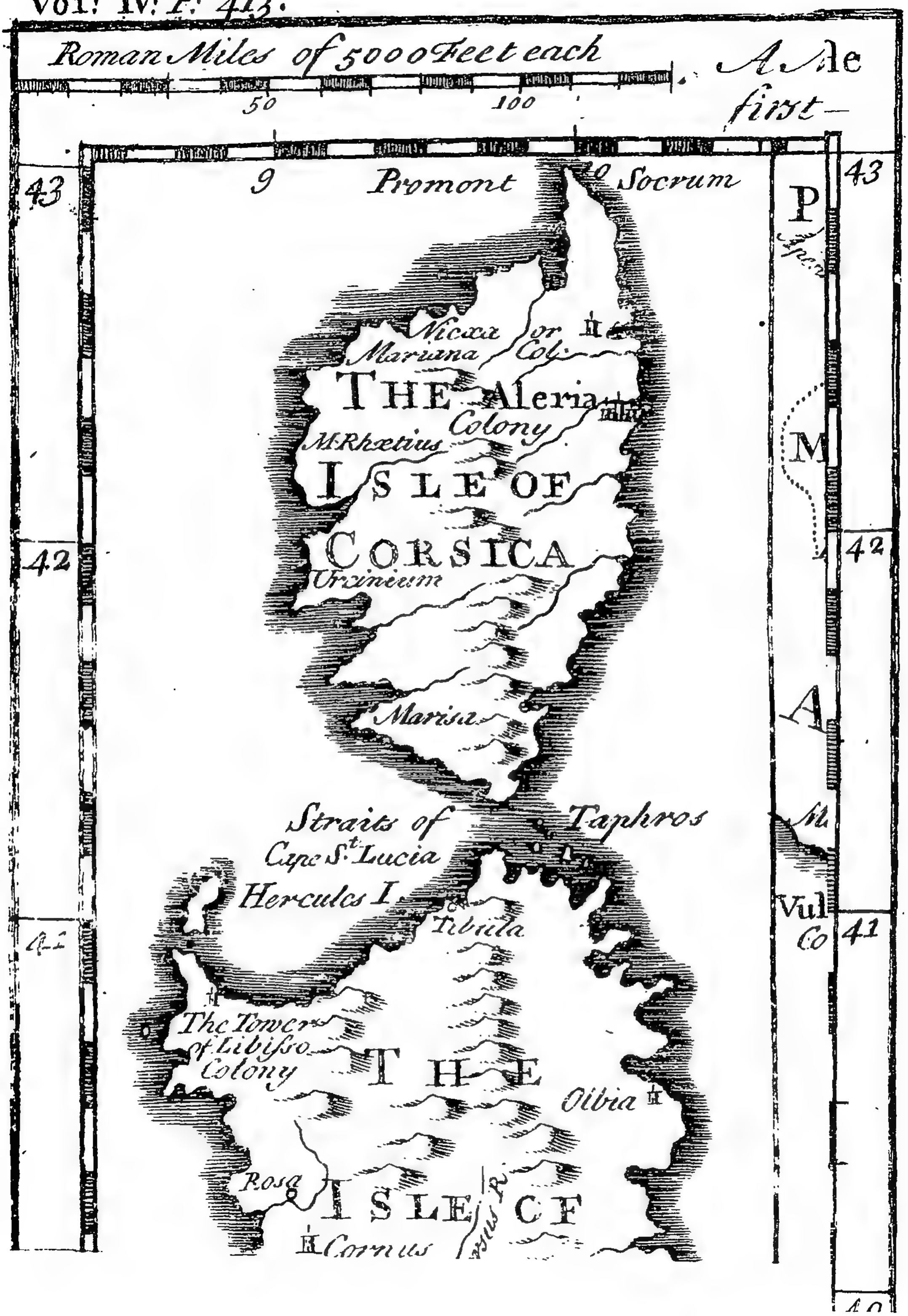
Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each
50 100

A Map of GREAT GREECE and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA By Mons.r Delisle first Geographer to the King of France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

PICENUM
VESTINI
MARRUCINI
MARSI
PELIGNI
FRENTANI
SAMNIUM
CARACENI
PENTRI
AUSONES
APULIA
PEUCETIA
PEDICULI
IAPYGIANS
CALABRIA
OR MESSAPIANS
SALENTINI
CAMPANIA
HIRPINI
PICENTINI
LUCANI
ENOTRII
BRUTII
THE ADRIATICK SEA
THE TYRRHENIAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
ILLYRICUM
THE
ISLE OF CORSICA
ISLE OF SARDINIA
ISLES OF LIPARI
SICILY
THE Promontory of Lapigia
Straits of Cape S.t Lucia
Sulci Promontory
Lacinian Promontory
Longitude from London

Adria
Alternus R.
Aternum
Ortona
Pinna
Apennine Hills
Super æquum Col.
Piscaria
Sulmo
Pisternus R.
Merina
M.t Garganus
Plistia
Sagrus R.
Trinium R.
Triventum
Larinum
Teanum of Apulia
Sipontum Colony
Lucinus Lake
Aufidena
Corfinium
Arpi
Aufidus R.
Luceria Colony
Esernia Col.
Bovianum Colony
Salapia
Sepinum
Allifæ
Murgantia
Ecæ
Ardonea
Canna
Minturnæ Col.
Sancula Col.
Cominium
Asculum
Barium
Cales Col.
Maleventum
Aquilonia
Canusium
Venusium
Beneventum Col.
Caudium
Vulturnum Colony
Capua
The Cowden Forks
Romulæ
Forentanum
Acherontia
Taurasium
Naples Col.
Abellinum
Compia
Rufrium
Casuentum R.
Mesapia
Brundusium Col.
Cosilianum Col.
Tarentum
Lupiæ
Hydruntum
Capo Miseno
Pæstum
Posidonia Colony
Velia
Ruxentum Col.
Grumentum
Heraclea
Siris R.
Aciris R.
Veruli
Œnotrides Isles
Cape Palinurus
Pandosia
Acheron R.
Sybaris
Thuriæ or Copiæ Colony
Siberis R.
Crathis R.
Petilia
Cosentia
Esaras R.
Crotan
Hipponium Colony
Mamertium
Rhegium Col.
Locri
Messana
Lipari Colony
Vulcan I.
Epidaurus
Ulcinium
Lissos
Apollonia
Nicæa or Col.
Mariana
M. Rhætius
Aleria Colony
Urcinium
Marsina
Taphros
Tribula
The Towers of Libisso Colony
Olbia
Rosa
Cornus
Thymus R.
Uselis Colony
The Sacred
Cagliari Colony
Tegula
Sulci

9 10 15 16 17 18 19 20
43 42 41 40 39 38


Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each
50
100
A Ale
first —
43
9
Promont
Socrum
P
43
Nicæa or
Marsana
Col.
THE
Aleria
Colony
M. Rhætius
ISLE OF
CORSICA
Urcinium
Marisa
M
42
42
Straits of
Cape S.t Lucia
Taphros
Hercules I.
Tibula
A
Vul
Co
41
The Towers of Libisso
Colony
THE
Olbia
ISLE OF
Rosa
Comus
R.

montory of Minerva, and the river Silarus, was inhabited by a colony of Picentes planted here by the Romans; Pliny [h] and Ptolemy call them Picentini, to diſtinguiſh them from the Picentes who inhabited Picenum on the Adriatic ſea. The Picentini had but two cities, viz. Picentia, called by Strabo [i] the metropolis of the Picentini, but at preſent demoliſhed, and Salernum, now Salerno. Picentini.

MAGNA GRÆCIA compriſed Apulia, Lucania, and the country of the Brutii. This country was called Greece, becauſe moſt of the cities on the coaſt were Greek colonies and ſpoke the Greek tongue. The inhabitants gave it the epithet of Great, not becauſe it was larger, or near ſo large as Greece, properly ſo called; but merely out of oſtentation, as Pliny in informs us [k]. Apulia extended from the river Frento quite to the ſtreights parting Italy from Greece; but was divided into three parts, viz. Daunia lying between the Frento and the Aufidus, now l'Ofanto, Peucetia, extending from the Aufidus to the iſthmus between Brunduſium and Tarentum, and Meſſapia, called alſo Calabria and Iapygia, comprehending the peninſula. In Apulia, by which name the antient geographers underſtand both Daunia and Pucetia, were the following cities; Teanum Apulum, Geryon, Sipuntum, Luceria, Equulanum, Arpi, the ruins of which are to be ſeen near the preſent city of Foggia, Aſculum Apulum, Venuſia, Acherontia, Canuſium, Cannæ, Salapia, Rubi, Butunti, Barium, and Egnatia, now Civitate Tragonaro, Siponto, Lucera, Troia, Aſicili, Venoſa, Acirenza, Canoſa, Canna, Salpe, Ruvo, Bitonio, Bari, Terra d'Anazzo. In Calabria, Brunduſium, Hydruntum, Caſtrum Minervæ, Callipolis, Tarentum, Neritum, and Aletium, now Brindiſi, Otranto, Caſtro, Gallipoli, Tarento, Nardo, Lezze. Near Aletium ſtood in antient times the city of Rudiæ, the birth-place of Ennius. Magna Græcia.

LUCANIA lay between the Silarus and the Laus, now the Laino, the former parting it from the country of the Picentini, and the latter from that of the Brutii. It was divided from Pucetia by the river Bradanus, now the Brandano, and from Calabria by the upper part of the Sinus Tarentinus, or gulf of Tarento. On the Mediterranean or Tyrrhenian ſea ſtood the cities of Paſtum, called by Lucania.

[h] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. & 12.
[k] Plin. l. iii. c. 5.
[i] Strabo. l. v. ſub finem.

the Greeks Poſidonia, Velia, Buxentum; on the gulf of Tarentum, Metapontum, Heraclea, antiently called Siris and Sybaris, afterwards known by the name of Thurii and Copiæ; in the inland country were ſituated Potentia and Grumentum. Theſe cities are called by the preſent inhabitants, Peſto, Piſciotta, Policaſtro, Terre di Marc, Policore, Potenza, Clarimonte. The city of Thurii or Thurium was deſtroyed ſoon after the ſecond Carthaginian war.

Brutii. THE Brutii poſſeſſed that peninſula which extends from Lucania to the ſtreights, ſeparating Sicily from Italy. In this corner of Italy, as we may call it, ſtood the following cities; on the weſtern coaſt, Cerilli, Clampetia, Temſa, Terina, Lametia, Scyllæum, and Rhegium, now Cirella, Amantea, Torre Loppa, Nocera, Sant'Eufemia, Sciglio, Reggio; on the eaſtern coaſt, Locri called Epizephyrii from the promontory Zephyrium, Caulonia, Scylacium, Croto, Petilia, and Ruſcianum, now Jeraces, Caſtel Veteri, Squillaci, Crotone, Belicaſtro, Roſſano; in the inland country, Couſentia, now Coſenza, formerly the metropolis of the Brutii; Pandoſia, and Hiponium, called by the Romans Vibo Valentia, and by the modern inhabitants Monte Leone. Theſe are the chief cities cities of Italy, which we ſhall deſcribe, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Rivers. THE rivers, which it may be proper to take notice of in this place, are the Po, called by the Latins Padus and Eridanus, which ſprings from the mount Veſulus, now Veſo, one of the higheſt among the Alps, and diſcharges itſelf into the Adriatic ſea by ſeven different ſtreams, after having received into its channel above thirty rivers. On the Alps likewiſe riſe the Druria, the Seſſites, the Ticinum, the Addua, the Ollius, the Mincius, the Tanarus, the Trebia, and the Rhenus Bononienſis, now the Dora, Seſſia, Teſino, Adda, Oglio, Mincio, Tanaro, Trebia, and Reno di Bologna. The Atheſis, now the Adige, has its ſource, like the others we have mentioned, in the Alps, waters the cities of Trent and Verona, and is the only great river in Lombardy that does not fall into the Po; which it muſt have done, had it run but a little further before its entering the Adriatic. The Arnus, and the Tiber, which receives the Clanis, the Nar, and the Anio, now la Chinana, la Nera, il Teverone, ſpring from the Apennines, and fall into the Mediterranean. The

Liris,

Liris, which ſeparates Latium from Campania; the Volturnus in Campania; the Silarus parting the Picentini and Lucani; theSybaris andCrathis in Lucania; theAufidus in Apulia; the Aternus and Metaurus in Picenum, now the Garigliano, Volturno, Silaro, Cochile, Crati, l' Ofanto, Peſcara, Metauro, were all rivers of great note, and are much ſpoke of by the antients.

Mountains.

THE chief mountains of Italy are the Alps and the Apennines, the former parting it from Gaul, Vindelicia, Noricum, and Pannonia, taking Italy in its greateſt extent, and the latter dividing it into two, almoſt equal, parts. Feſtus is of opinion, that the Alps borrowed their name from the Latin word Albus, which the Sabines pronounced Alpus, ſignifying white, becauſe they were almoſt always covered with ſnow [l]. But Iſidorus [m] and Servius [n] tell us, that in the language of the Celtes all high mountains were called Alps: others derive the name of the Alps from one Albion, the ſon of Neptune, who they ſay, was killed by Hercules in diſputing his paſſage over theſe mountains. But not to loſe time in ſuch trifling etymologies, the Alps are a long chain of mountains, which begins at the mouth of the Varus, and, after a great many irregular turnings of about eight hundred miles, ends at the river Arſia in Iſtria. The maritime Alps reach from Vada or Vado to the ſource of the Varus, the Cottiæ from the courſe of the Varus to the city of Suſa, from thence the Graiæ to Little St. Bernard, and the Penninæ from that mountain to Monte St. Gottard, ot St. Gothard; to the Penninæ are joined the Alpes Rhæticæ, which extend to the ſpring of the river Piave: thoſe, which reach from thence to Iſtra and the head of the Savus, are called Noricæ and Carnicæ. The Apennines extend from the maritime Alps, where they take their riſe, quite to the ſtreights which ſeparate Italy from Sicily. The mountains Maſſicus near Sueſſa, Gauras between Puteoli and Balæ, Fifata at a ſmall diſtance from Capua, Veſuvius in the neighbourhood of Nola, and Garganus in Apulia, are much ſpoke of both by the antient and modern writers [o].

Soils.

ITALY lies between the thirty eighth and forty-ſixth degrees of north latitude, in the ſixth and ſeventh north climates

[l] Feſt. l. iii. [m] Iſidor. orig. l. iii. [n] Servius in l. iii. Æneid. [o] Vid. Cluver. antiq. Ital. l. iii. Plin. l. xxxi. c. 2. Liv. l. xxii. Virgil. l. ii. georg. v. 143. & l. iii. v. 526. Kirch. mund. ſubter. tom. 1.

mates. We need not here enlarge on the fruitfulneſs and various productions of this happy region, it being well known, that whatever deſirable things nature has dropt frugally here and there in other countries, are found in Italy, as in their original ſeminary; whence ſome call it the parent of plenty, others the fountain of earthly bliſs, the incomparable region of this globe, the garden of Europe, the epitome of the world, or rather a little world itſelf. The inhabitants of this country were once the triumphant lords and conquerors of the world; but at preſent the ſofter arts prevail; and in theſe they are generally thought to be as much ſuperior to the modern, as their anceſtors were to the antient nations in war and military exploits. But the antient inhabitants of Italy ſhall be the ſubject of the following ſection.

SECT. II.

Of the antient ſtate and firſt inhabitants of ITALY.

THERE is ſuch a diſagreement among the antients, in what they have wrote concerning the firſt inhabitants of Italy, that we cannot pretend to give any ſatisfactory account of the primitive ſtate of that country. We ſhall therefore only relate in this place what has been tranſmitted to us, on ſo perplext and intricate a ſubject, by the moſt credible writers of antiquity, without taking upon us to prefer the authority of one to that of another, ſince they may be all, for aught we know, and as the moſt judicious among them ſeem to inſinuate, equally miſtaken. We ſhall begin with Latium, which roſe by degrees to be the ſeat of a mighty republick and of an empire, which had no other bounds than thoſe of our hemiſphere. Old Latium, which from the banks of the Tiber extended n[illegible]ther ſouthward than to the Circæan promontory, being bounded on the north by the Anio, and to the eaſt by mount Algidus, only eighteen miles diſtant from Rome, was at different times inhabited by the following nations[p]; viz. the Aborigines, Pelaſgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci,

The inhabitants of Old and New Latium.

[p] Plin. l. iii. c. 5.

Aurunci, and Rutuli: New Latium, which reached to the Iris, by the Volſci, Oſci, Auſones, Coriolani, Fidenates, and Sicani. Some hiſtorians are of opinion, that the Aborigines had that name given them, becauſe they had been in Italy from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other: others changing the name of Aborigines into Aberrigines, hold, that they were a wondering people, ſuch being the import of that word, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in Italy, and there lived by rapine [q]. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who was perſuaded that they came from Arcadia, propoſes two other opinions; viz. that they were ſtyled Aborigines, becauſe they lived on mountains, in which the Arcadians took great pleaſure (A); or becauſe they gave origin to the Latins [r] (B), who being deſcended from them, called them Aborigines, that is, the people from whom they derived their origin. The appellation of Aborigines in the firſt acceptation is derived from the Greek words Oreon Genos, that is, natives of the mountains, in the ſecond from the Latin word Origo, which imports origin. The above-mentioned writer takes them to be one Aborigines.

[q] Vid. Victor. de origin. Roman. [r] Dion. Hal. l. i. antiq. Rom. c. 10.

(A) Virgil ſpeaks of the Aborigines as living diſperſed on the mountains before the arrival of Saturn:

Is genus indocile, & diſperſum montibus altis,
Compoſuit, legeſque dedit (1).

(B) This was, according to Servius, Virgil's opinion, which he takes to be plainly expreſſed in the following verſes:

Quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
Antiqua ex cedro, Italuſque, paterque Sabinus,
Saturnuſque ſenex, Janique bifrontis imago,
Veſtibulo aſtabant, aliique ab orig. reges (2).

By the laſt words Virgil meant, ſays Servius, the kings of the Aborigines, that is, the kings of the nation, from which the Romans derived their origin. In like manner Pliny calls the Tyrians, Aborigines Gadium, becauſe that city was founded by them (3).

(1) Virgil. Æneid. 8. v. 321. Vid. Suid. in Aborigines.
(2) Virgil. l. vii. v. 177. (3) Plin. l. iv. ſub finem.

one and the ſame people with the Oenotrii, who leaving Arcadia, their native country, croſſed the ſea, and ſettled in Latium, above four hundred years before the Trojan war.

Pelaſgi. The Pelaſgi were originally Peloponneſians, who, being driven out of their country by the Curetes and Leleges, ſettled firſt in Theſſaly, and removed from thence into that part of Italy, which is watered by the Po, and built there the city of Spina. Some of them croſſed the Apennines, joined the Aborigines, and, having made themſeves maſters of great part of Umbria and Hetruria, drove the Siculi out of thoſe countries, and obliged them to fly for refuge into Sicily. They likewiſe took ſeveral cities of Campania from the Aurunci: but at length, being afflicted with many calamities, they abandoned their conqueſts, and returned to Greece [s]. From them the Aborigines borrowed many cuſtoms of Greece.

Arcades. About ſixty years before the Trojan war, another colony arrived from Peloponneſus, in a port of Latium, under the conduct of Evander the Arcadian, who, being kindly received by Faunus, at that time king of the country, aud ſuffered to ſettle on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the Tiber, introduced the worſhip of the gods of his own country, and taught the inhabitants the uſe of the Greek letters (C), and of ſtringed inſtruments of muſic. By this means he reformed the cuſtoms, and ſoftened the manners of the Aborigines, who, at the time of his arrival, ſtill lived after a ſavage manner, and without any regulation of laws [t]. Not long after, another colony of Arcadians and Eleans arriving in Latium with Hercules, are ſaid to have ſettled there, and made one people with thoſe whom Evander had brought with him.

Siculi. THE Siculi were, according to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, the firſt inhabitants of Latium, but being driven from thence by the Aborigines and Pelaſgi, and by other nations from

[s] Dion. Hal. ibid. [t] Dion. Hal. ibid. p. 25.

(C) The Greek characters were the firſt which the Latins made uſe of. Of this there was ſtill remaining a plain proof in the time of Auguſtus, viz. the treaty between Tarquin the Proud and the Gabii, which was written in Latin words, but Greek letters, on a wooden ſhield covered with the ſkin of the ox that had been ſacrificed on that occaſion (4).

(4) Dio Hal. l. iv. p. 246.

from all the countries of Italy, they took refuge in Sicily. As to the origin of the Siculi, Pliny [u] takes them to be one and the ſame people with the Sicani. If this opinion be true, they came originally from Spain, according to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, Thucydides, and Philiſtus, an antient Sicilian writer; but, according to Diodorus Siculus, from Sicily, that author being of opinion, that the Sicani inhabited Sicily from the firſt ages of the world. Sophocles ſays, they were called Siculi from one Siculus their king. The Aurunci or Arunci were originally Auſones [w], of whom hereafter. Virgil ſpeaks of them as a Trojan colony [x]. The Rutuli were deſcended from the Aborigines. Theſe were the various nations, which at different times had been maſters of all, or great part of, Latium before the arrival of Æneas.

Aurunci.

Rutuli.

In New Latium the Volſci were a very warlike people; but antient authors give no account of their origin. They only tell us, that they had a language peculiar to themſelves. Their territory comprehended one of the moſt conſiderable portions of Old Latium. The Oſci, Opici, or Obſci, were deſcended from the Auſones. From their name the etymologiſts derive the Latin word Obſcænus, obſcene; for they had the character of being licentious in their diſcourſe and leud in their manners, above the reſt of the inhabitants of Italy. Their language was different from that of the Romans; for Ennius uſed to boaſt, as Gellius informs us [y], that he could ſpeak Oſcian, Greek, and Latin. The Fidenates were a colony of the Albani, and the Coriolani of the Volſci. Of the Sicani we have ſpoken above. As to the Auſones, they came originally from Greece, and were one of the moſt antient colonies that ſettled in Italy. They firſt planted themſelves in New Latium, but, being diven from thence by new adventurers, they retired to that part of Campania, which lies between Teanum and Capua [z]. They were called Auſones, according to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, from Auſon the ſon of Ulyſſes by Calypſo, whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned over them while they were in Latium. But that writer is herein certainly miſtaken, ſince they had the name of Auſones, long before the arrival of Æneas,

Volſci.

Oſci.

Fidenates.

Coriolani.

[u] Plin. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Ariſtot. Polit. l. vii. c. 10. Servius in l. vii. Æneid. Iſaac. Tzetzes, p. 211. [x] Virgil. georg. l. ii. v. 385. [y] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. [z] Dio. Hal. l. vi. c. 5.

Æneas, and conſequently before the ſuppoſed king Auſon could be born. From them, firſt the countries where they ſettled, and afterwards all Italy, took the name of Auſonia.

Hetruſei.

NEXT to Old Latium lay Hetruria, which was inhabited by the Tyrrhenians, called alſo Hetruſci, Etruſci, Tuſci, and ſometimes Thuſci. The name of Tyrrhenians they borrowed from their leader Tyrrhenus, that of Hetruſci from one of their kings, and the laſt from the Greek word Thuo, to ſacrifice, the Hetruſcans having been ſkilled, above all other nations, in the ceremonies that were uſed in the performing of ſacrifices [a]. They came originally, according to the common opinion both of the Greek and Latin writers, from Lydia, under the conduct of Tyrrhenus, as we have related in the hiſtory of Lydia [b], and arriving in Italy, ſettled firſt in that tract, which lies between the Adriatic ſea and th Apennines, after having driven out the Umbri, and taken from them, as Pliny informs us [c], three hundred cities. Being animated by the ſucceſs that attended them on their firſt arrival, they extended their conqueſts beyond the Apennines and made themſelves maſters of the territories of Nola and Capua, and almoſt of the whole coaſt of that ſea, which from them took the name of Tyrrhenian. Theſe countries they held till the invaſion of the Gauls, when they were driven from the coaſt of the Adriatic ſea by that warlike nation, and from Campania by the Latins; ſo that they were obliged to take refuge in that country, which lies between the Macra and Tiber, and is called by all the antients Hetruria.

Ligures.

THERE is a great diſagreement among authors about the origin of the Ligures. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus owns, that he cannot determine whether they were deſcended from the Gauls, or from ſome of the antient nations inhabiting Italy. Strabo, ſpeaking of the various tribes living among or near the Alps, ſays, that they were all originally Gauls, except the Ligures [d]; and elſewhere ſeems inclined to believe, that Liguria was firſt peopled by Greek colonies. Some carry up their origin to the fabulous heroes of antiquity, and others, led by the [e] ſimilitude of names, to the Ligyes mentioned by Herodotus [f], as attending Xerxes in his expedition into Greece. The Ligyes are placed by ſome antient geographers in Colchis, by others in Albania. Sextus Pompeius will have the Ligures.

[a] Vide Servium in l. i. Æneid. Iſidor. de origin. & Briet. in hiſtoric. deſcript. Tuſcor. [b] Vol. V. p. 577. [c] Plin. l. ii. c. 4.
[d] Strab. l. ii. [e] Idem, l. iv. [f] Herodot. l. vii.

Ligures to be deſcended from the Siculi [g]. But the moſt common opinion is, that they came originally from Celtic Gaul. Of this origin Cluverius [h] diſcovers ſome traces in the word Bodencus, which was, according to Polybius and Pliny, the name the Ligures gave to the Po to expreſs the depth of that river. The word Boden as the ſame writer obſerves, is ſtill uſed by the Germans, and ſignifies bottom; whence he concludes, that the Ligures had the ſame origin with the inhabitants of Germany, who were, without all doubt, ſo many branches of the antient Celtæ. But when, or on what occaſion, theſe Gauls removed from their native country, we find no where recorded. However, it is paſt doubt, that they were ſome of the moſt antient inhabitants of Italy, and conſequently that they croſſed the Alps many ages before thoſe Gauls, from whom Ciſalpine Gaul took its name.

Umbri.

THE Umbri are counted by the Roman writers among thoſe nations, of whoſe origin we have no records, and therefore ſtyled the Aborigines of Italy. The name Umbri or Ombri Pliny [i] derives from the Greek word "Ombros", ſignifying "a ſhower", becauſe they had eſcaped a deluge occaſioned by violent ſhowers, which had laid their land under water. Before the arrival of the Tyrrhenians, they poſſeſſed great part of that country, which was afterwards known by the name of Ciſalpine Gaul; but were driven from thence by the Tyrrhenians, as the Tyrrhenians were in their turn by the Gauls.

Sabini, Picentes, Frentani, &c.

THE Sabini were, according to ſome antient writers, a colony of Lacedæmonians, according to others, the offspring of the Auſones. The name of Sabini they took, if Porcius Cato is to be credited, from Sabinus, the ſon of Sancus or Sabus, whom they worſhipped under the name of Dius Fidius. From the Sabini were deſcended the Picentes, Frentani, Marrucini, Peligni, Veſtini, Marſi, Æqui, Hernici, and the Samnites; from the Samnites, the Hirpini, Lucani, Brutii, and Campani.

OEnotrii.

THE Œnotrii were, according to moſt of the antient writers, originally Arcadians. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays, that they were the firſt Greeks who paſſed the Ionian ſea and ſettled in Italy, under the conduct of Œnotrus and

[g] Sext. Pomp. l. xvii. [h] Cluver. Ital. antiq. l. ii. [i] Plin. l. iii. c. 4.

and Peucetius, two ſons of Lycaon king of Arcadia. Peucetius landed at the Iapygian promontory, made himſelf maſter of Apulia and Calabria, and from his own name called the inhabitants Peucetii; and hence that tract was named Apulia Peucetia. Œnotrus landed on the oppoſite coaſt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Lucania and Brutium. From him this tract was called Œnotria, and not from the Greek word 'Oinos,' as Servius [k] pretends, becauſe this country produced great plenty of excellent wines. The Œnotrians ſpread themſelves afterwards into Umbria, and, according to ſome writers, as far as Latium and the country of the Sabini. A modern writer is of opinion, that the Œnotrius of the antients was Noah, who, to avoid the inſults and evil deſigns of Ham, came with Japheth and Gomer into Italy, and reigned in Latium under the name of Janus, which he derives from the Hebrew Jain, and the Chaldee Jaino, ſignifying wine, becauſe he firſt planted vines, and diſcovered the ſecret of grapes, and making their juice potable [l]. For this reaſon the Greeks called him Œnotrus, which in Greek anſwers the ſirname of Janus. But, after all, theſe are only conjectures, which every one may adopt or reject as he pleaſes. Some are of opinion, that the Œnotrii were the firſt inhabitants of Italy; but moſt of the antients tell us, that the country, where they ſettled on their arrival, was firſt poſſeſſed by the Auſones, whom they drove out.

Crotoniates, Locrenſes, Tarentini, &c.

THE Crotoniates, Locrenſes, Tarentini, Meſſapii, Apuli, Salentini, Calabri, and Iapyges, were, without all doubt, of Greek extraction, and ſettled in that part of Italy, which from them was called Great Greece, many ages after the Umbri, Siculi, and Auſones, which three nations are reckoned by moſt of the antients among the Aborigines, or natives of Italy, as if they had been there from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation. Of the Gauls and their different tranſmigrations into Italy, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in a more proper place.

THUS far we have related what we find in profane hiſtorians concerning the firſt inhabitants of Italy. But Euſebius and Cedrenus [m], looking upon their accounts as fabulous

[k] Servius in l. i. Æneid. [l] Vide Kircher. in Latio antiq. & nov. [m] Euſeb. in chron. & Cedren. l. i. annal.

bulous, tell us, that Italy was firſt peopled by the deſcendents of Kittim, the fourth ſon of Javan, who, being planted in that part of Greece, which hath been ſince called Macedon, ſpread themſelves, as their number encreaſed, as far as Ætolia, and from thence advanced in queſt of a more fertile ſoil to the coaſts of the Adriatic ſea, which they croſſed, and ſettled at laſt in that fruitful and pleaſant country, which was afterwards known by the name of Italy. The opinion of theſe writers is in ſome degree confirmed by what we read in Suidas, who tells us in expreſs terms, that the Latins were antiently called Ketii. Beſides, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus mentions a city in Latium called Ketea, and Ariſtotle ſpeaks of a lake near Cumæ, named Ketus [n]. Reineccius, falling in with Euſebius and Cedrenus, is of opinion, that Italy did not take that name from Italus king of the Œnotrians, but from Ætolus and a colony of Ætolians, that is of the deſcendants of Kittim, who under him ſettled in that country. He obſerves, that by only throwing out the firſt letter of Ætolia, and changing the o into a, which change is found in the name of Æthalia, an iſland near Italy, peopled by the Ætolians, it becomes Italia. So that Italy, according to theſe writers, was firſt peopled by the deſcendents of Kittim, who had ſettled in Ætolia, or, as the Greeks write it, Aitolia. The way into ſo pleaſant a country being once ſhewn, it was not long, before the Pelaſgi, the Arcadians, and other Greek nations followed their countrymen, and ſettled in the eaſtern and ſouthern parts of Italy, while the Tyrrhenians from Lydia, and the Celtæ afterwards called Ligurians, from beyond the Alps, planted themſelves in the weſtern and northern provinces. Thus was Italy, before the arrival of Æneas, poſſeſſed by the Greeks, Lydians, and Celtæ.

SECT.

[n] Ariſtot. de mirabil.

SECT. III.

Of the antient kings of Hetruria, Latium, and Alba.

Of the government and kings of the antient Hetrurians.

THE Hetrurians and Latins are the only two nations in Italy, of which we find any thing recorded worth mentioning before the foundation of Rome. We are told indeed, that the Umbrians and Ligurians made once a great figure; that the former were maſters of the beſt part of Italy, and that the latter were governed by their own kings, princes of great power, many ages before the arrival of Æneas in Latium; but this is all we know of them, till their wars with the Romans rendered them more famous. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the Hetrurians and Latins, though we can give even of them but a very indifferent account, what authors tell us of thoſe diſtant ages being ſo blended with fables, as to leave us no way of coming at the truth. However, it ſeems paſt all doubt, that the Hetrurians or Etrurians were for many ages the moſt powerful people of Italy: for Livy [o] tells us in expreſs terms, that they not only poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the inland countries, but were maſters of all the coaſt of the Tyrrhenian ſea, from the Alps quite to the ſtreights of Sicily. The cities of Capua, Nola, Mantua, Bononia, firſt called Felſina, Adria, and Ravenna, are ſaid to have been built by them. Virgil [p] calls them a nation renowned in war, and moſt of the antients ſpeak of their kings as mighty princes and lords of extenſive dominions. As to their form of government, it was firſt monarchical, the whole nation being ſubject to one prince. But in proceſs of time this great ſtate was divided into twelve cantons, called leucumonies, which were governed by twelve chiefs ſtyled leucumones. Over the leucumonies was placed one veſted with a kind of ſovereign authority, and choſen by the people, who gave him the name of lars, a title borrowed, it ſeems, from the Egyptian tongue; for Manetho gives that

[o] Liv. l. i. [p] Virgil. l. viii. v. 480.

that title to ſome of the antient kings of Egypt. Sometimes we find one leucumony carrying on a war by itſelf, and at other times all the leucumonies joined in one national body in defence of their common liberties; which plainly ſhews, that their government under the Iartes was not monarchical, but rather ariſtocratical. When the war was undertaken by the unanimous conſent of all the leucumonies, the general, or commander in chief, was attended by twelve lictors carrying the faſces before him, it being cuſtomary for each leucumony to ſend one; ſo that it was eaſy to judge from the number of the lictors, how many leucumonies were engaged in the war. We have enumerated above the capital cities of the twelve leucumonies, and ſhall only add here, that each of them was impowered to chuſe a king peculiar to themſelves, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. As to the religion of the Hetrurians, it is well known, that moſt of the Roman ceremonies were borrowed from them, eſpecially the uſe of ſacrifices, divinations, and auguries, and that Hetruria was looked upon by the Romans as the mother of all politeneſs and learning, before they ſubdued Greece. For thither they ſent their children to improve their knowledge and cultivate their minds. The gods worſhipped by the antient Hetrurians were, Janus, Jupiter, Vertumnus, Volumnus, Volumna, Voltumna, Viridianus, Curis, Nurtia, Fortuna, Pallas, &c. Their language was different both from the Greek and Latin, as is manifeſt both from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus [q], and from ſome antient monuments, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the cities of Florence and Arezzo. The account of their kings, tranſmitted to us by the antients, are ſo interwoven with fables, that in our opinion they deſerve little or no credit. We find a great many of thoſe princes occaſionally mentioned by the writers of the Roman hiſtory; but as to the time, in which they reigned, and the order of their ſucceſſion, we are quite in the dark. Janus is ſaid to have been the firſt who reigned in Hetruria [r]; but who this Janus was, we find no-where recorded. Some take him to be Tyrrhenus the Lydian; others will have him to have reigned many ages before the arrival of the Lydian colony. The kings ſprung from him are

Their gods, language, &c.

[q] Dio. Hal. l. i. p. 23, & l. v. p. 298

[r] Arnob. contra gent. l. iii.

ſtyled by the antient writers Janigenæ ; and among them are counted the following princes ; Tiberinus, Vertumnus, Aunus, Anus, Dehe beris, and Tiber. Tiberinus is ſaid to have killed his father Janus [s]. Aunus is mentioned by Silius Italicus [t]. Anus is ſaid by Strabo [u] to have been drowned in the river Parenſius, which was thenceforth from him called Anio. Deheberis and Tiber were both drowned in the river Albula, which from them borrowed the names of Deheberis and Tiber, as Sextus Pompeius informs us [w]. Beſides theſe, we find mention made of Coritus, Æolus, Etruſcus, Tuſcus, Raſena, Tarcon, Ocnus, Mezentius, Aſylas, Abas, Maſſicus, Oſinius, Morrius, Cluſius, Veientus, Olenius, Porſena, or Porſenna, and Tolumnius. Coritus had Jaſius and Dardanus by Electra the daughter of Atlas king of Mauritania. Upon his death, the two brothers falling out about the ſucceſſion, Dardanus killed Jaſius, and being on that account obliged to abandon his native country, he took refuge firſt in Samothrace, and afterwards in Phrygia, where he married the daughter of Teucer, and became the parent, as Virgil ſtyles him, of the Trojan nation [x] ; for he ſucceeded Teucer and built Dardania, afterwards called Troy. From him the Trojans were named Dardanidæ. Æolus is mentioned by Plutarch [y] as reigning over Hetruria and the iſlands of the Tyrrhenian ſea. Etruſcus and Tuſcus, from whom the Hetrurians took the name of Etruſci and Tuſci, are ſpoke of by Servius [z] and Sextus Pompeius [a], as are Raſena and Tarcon by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus [b] and Virgil. Tarcon was contemporary with Æneas, and is ſaid to have built the twelve cities, which afterwards became the capitals of the twelve leucumonies. Ocnus, Mezentius, Aſylas, and Abas, are well known from Virgil's Æneid. Of the other kings we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of Latium. The emperor Claudius is ſaid by Suidas and Suetonius to have wrote the hiſtory of Hetruria in twenty books ; but as neither that performance, nor the works of Soſtratus, often quoted by Strabo, when he ſpeaks of the Etruſcan affairs, have reached

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[s] Idem. ibid. [t] Sil. Ital. l. v. Punic. [u] Strab. l. v. p. 62. [w] Sextus Pomp. l. xviii. Vide Servium in l. viii. Æneid. v. 490, & 506. [x] Virg. Æneid. l. iii. v. 168. [y] Plut. parall. p. 312. [z] Servius in l. i. Æneid v. 71. & 164. [a] Sextus Pomp. l. xviii. [b] Dio. Hal. l. i. p. 24.

ed our times, we know but very little of the antient ſtate, government, and laws of that once powerful nation.

THE kings we find mentioned as reigning in Latium, before the arrival of Æneas, are Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Picus is ſuppoſed by Virgil [c] and others to have been the ſon of Saturn; but Voſſius is of opinion, that there never reigned any king of that name in Latium, and looks upon all that is ſaid of Picus as quite fabulous [d]. The next king is Faunus, ſuppoſed to have been the ſon of Picus. In his time Evander landed with a colony of Arcadians in a port of Latium, and being allowed by him to ſettle with his followers on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the Tiber, built there a city, which he called Pallantium, that being the name of the capital of his dominions in Arcadia, which he had been conſtrained to leave, for having accidentally killed his father Echemus. Faunus was ſucceeded by Latinus, his ſon, according to Virgil [e], by a nymph named Marica; according to others, by one of the miſtreſſes of Hercules; for that hero is ſaid to have arrived in Latium during Faunus's reign. Faunus had married to his firſt wife his own ſiſter Fauna, a famous propheteſs; but as ſhe brought him no children, and a ſon was born to him after his marriage with Hercules's miſtreſs, it was thought that the child was rather Hercules's ſon than his. But however that be, the name of Latinus is very famous in hiſtory, not on account of any military exploits performed by him, but for the arrival of Æneas in Latium, which happened in his reign. This prince was engaged in a war with the Rutuli, in which he was attended but with very indifferent ſucceſs, when news was brought him, that a foreign army had made a deſcent on his coaſts, pillaged the maritime parts of his dominions, and were fortifying themſelves in a camp at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. Hereupon he marched againſt them with all his forces, hoping to oblige them to reimbarque and abandon his dominions, without meeting with any great reſiſtance from a band of vagabonds, as he ſuppoſed, or pirates, come only to ſeek for plunder. But finding them, as he drew near, well armed and regularly drawn up in battalia, he thought it adviſeable to forbear engaging troops that appeared ſo well diſciplined, and, inſtead of venturing

The kings af Latium.

Æneas arrives in Latium. Year after the flood 1822. Before Chriſt 1177.

[c] Virgil. l. vii. Æneid. v. 45. & ſeq. [d] Voſſ. de orig. idol. l. ii. [e] Idem ibid.

a battle, to deſire a parley. In this conference, Latinus underſtanding who they were, and being at the ſame time ſtruck with terror, and touched with compaſſion for thoſe brave, but unfortunate, men, entered into a treaty with them, and aſſigned them a tract of land for a ſettlement, on condition that they ſhould employ their arms and exert their valour, in defence of his dominions, and look upon the Rutuli as a common enemy. This condition Æneas readily accepted, and complied with this engagement ſo faithfully, that Latinus came at length to repoſe an entire confidence in the Trojan, and in proof of it gave him Lavinia, his daughter and only child, in marriage, ſecuring to him by that means the ſucceſſion to the throne of Latium [f]. Æneas, to teſtify his gratitude to Latinus and affection for Lavinia, gave her name to the camp he had pitched, and inſtead of Troy called it Lavinium. The Trojans followed the example of their leader, and, by marriages making alliances with Latin families, became in a ſhort time one and the ſame people with the Latins.

Marries Lavinia.

In the mean time, Turnus, the queen's nephew, who had been brought up in the palace under the eye of Latinus, and entertained hopes of marrying Lavinia and ſucceeding to the throne, ſeeing the princeſs beſtowed on a ſtranger, and all his views defeated, went over to the Rutuli, and, by ſtirring them up, brought on a battle between them and the Latins, in which both he and Latinus were killed. Thus Æneas, by the death of his father-in-law and by that of a troubleſome rival, came into the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Latium, which he governed with great wiſdom, and tranſmitted to his poſterity [g] (D).

Succeeds to the kingdom of Latinus.

ÆNEAS

[f] Liv. l. i. c. 1. Dio Hal. l. i. p. 46. [g] Idem ibid, p. 51.

(D) The genealogy of the kings of Latium, we have here mentioned, is given by Virgil in the following verſes:

Rex arva Latinus & urbes
Jam ſenior longa placidas in pace regebat.
Hunc Fauno & nympha genitum Laurente Marica
Accipimus. Fauno Picus pater; iſque parentem
Te, Saturne, refert; tu ſanguinis ultimus auctor (5)

(5) Virgil. Æneid. l. vii. v. 45, & ſeq.

Bu

ÆNEAS is ſaid to have reigned three years, during which time he eſtabliſhed the worſhip of the gods of his own country, and to the religion of the Latins added that of Troy. The two palladiums (E), which had been the protectors of that city, became the tutelary deities of Lavinium, and in after-ages of the whole Roman empire. The worſhip of Veſta was likewiſe introduced by Æneas, and virgins, from her called Veſtals, appointed to keep a fire continually burning in honour of that goddeſs. Jupiter, Venus, and many other deities, who had been revered in Troy, became in all likelihood, known to the Latins by means of Æneas; which gave occaſion to the poets of repreſenting him under the character of a pious hero.

But other writers, diſagreeing with Virgil, ſpeak of a long ſeries of kings reigning in Latium before Picus, the grandfather of Latinus. Among theſe they mention two Saturns, and two Faunuſes, and ſuppoſe the elder Faunus to have lived two hundred years before him, who was the father of Latinus. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who civilized the inhabitants of Italy, and introduced a kind of religion among them, and was on that account honoured as a god. Voſſius, as we have hinted above, believes, that there never was in Latium a king bearing the name of Picus, and aſcribes this common notion to a fabulous tradition reported by Dionyſius Halicarnuſſus, viz. that in a certain province of Latium the god Mars had delivered his oracles by a myſterious bird, called in the language of the country, Picus, that is, woodpecker. Other writers count Janus, OEnotrus, and four kings bearing the name of Latinus, among the antient princes of Latium. Virgil himſelf owns, that the inhabitants of Latium were called Latins long before the reign of king Latinus, who received Æneas; for he introduces Juno addreſſing Jupiter in favour of the Latins, and entreating him not to ſuffer the antient name of Latins to be changed into that of Trojans. His words are;

> Pro Latio obteſtor, pro majeſtate tuorum, &c.
> Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
> Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucroſque vocari (6).

(E) Theſe were two ſtatues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy; ſo that, properly ſpeaking, there was but one true Palladium, of which we have ſpoke at length in the hiſtory of Troy, to which we refer our readers (7).

(6) Idem l. x.v. 820. & ſeq. (7) Vide Vol. II. p. 10.

WHILE Æneas was thus employed, the Rutuli, antient enemies of the Latin name, entering into an alliance with Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, took the field with a deſign to drive out thoſe new-comers, of whoſe power they began to conceive no ſmall jealouſy. Æneas marched out againſt them at the head of his Trojans and Latins. Hereupon a battle enſued, which laſted till night, when Æneas, being puſhed to the banks of the Numicus, which ran cloſe by Lavinium, and forced into that river, was there drowned. The Trojans concealed his body, and pretending that he had vaniſhed away on a ſudden, made him paſs for a deity among his credulous ſubjects, who accordingly erected a temple to him, under the title of Jupiter Indiges [h] (F). Such was the end of Æneas, the Trojan prince ſo much celebrated by the Greek and Latin poets. Of his progenitors, birth, and behaviour, during the ſiege of Troy, and adventures after the fall of that city, till his ſettling in Latium, we have ſpoke at length elſewhere [i], and therefore ſhall not break off the thread of our hiſtory to give in this place any farther account of that hero.

Death of Æneas.

Aſcanius.

UPON the death of Æneas, his ſon Euryleon, called alſo Aſcanius and Iulus, aſcended the throne (G). But as the

[h] Dio Hal. p. 51. [i] Vide Vol. V. p. 556, & ſeq.

(F) The inſcription, according to Aurelius Victor, was conceived in theſe words, Patri Deo indigeti. The words Indiges in the Latin tongue ſignified one of thoſe gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deified. The temple or tomb of Æneas, in the time of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, was nothing but a riſing ſpot of ground ſet round with trees. Perhaps, ſays that writer, it was the tomb of Anchiſes, who died but a year before his ſon(8). Livy likewiſe tells us, that Æneas had divine honours paid him under the name of Jupiter Indiges (9).

(G) Euryleon was, according to ſome, the ſon of Æneas, by Creuſa, according to others, by Lavinia. He was called Aſcanius from a river in Phrygia bearing that name, and Ilus, which name was afterwards changed into Iulus, from Ilium or Troy. Cato, as quoted by Servius (10), derives Iulus from the Greek word ἴουλος, ſignifying the ſoft and tender hair which firſt appears on the face, and pretends, that this name was given to Aſcanius, becauſe he killed Mezentius in a ſingle combat, when he was very young. But herein he contradicts all the antients hiſtorians, who ſpeak either of Iulus or Mezentius.

(8) Dio Hal. l. i. p. 51. (9) Liv. l. i. (10) Servius in l. i. Æneid. v. 271.

the young prince did not think it adviſeable to venture a battle in the very beginning of his reign with a formidable enemy, who promiſed himſelf great ſucceſs from the death of Æneas, he had the prudence to confine himſelf within the walls of Lavinium, and to try whether he could by an honourable treaty put an end to ſo dangerous a war. But the haughty Mezentius demanding of the Latins, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they ſhould pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of Latium, Aſcanius rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation, and having cauſed all the vines throughout his dominions to be conſecrated to Jupiter, and by that means put it out of his power to comply with the enemy's requeſt, he reſolved to make a vigorous ſally, and try whether he could, by force of arms, bring the inſulting Tyrrhenian to more reaſonable terms. The main body of the enemy's army was encamped at ſome diſtance from Lavinium; but Lauſus the ſon of Mezentius, with the flower of their youth under his command, lay intrenched at the very gates of the city. The Trojans, who had been long accuſtomed to make vigorous ſallies, marching out in the night, attacked the poſt where Lauſus commanded, forced his intrenchments, and obliged the troops he had with him to ſave themſelves by flight, to the mean body of the army encamped on the plain. But the unexpected arrival and overthrow of their advance-guard ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that inſtead of ſtopping the flight of their companions, they fled with them in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains. The Latins purſued them, and in the purſuit Lauſus was killed, whoſe death ſo diſcouraged Mezentius, that he immediately ſued for peace, which was granted him, upon condition, that for the future the Tiber ſhould be the boundary between the Latin and Hetrurian territories [k].

In the mean time, Lavinia, who had been left with child by Æneas, entertaining a ſtrong jealouſy of the ambition of her ſon-in-law, retired to the woods and was there peaceably delivered of a ſon, who from his father was named Æneas, and from the place of his birth had the firname of Sylvius. But as the queen's flight, who had diſappeared on a ſudden, raiſed ſuſpicions at Lavinium prejudicial

[k] Dio Hal. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 3.

dicial to the reputation of Aſcanius, he uſed all poſſible means to remove them, cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after Lavinia, calmed her fears, and prevailed upon her to return to the town with her ſon, whom he ever after treated as a brother. Lavinium grew every day more populous; but as it was in reality the patrimony of Lavinia and the inheritance of her ſon Sylvius, Aſcanius reſolved to reſign it to them, and build another city for himſelf. This he made the place of his reſidence and the capital of his new kingdom, calling it Alba Longa; Alba, from a white ſnow, which we are told Æneas had found in the place where it was built, and Longa, to diſtinguiſh it from another town of the ſame name in the country of the Marſi, or rather, becauſe it extended, without having much breadth, the whole length of a lake near which it was built [1] (G). It was thirty years after the building of Lavinium, that Aſcanius fixed his abode at Alba, and there he died after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had reſided at his new ſettlement. He left a ſon called Iulus; ſo that between him and Sylvius lay the right of ſucceſſion to the Latin throne; the latter being the ſon, and the former the grandſon, of Æneas. The Latins, not thinking it for their intereſt to continue divided, as it were into two ſtates, reſolved to unite Alba and Lavinium in one ſovereignty; and as Sylvius was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, and had thereby an undoubted title to the kingdom of his grandfather, whereas the other, after all, was but the ſon of a ſtranger, the Latins beſtowed the crown on Sylvius, and, to make Iulus ſome amends, decreed to him the ſovereign power in affairs of religion, a power which thenceforth continued

Aſcanius founds Alba Longa.

Upon the death of Aſcanius the Latins unite Lavinium to Alba.

[1] Dio Hal. p. 52. 53. Liv. l. i. c. 3. Aur. Victor. orig. Rom.

(G) The place which Aſcanius choſe for his new capital was pleaſant, fruitful, and eaſy to be fortified, being covered on one ſide by a mountain, and on the other by a deep lake, which rendered it inacceſſible. It was built at an equal diſtance from the lake and the mountain, probably, between the preſent city of Albano and the lake of Caſtel Gandolfa, and peopled by a mixed colony of Latins and Trojans. The inhabitants of this city were called Albani, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the other Alba, who were called Albenſes (11).

(11) Varro de ling. Latin. l. vii.

continued in his family. Sylvius was ſucceeded by thirteen kings of the ſame race, who for near four hundred years reigned at Alba. But we ſcarce know any thing of them beſides their names and the years of their reſpective reigns. Æneas Sylvius died after a reign of twenty-nine years. His ſon, called alſo Æneas Sylvius, governed Latium thirty-one years. LatinusSylvius, who ſucceeded him, ſwayed the ſceptre for the ſpace of fifty-one years. Alba reigned thirty-nine; Capetus, called by Livy Atys, twenty-ſix; Capis twenty-eight; and Capetus thirteen. Tiberinus, who ſucceeded him, engaged in a war, which proved fatal to him; for in a battle, which was fought on the banks of the Albula, he was forced into that river and drowned. From him the river took the name of Tiber, which it has bore ever ſince. Agrippa ſucceeded Tiberinus after a reign of eight years, and left the throne, which he had held forty-one years, to Alladius, who reigned nineteen, and was ſucceeded by Aventinus, who left his name to the hill Aventinus, where he was interred. Procas, who ſucceeded him and reigned twenty-three years, was the father of Numitor and Amulius, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder ſon Numitor. But Amulius, who ſurpaſſed his brother in courage and underſtanding, drove him from the throne, and, to ſecure it for himſelf, murdered Ægeſtus, Numitor's only ſon, and conſecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia to the worſhip of Veſta, by which ſhe was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for as the Veſtal was going to a neighbouring ſpring, to fetch water for the performance of a ſacrifice to Mars, ſhe was met and forced by a man diſguiſed in a military habit, like that in which the god Mars was repreſented. Some authors think, that this counterfeit Mars was a lover come thither by her appointment; others charge Amulius with uſing this violence to his niece himſelf, not ſo much to gratify his luſt, as to have a pretence to deſtroy her. For ever after he cauſed her to be carefully watched, till ſhe was delivered of two ſons, and then, exaggerating her crime in an aſſembly of the people, he prevailed upon them to ſentence her to death, and to condemn the fruit of her criminal amour to be thrown into the Tiber. The ſentence againſt Rhea was, according to ſome authors, changed by Amulius, at the requeſt of his daughter Antho, into perpetual confinement, but executed againſt the twins, who being laid in a wooden trough,

Kings of Alba.

Birth and education of Romulus and Remus.

trough, and carried to the foot of mount Palatine, were turned there adrift on the Tiber, which at that time overflowed its banks. But the wind and ſtream proved both ſo favourable, that at the fall of the water the two infants were left ſafe on the ſtrand, and there happily found by Fauſtulus, the chief of the king's ſhepherds, and ſuckled by his wife Acca Laurentia, who for her diſorderly life was called Lupa. And this probably gave riſe to the fabulous miracle of their being nurſed by a wolf [m].

As Faſtulus was probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, he took more than ordinary care of their education, and ſent them to Gabii to be inſtructed there in Greek literature [n]. As they grew up they appeared to have ſomething great in their mein and air, which commanded reſpect; and the aſcendant, which they aſſumed over the other ſhepherds, made them dreaded in the foreſts, where they exerciſed a ſort of empire. A quarrel happening between the herdſmen of Amulius and thoſe of Numitor, the two brothers took the part of the former againſt the latter; and ſome blood being ſhed in the fray, the adverſe party to be revenged on Romulus and Remus, for ſo the twins were called, on the feſtival of the Lupercalia (H), ſurpriſed Remus, and carried him before Numitor,

[m] Liv. ibid. Dio Hal. p. 60—63. Fab. Pictor. Portius Cato, & Calpurnius Piſo, apud eund.

[n] Plut. in Romulo.

(H) Valerius Maximus pretends, that the feſtival of the Lupercalia was not older than the foundation of Rome. But he is therein contradicted by Livy (12), Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus (13), and Plutarch (14), who tells us in expreſs terms, that this feſtival was brought by Evander out of Greece. The ceremonies obſerved in it were theſe: In the firſt place two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of diſtinction were touched with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. This being done, the ſkins of the victims were cut into thongs, and whips made of them for the young men, who ſcoured the ſtreets and the fields, all naked but their middle, and ſtruck thoſe they met. The young women offered themſelves to their ſtrokes, fancying they contributed to fruitfulneſs (15). They ran naked, becauſe Pan, the god of the ſhepherds, was commonly repreſented ſo. They ſacrificed a goat,

(12) Liv. l. i. c. 5.
(13) Dio Hal. l. i. p. 25, & 63.
(14) Plut. in Romulo.
(15) Plut. ibid. Sext. Pomp. l. xviii.

Numitor to be puniſhed by him, according to his deſerts. But Numitor, either by inſtinct or compaſſion, feeling himſelf touched in the priſoner's favour, aſked him, where he was born, and who were his parents? His anſwer immediately ſtruck Numitor with a lively remembrance of his two grandſons. Their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two infants were expoſed upon the Tiber; and there needed no more to change his anger into tenderneſs [o].

In the mean time, Romulus, eager to reſcue his brother and purſue thoſe who had carried him off, was preparing to be revenged on them; but Fauſtulus diſſuaded him from it, and on that occaſion diſcloſing to him his birth, awakened in his breaſt ſentiments worthy of his extraction. He reſolved at all adventures to attempt the delivering of his mother and grandfather from oppreſſion. With this view he aſſembled the country-people, over whom he aſſumed a kind of ſovereignty, and engaged them to come to the city on an appointed day, and enter it by different gates, provided with arms, which they were to conceal. While Romulus was thus diſpoſing every thing for the execution of his deſign, Numitor made the ſame diſcovery to Remus, concerning his parents and the oppreſſion they groaned under, which ſo fired him, that he was ready to embarque in any

[o] Dio Hal. p. 64. Ælius Tubero, apud eund. p. 65.

goat, becauſe that divinity was ſuppoſed to have goats feet. A dog was added as a neceſſary companion of a ſhepherd. Some have thought with Plutarch, that theſe Lupercalia were inſtituted in honour of the wolf that ſuckled Romulus and Remus. But moſt other writers tell us, that they were appointed in honour of Pan, from whom they borrowed their name, Pan being called in Greek Λύκαιος, perhaps from Λύκος, which anſwers the Latin word Lupus, a wolf, becauſe the chief employment of Pan was to drive away the wolves from the ſheep he protected. This feſtival was celebrated the fifteenth day of February. The prieſts who preſided at theſe ſacrifices, were called Luperci; and were divided into two companies or colleges, viz. the Fabiani and Quinctiliani, one for Romulus the other for Remus. They took their names from Fabius and Quinctilius, their chief prieſts (16). Dion Caſſius tells us, that afterwards a third college was added by the ſenate in honour of Julius Cæſar (17).

(16) Sext. Pomp. ibid. (17) Dio Caſſ. l. xliv.

any enterprize. But Numitor took care to moderate the tranſports of his grandſon, and only deſired him to acquaint his brother with what he had heard from him, and ſend him to his houſe. Romulus ſoon came, and was followed by Fauſtulus, who took with him the trough or ſkiff, in which the twins had been expoſed, to ſhew it to Numitor. But as the ſhepherd betrayed an air of concern and earneſtneſs in his looks, he was ſtopped at the gate of the city, led before Amulius, and examined concerning his burden. It was eaſily known by its make and inſcription, which was ſtill legible; and therefore Fauſtulus owned what it was, and confeſſed that the twins were living; but, in order to gain time, pretended, that they were feeding flocks in a remote deſert [p]. In the mean time, the uſurper's death being reſolved on, Remus undertook to raiſe the city, and Romulus to inveſt the king's palace. The country-people came at the time appointed, and formed themſelves into companies, each conſiſting of an hundred men. They had no other enſigns but bundles of hay hanging upon long poles, which the Latins at that time called Manipuli; and hence came the name of Manipulares, originally given to troops raiſed in the country (I). With this tumultuous army Romulus beſet the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, and having killed the tyrant, after he had reigned forty-two years, reſtored his grand-father Numitor to the throne [q].

They dethrone Amulius, and reſtore Numitor.

[p] Plut. in Romulo. [q] Plut. & Liv. ibid.

(I) The Romans at firſt had no other enſigns.

Non illi cœlo labentia ſigna tenebant;
Sed ſua, quæ magnum perdere crimen erat:
Illa quidem fœno, ſed erat reverentia fœno,
Quantum nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas:
Pertica ſuſpenſos portabat longa maniplos,
Unde maniplaris nomina miles habet (18)

The manipulus in Romulus's time conſiſted of an hundred men, called Manipulares but was afterwards encreaſed to two hundred. In the decline of the empire the Manipulus conſiſted of leſs than an hundred men, as is plain from a paſſage in Ammianus Marcellinus (19).

(18) Ovid Feſtor. III. v. 117. (19) Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii.

AFFAIRS being thus ſettled at Alba, the two brothers by the advice of Numitor, undertook the founding of a new colony. The king beſtowed on them thoſe lands near the Tiber, where they had been brought up, ſupplied them with all manner of inſtruments for breaking up ground, with ſlaves, and beaſts of burden, and granted full liberty to his ſubjects to join them. Hereupon moſt of the Trojans, of whom there ſtill remained fifty families in Auguſtus's time, choſe to follow the fortune of Romulus and Remus; as did alſo the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two ſmall towns. For the more ſpeedy carrying on of the work, it was thought proper to divide thoſe who were to be employed in the building of the city into two companies, one under the command of Romulus, the other of Remus. But this diviſion, which was deſigned purely with a view to the public welfare, and that the two parties might work by way of emulation, gave birth to two factions, and produced a jealouſy between the two brothers, which broke out when they came to chuſe a place for the building of their new city. For Remus was for the Aventine, and Romulus for the Palatine mount. Upon which the matter being referred to their grandfather, he adviſed the contending parties to have recourſe to the gods, and to put an end to the diſpute by augury, to which he was himſelf greatly addicted. The day appointed for the ceremony being come, the brothers poſted themſelves each upon his hill; and it was agreed, that whoever ſhould ſee the firſt flight, or the greateſt number of vulturs, ſhould gain his cauſe. After the two rivals had waited for ſome time for the appearance of a favourable augury, Romulus, before any had appeared, ſent to acquaint his brother that he had ſeen ſome vultures. But Remus, having actually ſeen ſix while his brother's meſſengers were yet on their way, haſtened on their arrival to mount Palatine, to examine the truth of what they had told him. He had no ſooner got thither, than, by unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to Romulus. Theſe he immediately ſhewed to his brother, and, tranſported with joy, deſired him to be judge himſelf of the truth of what his meſſenger had told him. However, Remus diſcovered the deceit, and being told that Romulus had not ſeen the twelve vulturs till after he had ſeen ſix, he inſiſted on the time of his ſeeing them, and the other on the number of the birds he had ſeen. This widened the breach between

They found a new colony.

the

the two brothers; and their parties being divided, while each man eſpouſed the cauſe of his leader, the diſpute grew ſo warm, that from words they came at length to blows. The ſhepherd Fauſtulus, who was equally dear to both the brothers, endeavouring to part the combatants, was by an unknown hand laid dead on the ſpot. Some writers tell us, that Remus likewiſe loſt his life in the fray; but the greater number place his death later, and ſay, that he was killed by one Fabius, for having in deriſion leaped over the wall of the new city; but Livy ſays, the more common report was, that Remus fell by the hand of his brother [r] (K).

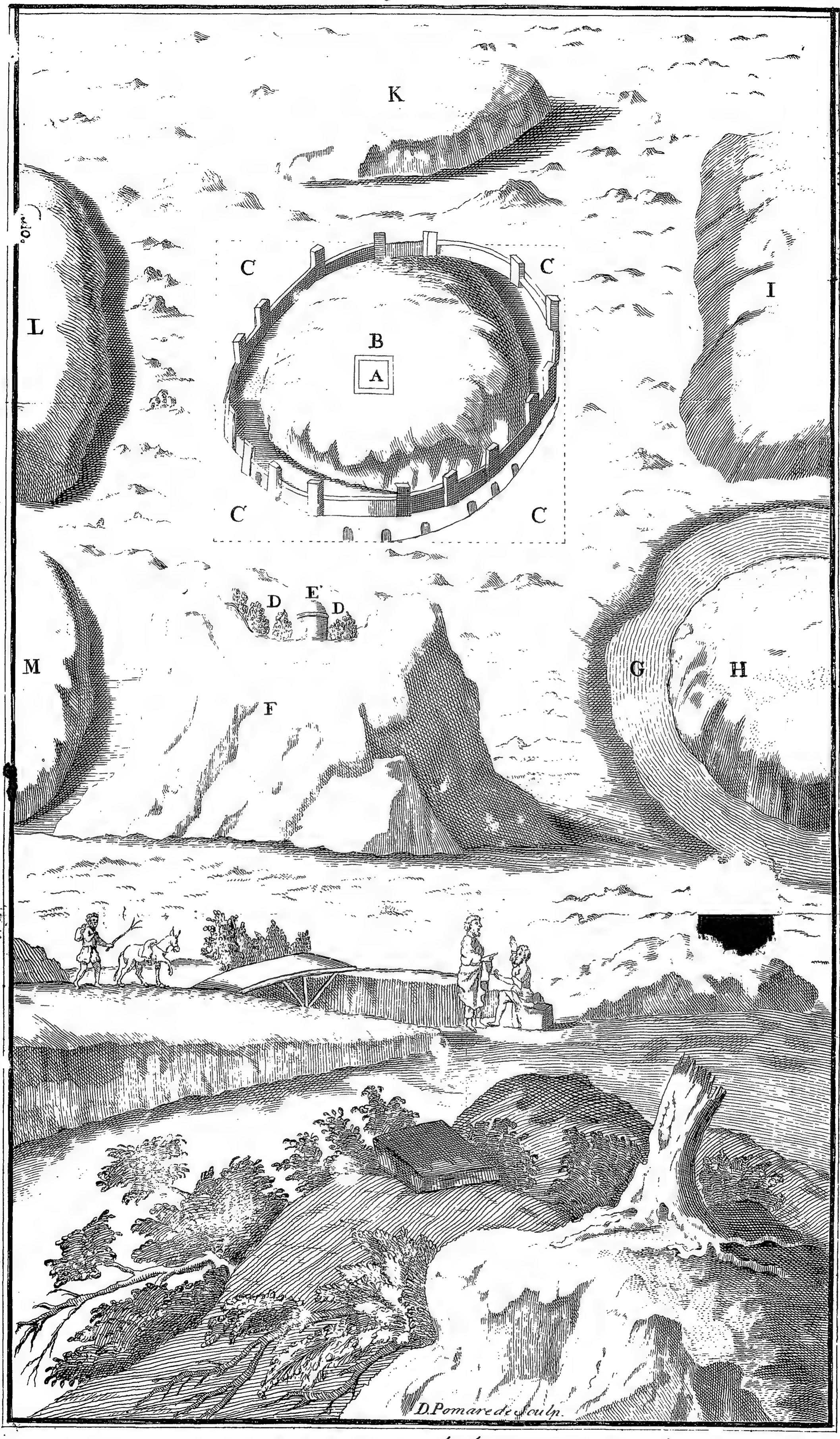
Remus is killed.

The foundation of Rome. Year of the flood 2251. Before Chriſt 748.

ROMULUS being now head of the colony, by having got the better of his brother's party in the late engagement, applied his thoughts wholly to the building of the city, which he propoſed to call after his own name. He choſe mount Palatine for its ſituation, and performed all thoſe ceremonies, which the ſuperſtition of the Hetrurians had introduced. He firſt offered ſacrifices to the gods, and ordered all the people to do the ſame; and from that time decreed, that eagles ſhould be the auſpices of his new colony. After this great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leaped through the flames to purify themſelves. When this ceremony was over, they dug a trench round the ſpot, where the aſſemblies of the people were afterwards held, and threw into it the firſt-fruits of whatever they were allowed to make uſe of for food; every man of the colony was ordered to caſt into the ſame trench a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or ſome neighbouring country. The trench they called Mundus,

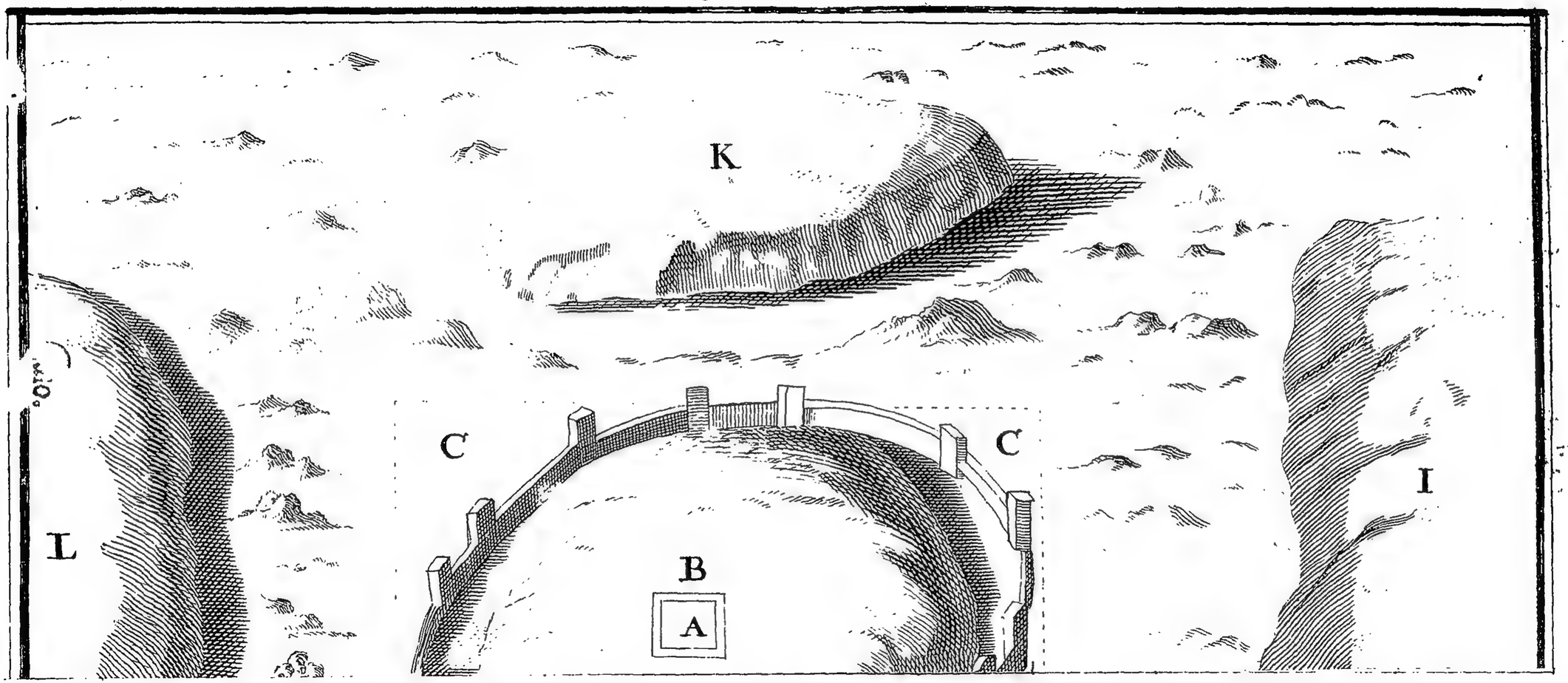
[r] Liv. l. i. Dio Hal. l. i. p. 72. Plut. in Romulo.

(K) Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who is of opinion, that Remus was killed before the foundation of the new city, adds, that he was buried in a place called after his own name Remuria, about thirty furlongs from Rome; which ſituation ſeeming to him the moſt convenient for building a city, he went thither, according to ſome writers, and, according to others, to mount Aventine, to obſerve the flight of the birds. Feſtus ſays, that the ſummit of mount Aventine was called Remuria from the time Remus reſolved to built the city there. But Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſpeaks of mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places. Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.



A Rome Quadrata *or* Rome. B *The Hill* Palatinus *as built in a* Square *form*. C *The first Enclosure of* Rome *according to some*. D *The* Asylum E *The Temple of y^e* Asylæan *God*. F *The Hill* Capitolinus. G *The* Tyber. H *The Hill* Janiculus. I *The Hill* Aventinus. K *The Hill* Cœlius. L *The Hill* Esquilinus. M *The Hill* Quirinalis.

The first Plan of Rome *as it was in y^e beginning of* Romulus's *reign.* *over aga.^st p. 424*



A Rome Quadrata *or* Rome *as built in a* Square *form, according to some.*
B *The Hill* Palatinus
C *The first Enclosure of* Rome
D *The* Asylum
E *The Temple of y^e* Asylæan *God.*
F *The Hill* Capitolinus.
G *The* Tyber.
H *The Hill* Janiculus.
I *The Hill* Aventinus.
K *The Hill* Cœlius.
L *The Hill* Esquilinus.
M *The Hill* Quirinalis.

Mundus, that is, the world, and made it the centre round which the city was to be built. Then Romulus yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was braſs, marked out by a deep furrow, the whole compaſs of the city. Theſe two animals, the ſymbols of marriage by which cities are peopled, were afterwards ſlain upon the altars. All the people followed the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth, which the plough-ſhare ſometime turned outwards. Where-ever a gate was to be made, the plough was lifted up and carried; and hence came the Latin word Porta, "a gate", derived from the verb Portare, "to carry" (L). As mount Palatine ſtood by itſelf, the

(L) The Hetrurians had, as Feſtus informs us (20), a ſort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be obſerved in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. Fabius Pictor ſays, that Romulus ſent for a prieſt or augur out of Hetruria, to preſide at the building of this new city, and Plutarch tells us, that men from Hetruria taught the founder every rite he was to obſerve. The meaning of the ceremonies we have mentioned was as follows: they leaped through the flames, being perſuaded that ſo religious a ceremony required great purity. The bull and cow were both white.

Alba jugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit (21),

ſays Ovid. Their whiteneſs was a ſymbol of that purity of manners and innocence, which ſhould be the character of every citizen. Iſidorus (22) tells us, that a cow and an ox yoked together repreſented the foundation of cities, and ſettlement of colonies. By throwing the firſt-fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they admoniſhed the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief ſtudy to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniencies of life, to maintain peace and union amongſt a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themſelves into a body never to be diſſolved. By the care which the people took to throw the clods of the earth back towards the city, they were inſtructed, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful product of the lands about them, and that they ought to bring every thing from abroad, that could contribute to the welfare of the inhabitants.

The,

(20) Feſtus de ling. Latin. l. iii. (21) Ovid. Faſt. l. iv. (22) Iſidor. l. xxv. c. 2.

the whole was incloſed within the line made by the plough, which formed almoſt the figure of a ſquare; whence it is called by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus Roma Quadrata. Plutarch ſeems to make a diſtinction between Roma Quadrata and the city of Rome; for he ſays, that Romulus had built the former before he marked out the plan of the latter. But the authorities of Fabius Pictor, Cato, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus are of greater weight with us.

As to the exact year of the foundation of Rome, there is a great diſagreement among hiſtorians and chronologers. Varro, whoſe opinion is, according to Petavius, the moſt agreeable to the rules of chronology, places it in the third year of the ſixth olympiad; that is, according to the computation of the learned Uſher, whom we chuſe to follow, four

The whole length of the ground where the plough had paſſed was by the antients looked upon as ſacred and inviolable; and for this reaſon they thought themſelves obliged to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the higheſt nature.

In ſpeaking of the foundation of Rome, we have followed the account which Livy, and after him moſt of the Latin hiſtorians give us of that memorable event; but Plutarch tells us (23), that there is a great diſagreement among authors, both as to the founder of Rome, and the reaſon why it was ſo called: Some were of opinion, as that writer informs us, that the Pelaſgians, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed there, and from their "power" and "ſtrength in arms", in Greek Ῥωμῃ, called the city by that name: others thought the city was built by ſome Trojans, who, eſcaping from Troy, were driven upon the coaſts of Hetruria; among them was a woman of diſtinction, named Roma, whoſe name was given to the new city: others pretend, that Roma was the daughter of Italus and Lucaria, or of Telephus the ſon of Hercules, and that ſhe was married to Æneas. Some will have her to have been the daughter of Aſcanius, Æneas's ſon. The ſame writer ſpeaks of Romanus, the ſon of Ulyſſes by Circe, of Romus the ſon of Emathion, whom Diomedes ſent from Troy, and of Romus, a king of the Latins, who drove out the Hetrurians; to each of theſe the building of Rome has by ſome authors been aſcribed. Solinus beſtows that honour on Evander, and adds that, Rome was firſt called Valentia; while others, as St. Auſtin informs us (24), pretend, that its antient name was Febris, borrowed from Februa the mother of Mars.

(23) Plut. in Romulo. (24) Auguſtin. de civitat. Dei l. iii.

four hundred and thirty-ſix years after the deſtruction of Troy, and ſeven hundred forty-eight after the chriſtian æra (M). The Romans, if we may ſo call them, began to build, as Plutarch [s] and others inform us, on the twenty-firſt of April, which day was then conſecrated to Pales, goddeſs of the ſhepherds; whence the feſtival of Pales and that of the foundation of the city were afterwards jointly celebrated at Rome (N).

[s] Plut. ibid.

(M) Timæus of Sicily thinks, that Rome and Carthage were built much about the ſame time, that is, thirty-eight years before the firſt olympiad; Q. Cincius places the foundation of Rome in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; Fabius Pictor, in the firſt year of the eighth; Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, in the ſecond year of the ſeventh olympiad; Portius Cato and others, in the firſt year of the ſame olympiad; Marcus Verrius Flaccus, the ſuppoſed author of the Capitoline tables, and Livy, in the fourth year of the ſixth olympiad. But the moſt exact Roman writers follow Varro's calculation, according to which the foundations of Rome were laid near the end of the third year of the ſixth olympiad. Plutarch, from the teſtimony of ſome antient writers, tells us, that an eclipſe of the ſun happened the firſt day that Rome was founded, which was ſeen by Antimachus of Teos. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus mentions another eclipſe (25), which happened the ſame day that Romulus died. From theſe aſtronomical obſervations ſeveral writers have attempted, by the help of the tables of eclipſes, to fix the true æra of the foundation of Rome; but the fruit of their labour has been nothing but endleſs diſputes, in which every one is at liberty to chuſe what ſide he pleaſes.

(N) The Palilia, or feaſt of Pales, is ſometimes called Parilia, from the Latin word Parere, "to bring forth", becauſe prayers were then made for the fruitfulneſs of the ſheep. Ovid mentions a very tedious courſe of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, which the ſhepherds went through on that occaſion. They had always a great feaſt at night, and when they were pretty merry, they concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of ſtraw (26). As the Romans celebrated at the ſame time the feſtival of the foundation of their city, no victims were ſlain, becauſe they judged the ſhedding of blood unſuitable to ſo extraordinary a feſtival, which was deſigned only for public rejoicings.

(25) Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 115.

(26) Ovid. Faſt. 3. v. 721, & ſeq.

When Rome had received the utmoſt perfection, which its poor and rude founder could give it, it conſiſted of about a thouſand houſes, or rather huts, and was, properly ſpeaking, a beggarly village, whereof the principal inhabitants followed the plough, being obliged to cultivate, with their own hands, the ungrateful ſoil of a barren country, which they had ſhared among themſelves. Even the walls of Romulus's palace were made of ruſhes and covered with thatch (O). As every one had choſen his ground to build upon without any regard to the regularity and beauty of the whole, the ſtreets if we may ſo call them, were both crooked and narrow. In ſhort, Rome, till it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the Gauls, was rather a diſorderly heap of huts, than a city built with any regularity or order[t]. From this mean and contemptible beginning, Rome, in proceſs of time, became the metropolis and miſtreſs of the whole known world, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

[t] Val. Max. l. iv. Dio. Hal. & Plut. ibid

(O) The hut of Romulus was long preſerved on the Capitol, according to Vitruvius, Macrobius, and Seneca, as a venerable monument of antiquity; and it was a point of religion with the Romans never to make uſe of any other materials but ruſhes and ſtraw to repair it, till it was at length deſtroyed by fire in the time of Auguſtus. But after all, this hut on the capitol could not be the houſe of Romulus, it being certain that he dwel on mount Palatine.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Roman Hiſtory, from Romulus to the Commonwealth.

AS Romulus had taken upon himſelf the chief command of the colony only for the time the city was building, as ſoon as the work was finiſhed, he aſſembled the people, and gave them liberty to chuſe what kind of government they liked beſt. They without heſitation, gave the preference to monarchy, and unanimouſly proclaimed Romulus king of Rome. But the prince elect, before he aſcended the throne, begged leave to conſult the will of the gods by auguries. It is ſaid, that, after he had offered ſacrifices to the gods in an open place, a flaſh of lightning was ſeen to gleam from the left, which was, according to the augurs, a lucky omen. From this time it became an eſtabliſhed cuſtom to have recourſe to augury upon raiſing any one to the royal dignity, the prieſthood, or any public employment. In proceſs of time, this came to be only a matter of mere ceremony, though the cuſtom, introduced by the example of the founder, ſubſiſted above ſeven hundred years [u] *(P)*. Romulus being thus declared king by the election of the people and approbation of the gods, applied all his thoughts to the eſtabliſhing of good order in this new city, and a due ſubordination among his ſubjects. Romulus choſen king.

He

[u] Dio Hal. p. 78. Cic. l. iii. de legib. & l. iii. de nat. deor.

(P) This practice continued from the time of Romulus to the end of the republic, and was ſometimes uſed even under the emperors. Thoſe who ſtood for employments went out early on the day which was appointed for their election, made a public prayer, and conſulted the augurs. When their anſwers proved favourable, as they generally did, the augurs being commonly well paid for their pains, the candidates gave out that the gods were not againſt their having the office, which they ſollicited. Upon this they were ſaid to obtain and bear it auſpicatò.

He himſelf put on a habit of diſtinction, and appointed twelve lictors to attend him as guards, each of them bearing an ax ſtuck in a bundle of rods, which was the uſual ſymbol of ſovereignty among his neighbours the Hetrurians (Q). He divided the three thouſand three hundred men, of which his colony conſiſted, into three equal parts, called Tribes or Thirds, each being commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten curiæ, and theſe ſubdivided each into ten decuriæ: over the former was appointed officers, named Curiones, and over the latter Decuriones, each curiæ and decuriæ having their peculiar commander. After this Romulus divided his ſmall territory, not above five or ſix miles in extent, into three parts, but not equal. One was conſecrated to the expences of religious worſhip; another reſerved for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the ſtate; and the third, which was the moſt conſiderable, divided into thirty portions, to anſwer to the thirty curiæ [w] (R). The next thing which Romulus did was, to diſtinguiſh the people, according to their birth and dignity, into Patricians and Plebeians. The former as being of a more noble extraction, were to take care of the religious rites and ceremonies, and to bear all the civil and military dignities; the latter to till the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades, but not to have any ſhare in the government, to avoid the inconveniencies of a popular power. But to prevent the ſeditions, which ſuch a diſtinction might produce, and to bind them to each other by reciprocal ties and obligations, every plebeian was allowed to chuſe out of the body of the patricians a protector, who was obliged to aſſiſt him with his intereſt and ſubſtance, and to

Tribes, Curiæ, Decuriæ.

Patricians and Plebeians.

Patrons and clients.

[w] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 76. Plut. in Romulo. Strab. l. v. p. 531.

(Q) Some think that he choſe twelve lictors, becauſe he had ſeen twelve vulturs, a number, which had given him the ſuperiority over his brother.

(R) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus expreſly affirms, that each decuria was ſubdivided into ten decuriæ, and that theſe leſſer bodies were governed by decuriones. And, upon the ſtrength of his authority, moſt compilers of the Roman hiſtory give the ſame account. But the learned Grævius is of opinion, that Dionyſius by a miſtake aſcribes ſuch a diviſion to the curiæ, as was peculiar to the turmæ in the army (27).

(27) Vide Grævium in præf. ad 1. Vol. Theſ. antiq. Rom.

to defend him from the oppreſſions of the great. Theſe protectors were ſtyled patrons, and the protected clients. It was the duty of the patron to adviſe his clients in point of law, to manage their ſuits, to take care of them as of their own children, and by all ways and methods to ſecure their peace and happineſs. The clients, on the other hand, were to aſſiſt their patrons on ſeveral occaſions, to ranſom them or their children, when taken in war, to contribute to the portions of their daughters, to defray in part the charges of their public employments, &c. They were never to accuſe each other, or take contrary ſides; and if either of them was convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treaſon, and any one was allowed to kill the offender with impunity. This patronage was a tie as effectual as any conſanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining union and concord among the people, for the ſpace of ſix hundred years and upwards; during which time we find no diſſenſions nor jealouſies between the patrons and their clients, even in the times of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied againſt thoſe who were moſt powerul in the city [x].

AFTER this, Romulus formed a ſenate, which conſiſted of a hundred perſons choſen out of the patricians; but the choice was not made by the king himſelf; each tribe choſe three ſenators, and each of the thirty curiæ the like number, which made in all the number of ninety nine; ſo that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head, or prince of the ſenate, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field. They were called patres or fathers, either on account of their age, or their fatherly care of their fellow-citizens. Their deſcendants, to whom alone ſome appropriate the name of patricians, were the prime nobility among the Romans. The ſenate being thus eſtabliſhed, Romulus ordered the curiæ to chuſe him a guard of three hundred young men, ten out of each curia; and theſe he called celeres from their activity, and the expedition with which they executed the orders they received. They were all horſemen; but fought either on foot or on horſeback, as occaſion required or the ground would allow. They were commanded by a tribune called

Senate.

Celeres.

[x] Plut. ibid. Dio. Hal. p. 83—85.

Tribunus Celerum, three centurions, and other inferior officers. Romulus in the next place proceeded to ſettle the reſpective powers and privileges of the king, ſenate, and people. The king's office at home was to take care of religious affairs; to be guardian of the laws and cuſtoms; to decide the weightier cauſes between man and man, referring thoſe of leſs moment to the ſenate; to call together the ſenators, and aſſemble the people, firſt delivering his own opinion relating to the affairs he propoſed, and then ratifying by his conſent what was agreed on by the majority: abroad and in time of war, he was to command the army with abſolute authority, and to take care of the public money [y]. The ſenate were not only to be judges in cauſes of ſmall importance, but to debate and reſolve upon ſuch public affairs as the king propoſed, and to determine them by the plurality of voices. To the people he committed three things, viz. to create magiſtrates, enact laws, and reſolve upon any war that was propoſed by the king; but in all theſe things the approbation of the ſenate was neceſſary.

When order was thus eſtabliſhed in political affairs, Romulus thought it his duty to make ſome regulations in matters of religion. He did not indeed give it that form, to which it was afterwards brought, but contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing ſome ſort of regularity in the prieſthood, and in the worſhip of thoſe deities, which Evander had introduced, or Æneas brought from Troy, or the Aborigines worſhipped in their time. He appointed, that each curia ſhould have its own temple, and its peculiar gods and prieſts, that the people ſhould aſſemble on ſtated days in cœnacula, or public halls, and that they ſhould there feaſt in common on the victims that had been offered to the gods. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed feſtivals, whereby religion became an eaſe and relief to the labouring people. The chief miniſters of the gods were choſen out of the patricians, and the inferior prieſts out of ſuch families only as were honourable. They were to be at leaſt fifty years old, and none but their wives were allowed to perform the functions of prieſteſſes. Their ſons were to wait at the altars to the age of puberty, and their daughters ſo long as they continued virgins. The ſons were called camilli, and the daughters camillæ. When a prieſt had no

[y] Dio. Hal. ibid. p. 84, 85.

no children of his own, he might chuſe the handſomeſt in his curia to attend him in his ſacrifices. As the ſacerdotal families were exempted from paying taxes and bearing arms, and beſides, their employment was for life, Romulus prohibited the ſeeking of it by intrigues and cabals, the purchaſing of it by money, and even the truſting of it to the hazard of lots. He left to each curia the free choice of their prieſts, auſpices, and augurs. The aruſpices inſpected the entrails of the victims; and the augurs foretold future events by the flight and ſinging of birds (S).

THUS

(S) As we ſhall frequently have occaſion, in the courſe of this hiſtory, to ſpeak of Augurs and Haruſpices, or Aruſpices, it may not be improper to give ſome account in this place of that kind of divination. The art of divination and foretelling future events, by the flight, chirping, or motions of birds, came from the Chaldeans to the Greeks, from them to the Hetrurians, and from the Hetrurians to the Latins and Romans (28). The name of Augur is derived by ſome ab avium geſtu; by others ab avium garritu, that is, either from the motion and actions, or from the chirping and chattering of birds. As Romulus himſelf was well verſed in this art, after he had divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an augur for each tribe (29). A fourth was added ſome time after, probably by Servius Tullius, who encreaſed the tribes. Theſe four were all choſen out of the patricians; but in the year of Rome 454, at the ſolicitation of the tribunes, five perſons were added to the college, elected out of the common people (30); and in the year 672, Sylla encreaſed their number to fifteen (31). The eldeſt of theſe preſided over the reſt, and was honoured with the title of magiſter collegii (32). Their office, which we find compriſed in the augural law mentioned by Tully (33), was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c and to tell, whether any action ſhould be fortunate or prejudicial to particular perſons or to the whole ſtate. Thus they were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with reſpect to the making of war or peace; and all were obliged to obey them in ſo important an article. We find five ſorts of auguries mentioned by the antients; 1. From the appearances in heaven, as thunder, lightning, comets, and other meteors. 2. From birds, whence they had the name of Auſpices, from the Latin words avis and conſpicio. Some birds furniſhed them with obſervations from their chattering or ſinging; others, from their flying. The former were called Oſcines, and the latter Præpetes.

For

(28) Cic. de divin. & Orig. l. iv. cont. Celſ. (29) Plut. ibid. (30) Liv. l. x. (31) Flor. l. iv. c. 3. (32) Vide Alex. ab Alex. l. v. c. 19 (33) Cic. de divin. l. ii.

Theaſylum

THUS was the colony founded; but, as it was thin of inhabitants, Romulus, to attract ſtrangers from the neighbouring countries, opened an aſylum or place of refuge for fugitive ſlaves, homicides, outlaws, and perſons plunged in debt.

For the taking of both theſe ſorts of auguries, the augur went up to ſome high place, took the augural ſtaff, which was bent at one end like a croſier, and marked out with it the four templa or quarters of the heaven. Then he turned to the eaſt, and, in that ſituation, waited for the omen, which was of no ſignification, unleſs confirmed by another of the ſame ſort. 3. From birds kept in a coop for that purpoſe. The manner of divining from them was as follows: Early in the morning the augur that was to make the obſervation, after having commanded a general ſilence, ordered the coop to be opened, and then threw a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not eat greedily, ſcattered their food about with their wings, let a great deal of it fall from their mouths to the ground, or, above all, refuſed to eat, the omen was reckoned unlucky, and ſome great misfortune portended; but if they fed greedily, and let none of their food drop out of their mouths, there was all the aſſurance that poſſibly could be wiſhed for of hapineſs and ſucceſs (34). This ſort of augury was called tripudium, from the antient Latin word pavire, to ſtrike, and terra, the earth; becauſe the birds in eating greedily, ſtruck the ground with their beaks. The 4th ſort of augury was from beaſts, viz. wolves, goats, foxes, heifers, aſſes, rams, hares, weeſels, and mice. The general obſervations about them were, whether they appeared in a ſtrange place, or croſſed the way, whether they ran to the right or left, &c. The laſt ſort of divination by auguries, was from what they called Diræ, or unuſual accidents happening to any perſon, as ſtumbling, ſeeing apparitions, hearing ſtrange voices, meeting a wolf, a fox, a hare, &c. Any augur was allowed to take an obſervation; but the judging of the omen was left to the deciſion of the whole college.

As to the Aruſpices, they were ſo called ab aris aſpiciendis, that is, from looking on the altars. The Roman aruſpices were all taken at firſt from Hetruria, where their art was in great requeſt; but afterwards the ſenate ordered twelve of the ſons of the chief men in Rome to be ſent into that country, to learn there the rites and ceremonies of the Etruſcan religion, of which this ſcience was the chief part (35). The buſineſs of the aruſpices was to look upon the ſacred victims, and by them to foretel the ſucceſs of any enterprize. They took their obſervation from the victims before they were cut up; from their entrails after they

(34) Vide Alex. ab Alex. ibid. (35) Cic. de divin. l. i.

debt. Theſe he did not at firſt receive within the walls; but allotted them the hill Saturnius, afterwards called Capitolinus, for their habitation. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the king's policy: he erected a temple to a new ſort of divinity, called by him the Aſylæan god (T), under whoſe protection all criminals were to live ſecurely. Afterwards, when Romulus enlarged his new city, the aſylum was incloſed within the walls, and thoſe who had fled to it, being brought under ſome regulation, became citizens

they were cut up; from the flame that uſed to riſe while they were burning; and laſtly, from the flour, bran, frankincenſe, wine, or water uſed in the ſacrifice. Before the victims were cut up, it was an ill omen when they would not come to the altar without being dragged, when they broke the rope, fled away, avoided the ſtroke, ſtruggled much after it, made a great bellowing, were long a dying, or bled but little. When the victim was cut up, they obſerved the colour of the parts, and whether any were wanting: a double liver, a little or lean heart, were counted very bad omens. If the heart was wholly miſſing, nothing could be thought more dreadful and fatal; if the entrails fell out of the prieſt's hands, or were more bloody than uſual, or of a pale colour, they portended ſudden danger and ruin. As to the flame of the ſacrifice, it furniſhed them with a good omen when it was pure and clear, roſe up in a pyramid without noiſe, and did not go out till the victim was conſumed. The ſmoke likewiſe was conſidered, whether it whirled about, or ſpread itſelf to the right or left, or yielded a ſmell different from that of broiled meat. If the incenſe they burnt melted all at once, and had an agreeable ſmell, it was a lucky omen. There were ſeveral other ſigns which ſupplied them with conjectures too inſignificant to be mentioned here. The buſineſs of the aruſpices was not reſtrained to the altars and ſacrifices; but they had an equal right to the explaining of other portents and monſters. Hence we find them often conſulted by the ſenate on extraordinary occaſions. If the Roman aruſpices lay under any diſrepute, others were ſent for out of Hetruria, where this ſcience had moſt credit.

(T) Plutarch tells us, that the aſylum was put under the protection of the Aſylæan god; but who this god was, is unknown to us. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus tells us, that, in his time, the place where the aſylum had been was conſecrated to Jupiter; whence ſome have conjectured, that the Aſylæan god was no other than Jupiter, worſhipped by Romulus under the title of Aſylæus, that is, the protector of aſylums.

tizens of Rome [z] (U). Nothing was now wanting but women, to ſecure the duration of the ſtate; but, as the neighbouring people refuſed to give their daughters in marriage to ſuch a crew of vagabonds, Romulus, by the advice of his grandfather Numitor and the conſent of the ſenate, proclaimed a ſolemn feaſt and public games, in honour of Equeſtrian Neptune, called Conſus. This occaſioned a great concourſe of people, who flocked from the adjacent places to behold thoſe pompous ſhews, together with the new city; but in the midſt of the ſolemnity, the Romans, upon a ſignal given by Romulus, ruſhing in with their drawn ſwords among the ſtrangers, ſeized their daughters, and by main force carried them to their houſes, where they were kept till the next day, without any further inſult offered to them, agreeable to the expreſs orders of Romulus. They were in all ſix hundred and eighty-three, and Romulus choſe ſo many huſbands for them, marrying them after the ſame manner that was ever after uſed in Rome (W).

The rape of the Sabine women.

[z] Plut. & Dio. Hal. ibid.

(U) To this Juvenal alludes in the following verſes, addreſſed to a Roman citizen boaſting of his original and noble extraction:

Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas,
Nomen; ab infami gentem deducis aſylo.
Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut latro fuit, aut illud, quod dicere nolo (35).

(W) The form uſed in marriage was, Partake you of your huſband's fire and water. This communication of fire and water between the huſband and wife, was the ſymbol of conjugal love and union, and inſinuating, that their goods were in common between them. The virgins ſeized on this occaſion were all called Sabines, becauſe the greater number was of that nation. The common opinion is, that they were in all ſix hundred and eighty-three; ſome ſay five hundred and twenty-ſeven, and others reduce them to thirty only, deriving the word curia from Cures the name of the town, of which the women were for the moſt part natives. But no hiſtorian of any account is of this opinion. Romulus found but one married woman among all thoſe who had been ſeized. Her name was Herſilia; and we are told by Zenodotus, quoted by Plutarch, that Romulus married her, and had a daughter by her, named Prima, becauſe ſhe was his firſt child, and a ſon, called Abilius; but other hiſtorians ſay, that Herſilia was married to a noble Roman, named Hoſtus; and that Tullus Hoſtilius, the third king of Rome, deſcended from her.

(35) Juvenal. ſatir. viii. ver. 272.

THIS violence was highly reſented by the neighbouring people, eſpecially by the Sabines; but, as they were unwilling to engage in a war, their country being open on all ſides and defenceleſs, they firſt ſent to demand the reſtitution of their daughters, promiſing to enter into an alliance with the Romans, whereby they ſhould have liberty to intermarry with them; but Romulus was inflexible, demanding, on his part, that the Sabines ſhould confirm the marriages of the Romans. While the treaty, which went on ſlowly, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides, Acron, whom the hiſtorians ſtyle king of Cænina (X), being provoked at the late audacious rape, and jealous of the growing power of the new city, took the field; and being joined by the inhabitants of Cruſtuminum and Antemnæ (Y), made an incurſion into the Roman territories. Romulus inſtantly marched out againſt him, and having engaged the enemy in the open field, challenged their leader, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to a ſingle combat, killed him, put his army to flight, and purſuing the fugitives to their town, made himſelf maſter of it without oppoſition. He ſpared the blood of the conquered; but razed their city, and carried their inhabitants to Rome, where he allowed them the ſame privileges as the moſt antient citizens [a]. For this victory Romulus decreed himſelf the honours of a triumph; and bringing home the ſpoils of king Acron, conſecrated them to Jupiter Feretrius ſo called, according to ſome, from the Latin word "ferire", to "ſmite", becauſe he had killed the king with his own hand; or from the word "ferre", to "carry", becauſe Romulus had himſelf carried thither the armour of the king he had killed. A name of diſtinction was

Romulus defeats the Cæninenſes and kills their king.

[a] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 98. Plut. ibid. Liv. l. i.

(X) Cænina was ſituated on the confines of Latium and the country of the Sabines; whence ſome geographers make it a city of the Sabines, and others of antient Latium. Cluverius thinks, it ſtood on the banks of the Anio next to Rome; but Holſtenius places it on the oppoſite bank, in the neighbourhood of the preſent Monticelli.

(Y) Cruſtuminum and Antemnæ were either ſubject to the Sabines, or in their neighbourhood. Some geographers think, the former ſtood where Marcigliano Vecchio now ſtands, and place the latter on the Tiber, between the Tiburtine and Nomantine ways.

Opima ſpolia.

was likewiſe given to the ſpoils; for they were called opima ſpolia (Z), becauſe they were more honourable than any other, on account of their being taken by the general of the Roman army from the enemy's general, after he had killed him with his own hand. Romulus, elated with this victory, marched with one legion (A), levied in haſte, againſt the Antemnates and Cruſtumini, who had joined the king of Cænina; and having, without much-ado, overcome them and taken their cities, at the requeſt of Herſilia, who was a native of Antemnæ, he not only pardoned the inhabitants, but tranſplanted them to Rome, where they were admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became ſo great, that ſeveral cities of Hetruria voluntarily ſubmitted to him. Cœlius, an Hetrurian leader, led all the troops under his command to Rome, and ſettled on a hill near the city, which from him took the name of mount Cœlius [b]. And now Romulus, being obliged to enlarge the compaſs of his city, took in the hill Saturnius, called afterwards the capital; and on the top of it built a citadel, which he committed to the government of a noble Roman, named Tarpeius. The citadel was ſurrounded on all ſides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and country. From the foot of the hill Saturnius a wall was carried on quite to the Tiber, and a gate opened in it, which they called Car-

Romulus reduces Cruſtuminum and Antemnæ.

[b] Plut. Liv. Dio. Hal. ibid.

(Z) Feſtus derives the word opima from ops, which ſignifies the earth, and the riches it produces; ſo that opima ſpolia, according to that writer, ſignify rich ſpoils. But Plutarch derives it from the word opus; ſo that opima ſpolia, and ſpoils hard to be obtained, are, in his opinion, one and the ſame thing. This name was given, as Plutarch informs us, only to ſuch ſpoils as the general of the Roman army had taken from the general of the enemy's troops. Of the order, laws, and pomp of the antient triumphs we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

(A) The word legion is derived from the Latin word legere, to chuſe, the legions conſiſting of choſen men. The number of men in a legion was different at different times, as we ſhall occaſionally obſerve in the ſequel of this hiſtory. In the times we are now ſpeaking of, a legion conſiſted of three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, as we read in Plutarch (36).

(36) Plut. in Romulo.

Carmentalis, from Carmenta, the mother of Evander, who either lived there, or had in that place ſome altar or chapel erected to her.

NOTWITHSTANDING this encreaſe of the Roman forces, the Sabines ſent a ſecond deputation to Romulus, to demand back their daughters; and, upon his refuſal, began hoſtilities, and marched towards Rome with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, under the command of their king Titus Tatius. Romulus, having received ſupplies from his grand-father Numitor and from Hetruria, marched out againſt them, at the head of twenty-thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Romulus poſted his army between the hills Eſquilinus and Quirinalis, while the Sabines encamped at the foot of the hill Saturnius, in the plain afterwards called Campus Martius. Tatius, finding the Romans too well fortified to be attacked, was very uneaſy about the ſucceſs of the enterprize. But an unforeſeen accident extricated him out of his difficulties; for Tarpeia, daughter to the governor of the citadel, being greatly taken with the bracelets and rings of the Sabines, called to them from above, and promiſed to betray the place into their hands, provided they gave her what they wore on their left arms. The Sabines readily agreed to grant her what ſhe required, and being by her admitted into the citadel, made themſelves maſters of that important place. We are told, that the Sabines cruſhed Tarpeia to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking they diſcharged their promiſe by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms. From her the hill Saturnius took the name of Tarpeius, till the building of the capital; and even then the ſteepeſt part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called the Tarpeian rock. The Sabines, now maſters of the citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more ſecurity. For a long time only light ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the two parties; but at laſt, as they both began to be tired with the charges of the war, they reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, which was fought with great reſolution on both ſides, and renewed, for ſeveral days together, with almoſt equal ſucceſs. In the laſt conteſt the Sabines were at firſt put into diſorder, and obliged to take refuge in the citadel, which the Romans, who purſued them, expected to have re-taken. But the

His war with the Sabines.

enemy rolling great ſtones from the top of the hill, wounded Romulus on the head, and ſtunned him ſo, that falling down ſenſeleſs, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident inſpired the Sabines with new courage, who falling upon the Romans, put them to flight in their turn, and purſued them to the very gates of Rome. In the mean time, Romulus, coming to himſelf again, returned to the battle, encouraged his routed troops, and, having made a vow to Jupiter in order to obtain his favour (B), drove the enemy back to the citadel. Some writers tell us[c], that, in the heat of the engagement, the Sabine women, at the perſuaſion of Herſilia, ruſhing out of the city with their hair diſhevelled and their children in their arms, threw themſelves deſperately into the midſt of the darts and dead bodies, and by their tears and entreaties, put a ſtop to the fury of their huſbands and fathers. But this is an adventure too wonderful not to be thought fabulous. What part the Sabine women acted in the reconcilation of the two people, will appear in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

TITUS TATIUS being in poſſeſſion of the citadel, and Romulus continuing ſhut up in his city, neither party was very forward to hazard another engagement. The Sabines were doubtful, whether they ſhould raiſe the ſiege and content themſelves with ragaging the Roman territory. The Romans, on their ſide, were no leſs undetermined what to do. They conſidered, that the Sabines were a powerful people, and that the late victory had neither been complete nor deciſive; but, on the other hand, they could not with honour reſtore the Sabine women; for that would have been an acknowledgment of their weakneſs, which would have made the enemy more haughty and more difficult to treat with. But while the men were thus deliberating, the

[c] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 13.

(B) We are told, that, while the Romans were flying before the enemy, Romulus made a vow to Jupiter, in order to obtain his aſſiſtance for the ſpeedy rallying of his troops, and that they unexpectedly ſtopped at the ſight of their general, on his return to the field of battle. Being therefore fully convinced, that this was a particular bleſſing of heaven, he erected a temple to Jupiter, whom he called Stator, in memory of the happy moment, when the Romans, recovering from their fright, made a ſtand and faced the enemy (37).

(37) Vur. Aictor.

the women at the perſuaſion of Herſilia, demanded an audience of the ſenate; and being admitted, laid before them a deſign which they had formed, without the privity of their huſbands. This was to mediate between the contending nations, and try whether they could put an end to the war, which had been undertaken for their ſake. Their propoſal met with no oppoſion in the preſent conjuncture of affairs. A decree was immediately paſſed, permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they propoſed. All the ſecurity that was required of them was, to leave one of their children at Rome; the reſt they were allowed to carry with them in their arms, in order to raiſe the compaſſion of their grandfathers. The women, being thus authorized, laid aſide their ornaments, and, putting on mourning, advanced to the camp of the Sabines, where, by throwing themſelves at the feet of their fathers and relations, they raiſed a general compaſſion. King Tatius, having aſſembled his chief officers, ordered the women to declare on what purpoſe they were come; which Herſilia is ſaid to have done in a long and pathetic ſpeech: after which ſhe begged a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity of conferring together. As the Sabines wanted only an honourable pretence to put an end to the war, they were eaſily prevailed upon to accept the propoſal. Accordingly a truce was granted, during which the two kings had a conference, which ended to the ſatisfaction of both parties; for a treaty of union was made and confirmed by oath, the articles whereof were, 1. That the two kings ſhould reſide and jointly reign at Rome. 2. That the city ſhould ſtill, from Romulus, be called Rome; but the citizens Quirites, a name till then peculiar to the Sabines (C). 3. That the two nations ſhould become

The Romans and Sabines become one people.

(C) The word quiris, in the Sabine language, ſignified both a dart and a warlike deity armed with a dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but, however that be, this god Quiris, or Quirinus, was either Mars, or ſome other god of war, and continued to be worſhipped in Rome, till Romulus, who, after his death, was honoured with the name Quirinus, took his place (38).

(38) Plut. in Romulo.

come one; and that the Sabines ſhould be made free of Rome and enjoy all the privileges of Roman citizens [d]. Three Sabine families of great diſtinction are particularly ſaid to have ſettled at Rome on this occaſion, with their relations and dependents. The head of one was Valerius Voleſus; of another Talus Tyrannus; and of the third Metius Curtius, who had ſignalized himſelf in the laſt battle (D) To Valerius Voleſus Plutarch aſcribes the honour of negotiating the peace.

The comitium.

THE two nations being thus united, Tatius, in imitation of Romulus, formed a council of an hundred ſenators of his own nation, who were alſo ſtyled fathers, and enjoyed the ſame privileges with thoſe who had been inſtituted by the founder. The two councils aſſembled firſt at the houſes of their reſpective kings; but afterwards met at the ſame place, which from thence was called comitium (E). After this u-

The creation of the firſt Roman knights.

nion of the two nations and ſenates, were inſtituted, accord-ing

[d] Dio. Hal. Liv. Plut. ibid.

(D) While the Romans had the advantage, this brave Sabine, breaking into the centre of their army, and rallying his countrymen, who had been put in diſorder, turned the ſcale in their favour. But Romulus, meeting him and engaging him in ſingle combat, obliged him, as he was already wounded, to quit the field Curtius, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, choſe rather to throw himſelf into a pool, made by the inundation of the Tiber, than to go a great way about. As the pool was deep, and full of mud, Romulus, thinking his enemy was loſt, left him and rejoined his army; but the Sabine was taken out of the water, and the place ever after called Lacus Curtius, even when it was dryed up, and almoſt in the center of the Roman forum (38). Procilius ſays, that the earth having opened, the aruſpices declared it neceſſary for the ſafety of the republic, that the braveſt man in the city ſhould throw himſelf into the gulf; whereupon one Curtius, mounting on horſeback, leaped armed into it, and the gulf immediately cloſed. Before the building of the common ſewers, this pool was a ſort of ſink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from Curtius the conſul, collegue to M. Genucius, becauſe he cauſed it to be walled in by the advice of the aruſpices, after it had been ſtruck with lightning (39).

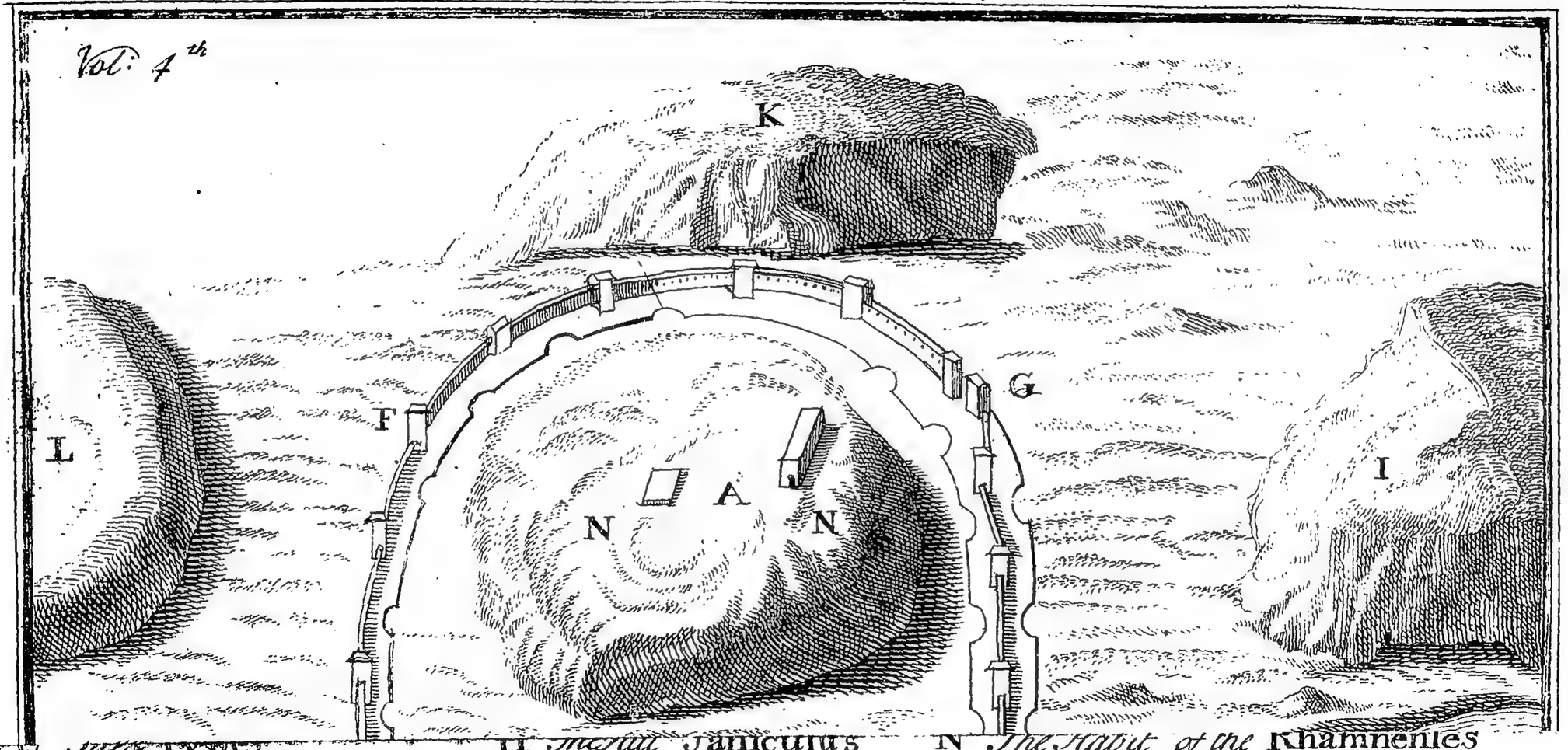
(E) The word comitium is derived from the antient Latin verb cumire, which ſignifies to meet. The comitium was at the foot

(38) Dio. Hal. ibid.

(39) Varro de ling. Lat. l. iv.

Second Plan of **Rome** *representing its situation after y^e Union between* Romulus & Tatius

over aga p. 432

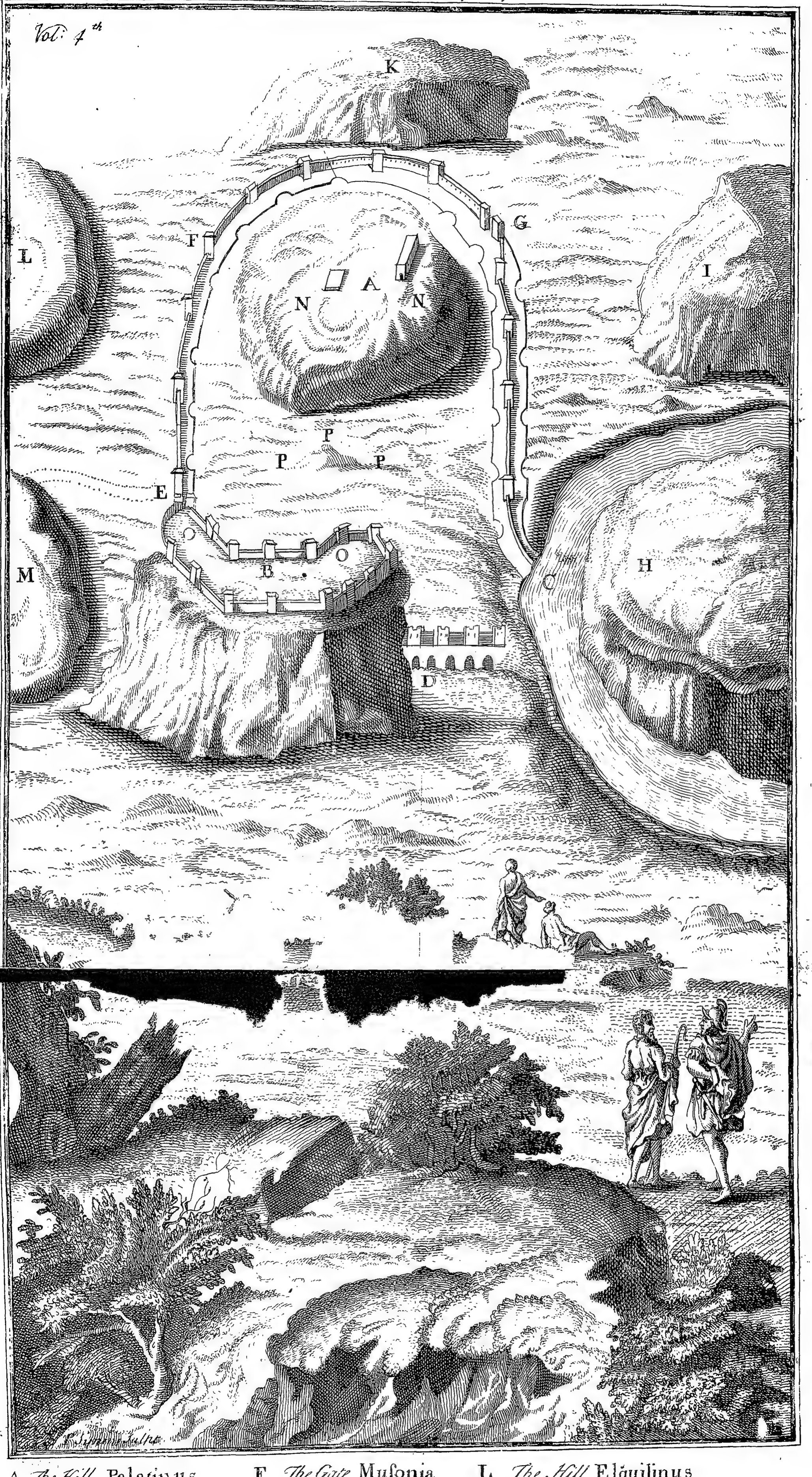


D *The Gate* Carmentalis
E *The Gate* Pandana
I *The Hill* Aventinus
K *The Hill* Cœlius
O *The Habit^n of the* Tatienſes
P *The Habit^n of the* Luceres

Second Plan of **Rome** *representing its Situation after y^e Union between* **Romulus & Tatius**

over aga: p. 432

Vol: 4th



A *The Hill* Palatinus
B *The* Capitol
C *The* Tyber
D *The Gate* Carmentalis
E *The Gate* Pandana
F *The Gate* Musonia
G *The Gate* Romanulia
H *The Hill* Janiculus
I *The Hill* Aventinus
K *The Hill* Cælius
L *The Hill* Elquilinus
M *The Hill* Quirinalis
N *The Habit^n of the* Rhamnenses
O *The Habit^n of the* Tatienses
P *The Habit^n of the* Luceres

ing to Livy [e], the three bodies of Roman knights, called Ramnenſes, Tatienſes, and Luceres. The firſt body had its name from Romulus, the ſecond from Tatius, and the third from the lucus or grove where the aſylum ſtood, this order being formed out of thoſe who had peopled it. Theſe three bodies of horſe were incorporated into the Roman legions, which, from this time, conſiſted, according to the moſt common opinion, of four thouſand men each; whence a legion was called quadrata. As Rome was chiefly indebted to the Sabine women for this happy encreaſe of wealth and power, honourable privileges and marks of diſtinction were allowed them; every one was commanded to give way to them; all immodeſt and too free diſcourſes were forbidden in their preſence; no indecent objects were to be brought into their ſight; in capital cauſes they were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges; and laſtly, their children were allowed to wear a golden ball hanging from their necks, and a particular robe, called prætexta, to diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar (F).

[e] Liv. l. i. c. 13.

foot of the hill Palatinus, over againſt the capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of Vulcan, where they uſually met to conſult the ſenate about the moſt important affairs.

(F) Authors are divided in their opinions about the form of this ornament, which the Sabine women were allowed to hang about the necks of their children. It was called bulla; and Plutarch ſays (40), that it was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall upon running water. It is therefore probable, that theſe little golden balls were hollow and light. Others think they were but half globes, being on one ſide flat, and on the other globular. Macrobius ſays, that Tarquin the elder extended the right of wearing this ornament to all the children of the patricians, and that he began with his own. The young men, when they attained the age of manhood, quitted the bulla, and made an offering of it to the dii lares, or houſhold gods. As to the prætexta, it had a border of purple round its edges; hence it took its name. This robe was wore by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were ſeventeen, when they took the toga virilis, or manly robe. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of diſtinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even

(40) Plut. ibid.

THE two kings reigned jointly, and in great harmony, for the ſpace of five years, Romulus holding his court on the hill Palatinus, and Tatius reſiding on the hill Tarpeius. The Sabines ſettled on a hill, called by them Quirinalis, either in memory

even the children of the liberti, that is, of thoſe who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth. In proceſs of time the graveſt magiſtrates wore them, not only at Rome, but in the colonies and municipia. This prætexta was not only a mark of the quality of the perſon that wore it, but was beſides looked upon as a ſacred habit, and a kind of guard or defence againſt the injuries to which children are expoſed. Thus Perſius calls it cuſtos purpura (41); and Quintilian, in one of his declarations ſtyles it, the ſacred habit of the prætexta, the robe, which raiſes in us a holy reverence and veneration to the helpleſs condition of childhood. In proceſs of time the bulla became as common as the prætexta, all the ſons of the ingenui or free-born being allowed to wear it; but with this diſtinction, that their bulla was not of gold, but of leather, as Juvenal inſinuates in the following verſes:

——Etruſcum puero ſi contigit aurum,
Vel nodus tantum, & ſignum de paupere loro (42).

The poet calls the bulla aurea, Etruſcan gold, becauſe that ſort of ornament was uſed by the Etruſcans long before it was introduced among the Romans. In the account we have given here of the bulla aurea and prætexta, we have followed Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus and Livy; but Macrobius, on the authority of ſome writers, relates the matter in a quite different manner; for he ſays, that Herſilia, being carried away with her daughter, fell in marriage to Hoſtus, an officer of great diſtinction, and was the firſt who bore a child to Rome. To this child alone, who was called Hoſtus Hoſtilius, Romulus granted the privilege of wearing the bulla aurea. Some fanſy, that Tarquinius Priſcus, in a triumph for a victory gained over the Sabines, firſt honoured his own ſon with the prætexta and bulla aurea, for killing one of the enemy's chief commanders with his own hand. Others, without mentioning this victory, pretend, that Tarquin, among other wiſe conſtitutions, took particular care to aſſign the proper habit both to the boys and girls, and appointed the prætexta and bulla aurea for the ſons of the ſenators and patricians, and the prætexta alone for their daughters, and alſo for the ſons of thoſe who had ſerved among the horſe the full time the law required. The figure of a man's heart was

(41) Perſius ſat. v. (42) Juvenal. ſat. v. ver. 164.

memory of their city Cures, or in honour of their god Quiris. The place between the hills Palatinus and Tarpeius became a common market-place for the two united nations, and was called the forum. The union of the two nations ſoon produced a mixture of manners, cuſtoms, and religion. The Sabines adopted the Roman gods, and the Romans thoſe of the Sabines. They unanimouſly inſtituted the feſtival called matronalia, in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the women (G). As to martial affairs, the conqueſt of Cameria, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, was the only military atchievement under the two kings. Four thouſand of its inhabitants were tranſplanted to Rome, and a colony ſent from thence to Cameria. In the ſixth year of Romulus and Tatius, the latter, having provoked the Lavinians, by protecting ſome of his friends who had ravaged their territories, was by them murdered at the foot of the altar, while he was offering a ſacrifice together with Romulus, in the city of Lavinium, to the tutelary gods of the ſtate. Romulus conveyed the body of his collegue to Rome, with great pomp, and cauſed it to be honourably interred on mount Aventine. The Lavinians, fearing the reſentment of Romulus, delivered up the aſſaſſins into his hands; but he ſent them back unpuniſhed, which gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that

Death of Tatius.

was ſometimes impreſſed on the bullæ aureæ, to put thoſe who wore them in mind of this moral truth, that men are only valuable for the qualities of their hearts. In like manner the purple colour of the prætexta was to remind them of the modeſty which became them at that age (43).

(G) This feſtival was celebrated on the firſt of March. Ovid (44) gives other reaſons for the inſtitution of it, viz. to obtain of Mars the bleſſing of bearing good children; a bleſſing which he firſt beſtowed on Rhea Sylvia. But, at the ſame time, the poet owns, that the matronalia were chiefly inſtituted in memory of the benefits the Romans had received from the Sabine women. During this feſtival, the Roman women, ſuch as were married, ſerved their ſlaves at table, and received preſents from their huſbands, as the huſbands did from their wives in the time of the ſaturnalia. As the feſtival of the matronalia was conſecrated to Mars, and, as ſome will have it, to Juno Lucina, ſacrifices were offered to both theſe deities. This feaſt was the ſubject of Horace's ode,

Martiis cælebs quid agam calendis, &c.

(43) Macrob. ſaturnal. l. i. c. 6. Vide Dacier. in Horat. l. 1 od. 5. (44) Ovid. triſt. l. iii.

that he was not, at leaſt, diſpleaſed at the death of his colleague [f].

Romulus defeats the Camerini, Fidenates, and Veientes.

NOT long after, a cruel plague, attended with a great famine, breaking out at Rome, the Camerini laïd hold of this opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, and lay waſte the Roman territory. But Romulus marching out againſt them, gave them battle, killed ſix thouſand of them on the ſpot; and returning to Rome, entered the city in triumph, as he had done after the defeat of Acron. The like ſucceſs attended him againſt the Fidenates, whoſe city, ſtanding about forty furlongs from Rome, he took, and made it a Roman colony. This drew new enemies upon him; for the Veientes (H), reclaiming Fidenæ, as a city within their juriſdiction, laid ſiege to it; but their forces being defeated in two battles, and a great number of them taken priſoners, together with their commander, they were forced to prevent their total ruin by a timely ſubmiſſion. They therefore ſent embaſſadors to Rome to ſue for peace; and Romulus granted them a truce for a hundred years, upon the following conditions, viz. that they ſhould deliver to him ſeven ſmall towns on the Tiber, ſome ſalt-pits near the mouth of that river, and ſend fifty of their chief citizens to Rome, to be kept there as hoſtages. A war thus advantageouſly ended procured Romulus the honour of a third triumph, which, as the city was much encreaſed both in riches and inhabitants, exceeded in all likelihood the two former. The priſoners were all ſold for ſlaves; and what was done at this ſale gave riſe to a cuſtom, which prevailed ever after; for when they returned thanks to the gods for any victory, they uſed to dreſs an old man in a purple robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cry round him, Sardians to ſell. By this ceremony they alluded to the old king or governor of the Veientes, who, in this war, had behaved like a child; and to the Veientes, who, with the other Hetrurians, were a colony of Lydians, whoſe metropolis was the city of Sardis [g]. Other writers date this cuſtom from the time of the conqueſt of

[f] Dio. Hal. p. 110. [g] Plut. & Dio. Hal. ibid.

(H) Veii was ſituated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome, and is compared by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus to Athens for extent and riches. Cluverius places it in the neighbourhood of the preſent Scroſano.

of Sardinia by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, when ſuch a number of ſlaves was brought from that iſland, that nothing was to be ſeen in the markets but Sardinians.

THIS was the laſt war in which Romulus engaged. He employed the remaining part of his life in ſettling the government on the ſureſt foundations. He made many good laws; but we have only ſome fragments of them remaining. The firſt relates to marriages, and forbids a wife to leave her huſband upon any pretence whatſoever; but, at the ſame time, allows the huſband to put away his wife, and even to puniſh her with death, in caſe ſhe were convicted of adultery, poiſoning, making falſe keys, or only of drinking wine. Each huſband was confined to one wife, their goods being in common between them; but under the adminiſtration of the huſband. In relation to children, Romulus gave their fathers an abſolute power over them; ſo that they could, by their own private authority, impriſon them, ſell them for ſlaves, and even put them to death, of whatever age they were, and what ever dignity, office, or employment they held [h]. He appointed no puniſhment for real parricide; but called all murder ſo, thinking the latter a deteſtable crime, but the former impoſſible; and indeed it was unknown in Rome for near ſix hundred years, as divorces were, notwithſtanding the power granted to huſbands, for five hundred and twenty years [i].

The laws of Romulus.

ROMULUS, in the latter end of his reign, whether elated with his former ſucceſſes, or carried away with ſome pleaſing notions of arbitrary power, began to enlarge his prerogative beyond the bounds he had formerly ſet to it, and to pay no longer any deference to his great council. The ſenators were aſſembled indeed; but merely for form-ſake and to ratify his commands. But what moſt of all provoked the fathers was, his ſharing the conquered lands among his ſoldiers, as he pleaſed, without conſulting them, and his reſtoring to the Veientes their hoſtages, againſt their opinion. This haughty and arbitrary carriage they could not brook, and therefore conſpired his deſtruction; which they ſoon after effected. Romulus having appointed a review of his troops on a plain without the city, the ſenate attended him thither. While he was haranguing them, a ſudden ſtorm of hail and thunder diſperſed the army; and the ſenators, remaining a-

He provokes the ſenate by his arbitrary behaviour.

[h] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 92. A. Gell. c. 23. [i] Plut. ubi ſupra.

lone with the king, thought this too favourable an opportu-
Is murdered Year after the flood, 2288. Before Chriſt, 711. Of Rome 37.
nity to be neglected. The king was therefore ſlain, and his body conveyed out of ſight in an inſtant. Some writers tell us, that, the better to conceal the fact, the ſenators cut him in pieces, each of them carrying away one under his robe (I). However that be, the ſenators took occaſion, from the ſecrecy of the fact and the concealment of the body, to perſuade the multitude, that the king was all on a ſudden ſurrounded by a flame and ſnatched up into heaven; but this ſtratagem did not appeaſe the ſoldiery, till Julius Proculus a ſenator of great diſtinction, having aſſembled the curiæ, told them, that Romulus had appeared to him, and enjoined him to acquaint his people, that it had pleaſed the gods he ſhould return to heaven, from whence he originally came; but that he would be always a propitious god to them, under the name of Quirinus. As Julius Proculus, who was eſteemed a man of great probity, and had been always thought a friend to Romulus, ſwore to the truth of this ſtory, all ſuſpicions were laid aſide; and divine honours decreed to the new deity [k]. His death happened on the ſeventh day of July, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and ſixtieth, or, as others ſay, fifty-fifth, year of his age. Such was the end of Romulus, the founder and firſt king of Rome. He was thought to be the ſon of Mars, and it does not appear, that he ever acted unbecoming that character, having, in a ſhort time, made his

[k] Dio. Hal. l. ii, p 119. Plut. Liv. ibid.

(I) Hiſtorians differ about the place where Romulus loſt his life; ſome ſaying he was killed in the open field, while he was haranguing his troops; others that he loſt his life in the temple of Vulcan, or in the ſenate. Neither do they agree about the manner in which he was aſſaſſinated; ſome ſay, he was murdered by the people, for ſhewing more favour to thoſe who were newly come to Rome from the conquered cities, than to the antient inhabitants; while others pretend, the ſenators ſtabbed him in full ſenate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one carried a part of it away under his robe. However that be, his death gave riſe, according to Plutarch (44), to the caprotine nones, or populifugium, that is, the flight of the people, a feſtival in the Roman kalendar, on the nones of July. But other authors give another origin to this feſtival; of which we ſhall ſpeak in a more proper place.

(45) Plut. ibid.

his ſmall colony formidable to all the neighbouring nations. Nor was his wiſdom and policy inferior to his courage; for, in a few years, he encreaſed his ſubjects, from three thouſand three hundred men, to forty-ſeven thouſand; and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, formed a people out of a gang of ſlaves and profligates, who in proceſs of time became maſters of the world, and yet were long more renowned for their virtue, than for their courage or conqueſts. After the death of his grandfather Numitor, the ſovereignty of Alba devolved upon him; but he reſerved to himſelf no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magiſtrate, with the title of dictator, to govern it in form of a republic; which is ſomewhat ſurprizing in a prince, who was ſo eagerly bent on extending his dominions, and ſubjecting all the ſtates around him.

ROMULUS dying without iſſue, the city was greatly divided about the election of a new king. The Romans did not judge it by any means adviſeable to reſign the regal authority to the Sabines; and, on the other hand, the Sabines thought it was but juſt, that the king ſhould be choſen out of their nation, ſince they had peaceably ſubmitted to Romulus, and contributed, as much as the Romans, to the raiſing of the city to its preſent pitch of wealth and power. During theſe diſputes, the ſenators, to prevent anarchy and confuſion, took the ſovereignty into their own hands. The two hundred ſenators divided themſelves into decuries or tens. Theſe decuries drew lots which ſhould govern firſt, and the decury, to whoſe lot it fell, enjoyed the ſupreme authority for five days, yet in ſuch manner, that one perſon only of the governing decury had the badges of ſovereignty at a time. To theſe another decury ſucceeded, each of them ſitting on the throne in his turn, wearing the crown, &c. This form of government, which was called inter-regnum, laſted little more than a year, when the people, growing weary of ſuch frequent change of maſters, obliged the fathers to reſolve on the election of a king. The inter-rex therefore for the time being, having ſummoned the people, addreſſed them thus: Elect yourſelves a king, O Romans; the ſenate gives their conſent; and, if you chuſe a prince worthy to ſucceed Romulus, the ſenate will confirm your choice. The people were ſo well pleaſed with this condeſcenſion of the ſenate, that they remitted the choice to them. But, as the old difficulty ſtill remained, whether the king ſhould be a Sabine

His death is followed by an inter-regnum.

a Sabine or a Roman, this occaſioned long diſputes, till at length they came to this agreement among themſelves, that the Romans ſhould chuſe the king, but ſhould be obliged to elect a Sabine. There was at this time an auſtere Sabine philoſopher, who led a ſolitary life, and was wholly taken up with the worſhip of the gods. His name was Numa Pompilius, and he was the fourth ſon of Pompilius Pompo, an illuſtrious Sabine. He had married Tatia, the daughter of king Tatius, and, together with her, remained in his native country, preferring the tranquillity of a private life to the ſplendor of a court. Upon the death of his wife, with whom he had lived thirteen years, he gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of wiſdom; and, leaving the city of Cures, confined himſelf wholly to the country, wandering from ſolitude to ſolitude, in ſearch only of thoſe woods and fountains, which religion had made ſacred. This gave riſe to the fable, which was very early received among the Sabines, that Numa lived in familiarity with the nymph Egeria (K). This man both the ſenate and people pitched upon to be their king; and without delay, diſpatched Julius Proculus and Valerius Voleſus, two ſenators of diſtinction, to acquaint Numa with their reſolution, and make him an offer of the kingdom. The Sabine philoſopher rejected at firſt their propoſal; but being at laſt prevailed upon by the arguments and entreaties of the deputies, joined with thoſe of his father and of Martius his near relation, he yielded at laſt; and, having offered ſacrifices to the gods, ſet out for Rome, where he was received by all ranks

Numa Pompilius elected to ſucceed Romulus.

(K) Numa's inclination to ſolitude, and his cuſtom of retiring into the ſecret places of the foreſt of Aricia, gave riſe to ſeveral popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph Egeria herſelf dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he eſtabliſhed. Of this perſuaſion he took advantage, when he was on the throne, to bring about a reformation of Rome. Others, leſs favourable to Numa's reputation, have thought, that, under this affected paſſion for woods and caves, was concealed another, more real and leſs chaſte. This ſeems to have been the opinion of Juvenal, who, in ſpeaking of this grove, known to the Romans by the name of Lucus Egeriæ, or the grove of Egeria, ſays,

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ (46).

(46) Juvenal. ſatir. iii. ver. 12.

ranks of people with loud ſhouts of joy. Spurius Vettius, the inter-rex for the day, having aſſembled the curiæ, he was elected in due form, and the election was unanimouſly confirmed by the ſenate [l].

He diſmiſſes the guard of 300 celeres.

THIS king's reign was no-ways memorable for battles or conqueſts; for he made it his chief ſtudy to quiet all contentions at home, to reform the manners of the Romans, and to eſtabliſh good policy in the city. The firſt thing he did was, to diſmiſs the royal guard of three hundred celeres, ſaying, He would not rule over a people, of whom he conceived the leaſt diſtruſt. In the next place, he applied himſelf to quiet the diſſenſions at Rome, to bring all the citizens to a perfect concord and harmony among themſelves, and to moderate the warlike ardour of the Romans, by impreſſions of religion. Plutarch tells us [m], that he had true notions of the deity, that is, of a firſt principle of all things, impaſſible, inviſible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and therefore prohibited the repreſenting of God in the reſemblance of man or beaſt. The ſame author adds, that, for the ſpace of one hundred and ſixty years, there were no painted nor graven images in the Roman temples or ſanctuaries. But tho' Numa had, according to Plutarch, right notions of the deity, yet he did not introduce the true worſhip of the Supreme Being; but authorized both the Sabine and Alban ſuperſtitions, introducing only order and decency in the performance of them. With this view he

Divides the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes,

divided the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes, viz. Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Augurs, Veſtal Virgins, Salii, Feciales, and Pontifices. The Curiones were the particular prieſts of each curia. The Flamines, ſo called from the faſhion or colour of their caps (L), were prieſts, whoſe miniſtry

[l] Dio. Hal. l. ii. p. 121. Plut. Liv. ibid. [m] Plut. in Numa.

(L) Theſe prieſts were firſt called, as Plutarch informs us, Pileamines, from the Greek word πιλος, or the Latin pileus, which ſignified a ſort of cap which was peculiar to them. Others think they took their names from the flame coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were choſen by the people, and inaugurated by the pontifex maximus. The Flamines could not be depoſed but for very great reaſons. Their wives, who were called Flaminicæ, partook of the prieſthood of their huſbands, and ſhared with them the care of the ſacrifices. A Flaminica could not be divorced on any account; and, upon her death, the Flamen loſt his ſacerdotal dignity.

niſtry was confined to ſome particular god, from whom they took their name, as the Flamen Dialis, the Flamen Martialis, &c. The Celeres were inferior miniſters, whoſe duty it was to take care of the ſacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them when they were guards to Romulus. The Augurs not only foretold future events by the flying of birds, but had many other kinds of divination under their province. The Veſtals were wholly devoted to the goddeſs Veſta, and obliged, under the ſevereſt penalty, to keep the ſacred fire in her temple perpetually burning. The Salii were the guardians of the ancilia, or twelve ſhields, hung up in the temple of Mars. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of the annual feſtival inſtituted in memory of a miraculous ſhield, which, Numa pretended, fell down from heaven. The buſineſs of the Feciales was to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries Rome received from her enemies, to proclaim war againſt them, in caſe of refuſal, and to take care, that all treaties with the neighbouring nations were faithfully obſerved. The Pontifices (M) were the moſt venerable of all the claſſes; their office was, to give judgment in all cauſes relating to religion, to enquire into the lives and manners of the inferior prieſts, and to puniſh them, if they ſaw occaſion; to regulate the feaſts, ſacrifices, and all other ſacred inſtitutions; to determine what works ſhould be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on feſtival days. They had a preſident over them, with the title of Pontifex Maximus, whoſe office was one of the moſt honourable in the commonwealth. Some ſay, that Numa reſerved this eminent dignity for himſelf; and others, that he conferred it on his relation Numa Marcius.

Numa's view, in thus multiplying the ceremonies of religion, was the more effectually to divert the Romans from

(M) The word pontifex is by moſt authors derived from pons and facere, the repairs of the bridges, which were deemed ſacred, being committed to the Pontifices. But Plutarch finds fault with this etymology, and tells us, that the word Pontifex was in uſe at Rome before there were any bridges there. He derives it from the word pontis, which, in old Latin, ſignified powerful. Others take it to be a compound of potis and facere, where facere ſignifies to ſacrifice. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the functions of each claſs of prieſts in the courſe of this hiſtory.

from purſuits of ambition and violence of arms. For the ſame purpoſe, or, at leaſt, to put a check to the haſty temper of ſo fierce a people, ever ready, upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, to begin a war, he dedicated a temple to Janus, the ſymbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and examines what is paſt and what may come. This temple was to ſtand open in time of war, and to be ſhut in time of peace. He likewiſe erected an altar to Bona Fides, or Good Faith, in order to bring the republic to be faithful to her treaties; and the private citizens to their private contracts with one another. The ſame ſpirit of equity made him introduce another kind of deities, under the name of Termini, or Boundaries, which he cauſed to be placed on the borders of the Roman ſtate, and of each man's private lands. In honour of theſe deities he inſtituted a feſtival called terminalia, which was annually celebrated on the twenty-ſecond or twenty-third of the month of February. To remove the Dii Termini was deemed a ſacriledge of ſo heinous a nature, that any man might kill with impunity the tranſgreſſor [n].

Dedicates a temple to Janus.

THE reformation of religion was followed by an improvement of the laws, in which he had a particular regard to the preſerving of modeſty in women; nevertheleſs he permitted huſbands to lend their wives after they had children by them. This was a kind of temporary divorce in favour of thoſe men, whoſe wives were barren; but the huſbands ſtill continued to have the ſame power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, as he pleaſed. He reformed the law made by Romulus, with relation to the power of parents over their children; for he would not ſuffer a father to ſell his ſon after marriage, thinking it unjuſt, that a woman, who married a freeman, ſhould be obliged to live with a ſlave.

Improves the laws.

FOR the encouraging of agriculture, Numa ſhared the lands, which the late king had obtained by conqueſt, among thoſe who had no other occupation, And the better to keep them conſtantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he diſtributed them into pagi or villages, over each of which he appointed a chief or ſuperintendant, whoſe buſineſs was to keep a watchful eye over the huſbandmen, to encourage hem when diligent, to puniſh them when ſlothful, and to nake a report of the progreſs of agriculture in his diſtrict to the

Encourages agriculture.

[n] Plut. Liv. & Dio. Hal. ibid.

the king, who often advanced the induſtrious huſbandmen to the firſt dignities in the ſtate. By this means the lands were cultivated, and the city diſburdened of the idle ſoldiery, who had been accuſtomed, under Romulus, to live by rapine [o].

Diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct bodies of tradſmen.

BUT the maſter-piece of Numa's policy was, his diſtributing the citizens of Rome into diſtinct bodies of tradeſmen. The city had been hitherto rent into two factions, occaſioned by the union of the Sabines and firſt Romans; and nothing could be more dangerous than ſuch a diviſion of the ſtate, as it were, into two different nations. Numa therefore, to take away all diſtinction of Roman and Sabine, divided all the inhabitants according to their ſeveral trades and occupations, making every profeſſion a particular company and ſociety, and appointing to each their reſpective courts and privileges. In this diviſion the muſicians had the firſt rank, becauſe employed in the offices of religion. The goldſmiths, carpenters, curriers, dyers, taylors, &c. formed alſo diſtinct communities, and were all allowed to make by-laws among themſelves, to have their own feſtivals, particular ſacrifices, &c. By this means the Romans and Sabines, being intermixed in the ſame ſocieties, forgot their party-names, and were brought to an entire union [p].

Reforms the kalendar.

THE laſt reformation which Numa undertook was, that of the kalendar. Romulus had divided his year into ten months, which, according to Plutarch, had no certain, or equal, number of days, ſome conſiſting of twenty, ſome of thirty-five, and ſome of more [q]. But Macrobius tells us [r], that he ſettled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintilis, and October, one-and-thirty days; to April, June, Sextilis, September, November, and December thirty, making up in all three hundred and four days. Numa was better acquainted with the celeſtial motions, and therefore, undertaking to reform the kalendar, in the firſt place added the two months of January and February. To compoſe theſe two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them anſwer to the courſe of the moon; he then took ſix more from the ſix months that had even days, adding one odd day more than he ought to have done, merely out of ſuperſtitition

[o] Plut. in Numa. [p] Idem. ibid. [q] Idem ibid.
[r] Macrob. ſaturnal. l. i. c. 12.

ſuperſtition, to make the number fortunate (N). However, he could get but eight-and-twenty for February; and therefore that month was always counted unlucky. Beſides this, he obſerved the difference between the ſolar and the lunar courſe to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled thoſe days after every two years, adding an interſtitial month after February, which Plutarch calls in one place Mercidinus [s], and in another Mercedonius [t] (O). As Numa was ſenſible, that the ſolar year conſiſted of three hundred ſixty-five days and ſix hours, and that the ſix hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded, that the month Mercidinus, after every four years, ſhould conſiſt of twen-

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[s] Plut. in Num. [t] Idem in Jul. Cæſ.

(N) The pagans look on an even number as the ſymbol of diviſion, becauſe it could be divided ino two equal parts; whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reaſon, the ſymbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thouſand ſuperſtitious practices, which, in ſome countries, are ſtill kept up by thoſe whom reaſon and religion ought to have undeceived.

(O) Feſtus ſpeaks of certain days, which he calls mercidonii dies, becauſe they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domeſtics. Perhaps the intercalary month was for the ſame reaſon called mercedonius, from the Latin word merces, ſignifying wages. As for the other months, January had its name from Janus; February was ſo called from the expiations, ſignified by the word februa, which were performed in this month; March, the firſt month of Romulus's year, had its name from Mars, his ſuppoſed father; April, from Venus, called by the Greeks Αφοδιτη; May, from Maia, the mother of Mercury, according to Plutarch (47); tho' Macrobius makes the Maia, to whom May was conſecrated, the ſame with Rhea, Ops, or the earth, and different from Mercury's mother (48); Ovid brings it from the word majores or elders (49). June either comes from juventus, becauſe this is the youthful and gay part of the year (50); or is a contradiction of Junonius, and dedicated to the goddeſs Juno (51). The other months had their names from their order, as Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November, and December. Only Quintilis and Sextilis afterwards changed their names into July and Auguſt, in honour of Julius Cæſar and his ſucceſſor Auguſtus.

(47) Plut. in Numa. (48) Macrob. ibid. (49) Ovid. Faſt. ver. 41. (50) Plut. ibid. (51) Macrob. ibid.

ty-three days; but the care of theſe intercalations being left to the prieſts, they put in or left out the intercalary day and month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky, and, by that means, created ſuch a confuſion, that the feſtivals and ſolemn days came, in proceſs of time, to be kept at a ſeaſon quite contrary to what they had been formerly [u].

Numa dies. NUMA had now reigned near forty-three years, and was in the eighty-ſecond of his age, when he died of a diſtemper, which gradually wore him away, without impairing the vigor of his mind. During the time of his long reign, peace had ſo ſoftened the warlike temper of the Romans, that it might be literally ſaid of them, that their weapons were changed into inſtruments of huſbandry. No inteſtine ſeditions, no ambitious deſires of the throne, not ſo much as any murmurs againſt the perſon of the king, or his adminiſtration, appeared among them. When he died, he was as ſincerely lamented by the Romans, as if every man had loſt his deareſt friend or his own father. Strangers, to whom he was equally dear, upon the news of his death, flocked from all parts to Rome, to celebrate his obſequies, bringing along with them perfumes and crowns to be uſed at his funeral. As he had forbid the burning of his body, it was put into a ſtone coffin, and buried, purſuant to his own orders, with the greateſt part of the books he had writ, at the foot of the hill Janiculus (P); whither he was carried on the ſhoulders of his

[u] Idem ibid. Vide Cenſorin. de die natali, c. 20.

(P) The books, which he ordered to be buried with him, were dug up again four hundred years after his death, and burnt by a decree of the ſenate. He therein explained his reaſons for the novelties he had introduced into the Roman worſhip. We are indebted to Varro for this account (52). One Terentius, ſays he, had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and a huſbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over Numa's tomb, turned up ſome of the legiſlator's books, wherein he gave his reaſons, for eſtabliſhing the religion of the Romans on the foot on which he left it. The huſbandman carried theſe books to the prætor, and the prætor to the ſenate, who, after having read his frivolous reaſons for his religious eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the books ſhould be deſtroyed, according to Numa's intentions; and it was accordingly decreed, that the prætor ſhould throw them into the fire. St. Auſtin thinks there were ſome footſteps of magic in theſe books, of which

(52) Varro apud S. Auguſt. l. vii. de civit. Dei, c. 24.

his ſenators, and followed by all the people, who, with tears and lamentations, bewailed the loſs of ſo good a prince. He left behind him but one daughter, named Pompilia, who was married to Numa Marcius, by whom ſhe had Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome [w] (Q).

THE death of Numa was followed by an inter-regnum, which proved very ſhort, Tullus Hoſtilius being unanimouſly choſen by the people, and accepted by the ſenate. Hoſtus, the grandfather of Tullus Hoſtilius, was originally of Medulia, a city of Latium, but had ſettled at Rome about four years after its foundation. There he married the famous Herſilia, or, as others will have it, her daūghter, and had by her Hoſtus Hoſtilius, the father of Tullus Hoſtillus (R). Tullus Hoſtilius. Year of the flood 2333. Of Chriſt 666. Of Rome 82

Tullus

[w] Plut. Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

which Numa had been in his life-time ſuſpected. Aurelius Victor aſſures us, that Numa's motives for the religion he eſtabliſhed at Rome, were found to be ſo trivial, that the ſenate thought fit to ſuppreſs them.

(Q) Some writers have given Numa four ſons, who, they ſay, were afterwards the ſtocks of four illuſtrious families. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named Pompilia; and ſhe is ſaid to have been born to him of a ſecond wife, by name Lucretia, whom he married after his election to the crown. Ancus Martius, his grandſon, was only five years old when his grandfather died; and therefore paſſed by in the next election, as not being of an age fit to govern.

(R) Hoſtus had ſignalized himſelf under Romulus in his wars with the Sabines and Fidenates. He was the firſt who entered the breach at the taking of Fidenæ, and was on that account rewarded by Romulus with a mural crown. This was the reward beſtowed by generals on the perſon who firſt ſcaled the walls of a beſieged city. In the ſecond battle with the Sabines, Hoſtus was killed, and his death occaſioned the flight of the Romans (53). Nevertheleſs he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, before the Roman army was put to flight, in ſo eminent a manner, that the remembrance of his gallant behaviour was preſerved by an inſcription on a pillar erected on the field of battle (54). As for Hoſtus Hoſtilius, the ſon of Hoſtus and father of Tullus, we find nothing worth mentioning ſaid of him. But Tullus Hoſtilius appeared both to the Roman people and ſenate to

(53) Plin. l. xvi. c. 4.

(54) Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 36.

Tullus began his reign, by diſtributing certain lands, which were the demeſnes of the crown, among ſuch of his ſubjects as had no lands of their own. This act of generoſity immediately gained him the hearts of his people. As he was of a bold and fiery temper, he was more inclined to tread in the ſteps of Romulus than of Numa; and it was not long before he had a favourable opportunity of ſeconding his martial inclination. Cælius, or, as Livy ſtyles him, Cluilius, who was at the head of affairs in Alba, being jealous of the growing greatneſs of Rome, privately commiſſioned ſome of the moſt indigent among his ſubjects to lay waſte the Roman territory, not doubting, but this would ſoon give occaſion to a war between the two nations: nor was he diſappointed in his expectation; for a Roman army, entering the territories of Alba, attacked the robbers, ſlew many of them, and took a great number of priſoners. Cluilius, having now a plauſible reaſon for engaging his people in a war with the Romans, convened an aſſembly; and by exaggerating the loſſes which Alba had ſuſtained, brought them to this reſolution, that an embaſſy ſhould be firſt ſent to Rome, to demand ſatisfaction; and, in caſe they refuſed it, that war ſhould be declared. When the embaſſadors arrived at Rome, Tullus, gueſſing at their errand, made uſe of various pretences to defer giving them audience, and, in the mean time, ſent an embaſſy to Alba, with orders to require ſatisfaction on the part of Rome. A fecialis was at the head of the embaſſadors, who finding Cluilius in the midſt of the public forum, diſcharged his commiſſion, and put him in mind of the antient treaty between the two nations, whereby it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould never make war upon one another, till a reparation of injuries on either ſide had been previouſly aſked in a friendly manner. To this Cluilius anſwered, That he had already ſent embaſſadors to Tullus, but to no effect; and therefore

His war with the Albans.

to be poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualifications, which could be deſired in a ſucceſſor to Numa. What ſome hiſtorians ſay of his education, has no appearance of truth (55), viz. that he was brought up in woods, and there kept ſheep, as a common ſhepherd; it being no-ways credible, that one of the firſt and moſt wealthy of the Roman citizens ſhould employ his ſon in that mean office.

(55) Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4.

fore declared war againſt him. Hereupon the fecialis, calling the gods to witneſs, that the Romans had been firſt refuſed their demands, and that they might therefore declare war without any infraction of the treaty, left Alba, and ſet out for Rome. Upon the return of the Roman embaſſadors, Tullus ſent for the Alban deputies; and being told by them, that their errand was to demand ſatisfaction of him, and, in caſe of a refuſal, to declare war, the king replied, "Go, tell your maſter, "that the king of Rome calls the gods to witneſs which "of the two nations firſt refuſed the other ſatisfaction, "that they may cauſe all the miſeries of this war to fall "upon thoſe who firſt broke the treaty". Thus did Tullus reduce to bare appearances that ſincerity, which his predeceſſor had laboured to eſtabliſh in Rome *.

The Roman fecialis had allowed Cluilius the ſpace of thirty days before hoſtilities were to begin; which was no ſooner elapſed, than both armies took the field. But when they came in ſight of each other, whatever was the cauſe of it, their ardor cooled, neither party caring to come to an engagement. This inaction raiſed great murmurs in the Alban army againſt Cluilius, as the author of a mock war; inſomuch, that, not being able to bear their reproaches, he reſolved to offer the Romans battle, or, if they declined it, to force their intrenchments. But the next morning he was found dead in his tent in the midſt of his guards, without any ſigns of violence; which occaſioned various conjectures, ſome imputing his death to the friends of Rome, others to the anger of the Gods, who, they ſaid, had thus puniſhed him for beginning an unjuſt and unneceſſary war; but the greater part looked upon it as a common accident, and therefore choſe in his room one Metius Fuffetius, or, as others call him Suffetius, a man no leſs famous for his hatred to the Roman name than Cluilius. He had been one of the chief promoters of the war; but whether he diſtruſted his own ſkill in the management of it, or did not care to venture an engagement, he continued, under various pretences, in the ſame inactivity which he had blamed in his predeceſſor. In the mean time, he received certain advice, that the Veientes and Fidenates were preparing to fall upon both armies, when they ſhould be weakened by a bat-

* Liv. l. i. c. 22.

tle. This intelligence ſtill encreaſed his delays, and he now thought of nothing but coming to a conference with the king of the Romans, and changing the preparation of war into a ſincere reconciliation. With this view he marched out of his intrenchments; and Tullus, not doubting but his deſign was to offer him battle, went out to meet him: but he was greatly ſurprized to find, that the Alban, inſtead of coming to an engagement, demanded an interview. However, he readily granted him his requeſt, and the two commanders came to a parley at the head of their reſpective armies. After reciprocal ſalutations and proteſtations of riendſhip, as if it it had never been interrupted, Fuffeitus acquainted the Roman king with the conſpiracy of the Veientes and Fidenates, and produced the letters he had received from his friends in Fidenæ. Tullus acknowledged that he had received the ſame intelligence, which had induced him to keep within his camp, and prevented his undertaking any thing againſt the Albans. Both conſented to end the quarrel in an amicable manner, and expreſſed a willingneſs to unite the two nations; but, in order to make the union more durable and perfect, Tullus propoſed, that all, or at leaſt the chief, families of Alba ſhould remove to Rome; or, in caſe they were unwilling to leave their native city, that one common-council ſhould be eſtabliſhed to govern both cities under the direction of one of the two ſovereigns. Fuffetius took aſide thoſe who attended him, to conſult with them about this propoſal; but they, though willing to come to an union with the Romans, abſolutely refuſed to leave Alba; ſo that the only difficulty remaining was, to ſettle which city ſhould have the ſuperiority. Fuffetius ſpoke in favour of Alba, alledging that ſhe was the metropolis, or mother-city, whereas Rome was but a colony. Tullus urged in behalf of Rome her ſuperiority in wealth and power, and in the cloſe of his ſpeech propoſed to terminate the diſpute by a ſingle combat between himſelf and Fuffetius. The Alban general, not caring to enter the liſts with Tullus, declined this offer, and made a new propoſal, which was, that three champions ſhould be choſen out of each camp to decide the difference; and to this Tullus agreed. The agreement was no ſooner known in the two armies, than it excited a ſtrong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being choſen to this important combat.

combat. But while the choice of the champions was yet in ſuſpence, Fuffetius caſt his eyes upon three Albans, whoſe birth had ſomething wonderful in it. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus[y] gives us the following account of it: Sequinius, an illuſtrious citizen of Alba, had two daughters; one he married to Curiatius, a citizen of Alba, and the other to Horatius, a citizen of Rome. Theſe two ſiſters were brought to bed on the ſame day, each of three male children, who were now in the flower of their age, and remarkable for their ſtrength and dexterity. The Alban general therefore, imagining that the gods had brought them into the world on purpoſe to determine the fate of their reſpective countries with their ſwords, communicated his thoughts to the king of Rome, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three Horatii, as he had fixed his choice on the three Curiatii. Tullus accordingly propoſed the matter to the Horatian family, but would lay no reſtraint upon them. The three young heroes anſwered, that they could not diſpoſe of their lives without his conſent, from whom they had received them. Old Horatius, the father of the three brothers, was under no ſmall apprehenſion of a combat, wherein much of the blood of his family would be ſpilt; and, as an additional matter of concern, one of his daughters was betrothed to one of the Curiatii. However, the love of his country getting the better of all other conſiderations, he left his children to their own choice; and when he underſtood that they, following the example of the Curiatii, preferred a glorious death or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, embracing his children, cried out, 'I am a happy father;' and then commanded them todeclare his conſent to the king.

The Horatii and Curiatii.

And now the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii being proclaimed in both camps, Tullus led the former, and Fuffetius the latter, the people ſtrewing the way, as they paſſed, with flowers, and putting garlands on their heads; for they were looked upon as victims, which had voluntarily devoted themſelves for their country. A great plain lying between the two camps was choſen for the place of the combat; and the two kings advanced with their champions and feciales to the middle of it; and, before the engagement began, concluded a treaty, which ſerved as a pattern for moſt of the

The diſpute between Alba and Rome decided by them.

[y] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 148.

treaties that were ever after made by the Romans (S). This done, the Roman and Alban champions advanced with a ſlow pace, each towards his antagoniſt. But when the people expected to ſee them engage, they quitted their arms, and flew

(S) Of this treaty Livy give us the following account: Firſt, one of the college of the feciales, named Marcus Valerius, aſked king Tullus, Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the pater patratus of the Albans? The king anſwered, He did. Give me then, replied the herald, the ſign of my commiſſion: this ſign was to be ſome vervein plucked up by the roots. Yes, anſwered the king, bring me ſome vervein that is pure. At theſe words the fecialis went and gathered ſome vervein on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: "Do you "then appoint me to be fecialis and plenipotentiary of Rome to "the Albans, and engage to protect my equipage and retinue? "Yes, replied the king, ſo far as is conſiſtent with my intereſt, "and that of the Roman people". Then Valerius, the fecialis, appointed Spurius Fuſius to be pater patratus of the treaty, by crowning him with vervein. His office, as ſuch, was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath in the name of the Roman king and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty. After this ceremonial, which paſſed only among the Romans, the new pater patratus read the articles of the convention in the preſence of the Albans, and then expreſſed himſelf thus: "Hear, O Jupiter; hear, O pater patratus of the Alban peo-"ple; hear, O Alban people; of theſe articles, as I have "juſt now read them out of thoſe waxen tablets, without fraud "or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other "clearly underſtood, the Roman people will never be the firſt "violators. If they ſhould violate them, by public authority and "by fraud, may Jupiter at that inſtant ſtrike them, as I ſhall now "ſtrike this victim! May thy ſtroke, great Jupiter, be as "much heavier, as thy power is greater". At which word he killed a ſow, which was to be offered up as a ſacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty, by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the Albans took the like oaths, and alſo offered their ſacrifices (56).

As to the pater patratus, it is not eaſy to determine whether he was a conſtant officer, and chief of the faciales, or only a temporary miniſter elected for the denouncing of war, or making a peace, which were both done by him. Roſinus makes him the conſtant governor or head of the feciales (57); Feneſtella looks upon him as a diſtinct officer (58). Pomponius Lætus and

(56) Liv. l. i. c. 25. (57) Roſin. l. iii. c. 21. (58) Auct. de invent. ver. l. iv. c. 14.

flew to embrace one another with all the marks of the moſt tender and ſincere friendſhip. At this moving ſight the ſpectators, not able to refrain their tears, began to complain of their kings, for engaging ſo near and affectionate relations to ſhed one another's blood. But the tenderneſs of the young heroes did not abate their courage: each of them returned to his arms, and choſe his adv rſary. The eldeſt of the Horatii engaged the eldeſt of the Curiatii, and the other two choſe their adverſaries, in the ſame manner, according to their age (T). The noiſe of their arms was already heard at a great diſtance, and the air rung with a confuſed mixture of ſhouts and acclamations from both camps, as either of the combatants appeared to have the advantage. The ſkill and dexterity of the champions kept the victory long in ſuſpence. At length the eldeſt of the Horatii received a mortal wound, and fell. At this ſight the Albans triumphed, and their joyful acclamations threw the Romans into the utmoſt

(59) and Polydore Virgil (60) are of opinion, that he was only choſen by one of the feciales upon ſuch occaſions as we have juſt now mentioned. No perſon was intruſted with this office, but who had a father and a ſon both alive, and therefore pater patratus is no more than a more perfect ſort of father, as they imagined him to be, whoſe own father was ſtill living after he himſelf had been a father for ſome time. That a pater patratus, that is, one, who had both a father alive, and was himſelf father of children ſtill alive, ſhould be always choſe for the above-mentioned purpoſes, was, according to ſome writers, a political law eſtabliſhed by Numa, that king being well appriſed, that a man, who had a father and children alive, would be more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote the common intereſt. Some think that the pater patratus was ſo called a patrando jurejurando, that is, from the oath he was obliged to take to atteſt the juſtice of his demand. Feſtus ſays, he was ſo called, becauſe by virtue of his commiſſion he acted as pater patriæ, that is, father of his country.

(T) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, by telling us, that the eldeſt of the Curiatii choſe out the eldeſt of the Horatii, and that the other two choſe their adverſaries according to their age, ſeems to inſinuate, that the two ſiſters had each three children, one after another, and at different births; for he plainly ſuppoſes that they were not all of the ſame age. But this difference of age moſt authors explain by the order in which the laws placed twins.

(59) Pomp. Lætus de ſacerdot. Rom. c. 6. (60) Polydor. Virgil. l. iv. c. 6.

conſternation, which was ſoon after changed into deſpair, when they ſaw the ſecond Horatius, being run through by another of the Curiatii, expire on the body of his brother. But the three Alban brothers were all wounded, and the remaining Horatius unhurt and vigorous. However, not thinking himſelf a match for the three brothers together, he made uſe of a ſtratagem to ſeparate them: he cunningly retreated, as if he fled; and the Curiatii purſuing him, but at unequal diſtances, as their wounds allowed them, the Roman champion turning ſhort upon them, ſlew them all, before one could come up to the aſſiſtance of the other; and big with this victory, ſeized the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, while the Roman camp reſounded with joyful acclamations in honour of their hero (U). Thus Rome gained the ſuperiority over Alba, her mother city, which Fuffetius acknowledged on the very field of battle, ſaluting king Tullus as his ſovereign, and aſking him what were his commands? Tullus anſwered, I command you nothing, but to keep the Alban youth in a readineſs to march at my orders, in caſe I make war with the Veientes [y].

Horatius kills his own ſiſter.

As Horatius was returning to the city in a ſort of triumph, he was met by his ſiſter, who, ſeeing him loaded with the ſpoils of the three brothers, among which was a military robe, which ſhe had wrought with her own hands for the Curiatius, to whom ſhe had been betrothed, could not forbear tearing her hair, beating her breaſt, and reviling her brother with the moſt provoking and reproachful words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his relations. Hereupon Horatius, fluſhed with his late victory, and enraged at his ſiſter's unſeaſonable grief killed her upon the ſpot, and went on ſtrait to his father's houſe, who not only approved of the action, but would not allow his daughter to be buried in the ſepulchre of the Horatian family. However, when Tullus returned to Rome, young Horatius was brought by ſome illuſtrious citizens to his tribunal, to take his tryal there. They thought it dangerous to abate the rigor of the laws in favour

[y] Liv. l. i. c. 25. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 156.

(U) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus ſays, that one of the Curiatii was killed in the beginning of the combat; ſo that there were but two Curiatii left to encounter the Horatius, who was conqueror. But all the Latin hiſtorians contradict him in this particular, and we have choſe to follow the greater number.

favour of conquerors; and therefore inſiſted on his being tried, and condemned, if found guilty. Tullus, being divided between his regard for the laws, and the deſire he had to ſave the young Horatius, and foreſeeing he ſhould be cenſured by ſome for condemning, and by others for acquitting the criminal, dextrouſly turned the affair into a ſtate crime, the cognizance of which did not belong to him, but to two commiſſioners, or duumviri, whom the king was to name. As the crime was notorious and not diſowned by the priſoner, the duumviri, without delay, pronounced ſentence againſt him in theſe words: "We judge you to be guilty of "treaſon; go, lictor, and tie his hands." As ſoon as judgment was given, Horatius, by the king's advice, appealed to an aſſembly of the people, by whom the ſentence againſt the criminal was revoked, rather through admiration of his courage, ſays Livy, than for the juſtice of his cauſe. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpuniſhed, Horatius was condemned to paſs under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was uſual to treat priſoners of war, who had cowardly ſurrendered their arms. The king alſo appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the gods provoked by this violation of the laws. Nor was this all; the pontifices erected two altars, the one to Juno, and the other to Janus, which were ſtill remaining in the time of Auguſtus, together with the yoke, known by the name of Sororium Tigillum, under which they made the criminal paſs [z].

Is condemned by the duumviri, but ſaved by the people.

Tullus, mindful of the ſuſpicious behaviour of the Fidenates, during his war with the Albans, cited them to appear before the ſenate of Rome, and anſwer for their conduct. But they, being conſcious of their guilt, and in private intelligence with Fuffetius, who had ſtirred them up under hand, in hopes of ſhaking off the Roman yoke, refuſed to obey, and, in conjunction with the Veientes, took the field. Fuffetius, in compliance with Tullus's orders, joined him with the Alban troops; but the day before the battle he acquainted his principal officers with his deſign, which was to ſtand neuter, till fortune had declared for one ſide, and then join the conqueror. His project was univerſally approved, and all, who were preſent, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to conceal his deſign and obey his orders. In the mean time, both armies marched out of their intrenchments, and, while

Tullus makes war upon the Veientes.

The treachery of the Albans.

[z] Liv. & Dio. Hal. ibid.

while they were in motion, Fuffetius, leaving the place he had been poſted in, retired with his men to a riſing ground. Tullus being appriſed of his deſertion, in that diſtreſs made privately a vow to add twelve prieſts to the college of the Salii, and to build a temple to fear and paleneſs; and then diſſembling his fear, cried out with a loud voice, which was heard both by his own men and by the enemy; Courage, friends, we have conquered; it is by my order, that the Albans are poſſeſſing themſelves of the hill, whence they are to fall down upon the enemy. The confidence of the king inſpired his troops with courage; and the Fidenates and Veientes on the other hand, looking on the inaction of the Albans as ſuſpicious, began to diſtruſt them. And thus the diſcouragement one army was under, and the valour of the other, decided the day. The Roman cavalry fell upon the Fidenates with great reſolution, and obliged them to retire in diſorder to Fidenæ. Tullus, without loſing time in purſuing them, returned upon the Veientes, who, being diſheartened at the defeat of their allies, after a faint reſiſtance betook themſelves to flight, and periſhed for the moſt part either in the Tiber, while they attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, or on the banks of that river by the ſwords of the Romans, who overtook them [a]. Then Fuffetius, coming down from his hill, fell upon the remains of the diſperſed Fidenates and Veientes. But Tullus, concealing his knowledge of Fuffetius's treachery, went privately in the night to Rome to conſult the ſenate, and returned to the camp by break of day. He then detached Horatius, who had conquered the three Albans, with a choſen body of horſe and foot to demoliſh Alba, as had been concerted with the ſenate. While theſe orders were executing, Tullus commanded both the Roman and Alban troops to attend him unarmed; but with private inſtructions to the Romans to bring their ſwords concealed under their garments. When they were all aſſembled, he laid open the perfidiouſneſs and treachery of Fuffetius in a long ſpeech; and in the concluſion ordered him to be faſtened to two chariots drawn by horſes, and to be torn aſunder. His accomplices were all put to the ſword; but the reſt of the Alban ſoldiers were carried to Rome with the citizens, and the chief men among them were even admitted into the Roman ſenate. Others were promoted to the dignity of knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges

Alba demoliſhed and the inhabitants tranſplanted to Rome.

[a] Liv. l. i. c. 27. Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 165.

privileges of Roman citizens [b]. Thus fell the city of Alba, famous for its riches, the number of its inhabitants, and above all for being the mother of Rome. This new encreaſe of inhabitants obliged Tullus to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount Cœlius, allowing the Albans to ſettle there and built on the ſame hill his own palace. The next ſpring he marched againſt the Fidenates, defeated them in a pitched battle, and having obliged them to ſhelter themſelves within their walls, by cutting off all ſuccours and proviſions, reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion. The ring-leaders of the revolt were puniſhed, but the reſt ſuffered to continue in their native city, under the ſame form of government, only dependent upon Rome. So complete a victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the ſpoils of the conquered enemy were carried before him as trophies.

Tullus defeats the Fidenates.

As the power and wealth of Rome were much encreaſed by theſe repeated victories and the deſtruction of Alba, Tullus demanded ſatisfaction of the Sabines, who were a very powerful nation for the inſults which had been formerly offered to ſome Roman citizens at the temple of the goddeſs Feronia, which ſtood at the foot of mount Soracte, upon the banks of the Tiber, and was frequented both by the Sabines and the Romans (W). The Sabines, having ſolicited in vain the neighbouring nations to join them, kept themſelves for ſome time on the defenſive only. But at length, being provoked by Tullus, who laid waſte their country, they came to an engagement, which proved ſo bloody, that both nations, terrified with the numbers of their ſlain, retired into their reſpective countries, without attempting any thing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with

[b] Dio. Hal. p. 171. Liv. ibid.

(W) The goddeſs Feronia preſided over foreſts, gardens, and orchards, and is thought by ſome to be the ſame with Flora or Proſerpine. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, who came to pay their homage, and make offerings to the deity, which they worſhipped in common. A fair was kept annually near her temple, and the preceding years ſome Roman citizens had been on that occaſion robbed, and kept in captivity by the Sabines, who refuſed to ſet them at liberty, when demanded by their country, ſaying, that the Romans had uſed them in the ſame manner, by opening an aſylum, and peopling Rome with their fugitives.

with more fury than before. Both armies met in the neighbourhood of Eretum, a town about thirteen miles from Rome, and fought with incredible fury, victory inclining to neither ſide, till Tullus, giving his men new courage, by making a vow to inſtitute on the ſame day a feſtival in honour of Saturn and Ops (X), gained a complete victory. The conquered had no other recourſe, but to implore the clemency of the conqueror; and Tullus, whoſe bare name made them tremble, granted them a peace upon his own terms [c].

Gains a complete victory.

Tullus, fluſhed with ſucceſs, ſummoned all the Latin towns, which had been dependent on Alba, to ſubmit to the Roman laws, and follow the fortune of their metropolis. Upon this it was reſolved in a general aſſembly of the Latins held at Feronium, that they ſhould not by any means ſubmit to Rome, but to the utmoſt of their power maintain their antient independency. Two generals were elected by the aſſembly,

[c] Dio. Hal. p. 175.

(X) The feſtivals of Saturn and Ops, or Rhea, were kept in the month of December, under the name of Saturnalia and Opalia, which were, properly ſpeaking, one and the ſame ſolemnity, continued for ſeveral days together. The feſtival appropriated to Saturn was fixed to the ſixteenth of the calends of January, and that of Ops to the fourteenth. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus aſcribes the origin of them to Tullus Hoſtilius's vow. But Macrobius aſſures us, that they were celebrated in Italy long before the building of Rome (61). Servants had at this time a right of being ſerved by their maſters, wearing their cloaths, and reproving them for their faults. In this ſenſe Horace encourages his ſervant to ſpeak his mind freely, applying himſelf to him thus:

Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere: narra (62).

This, according to ſome, was done in memory of the liberty enjoyed in the golden age, before the names of ſervant and maſter were known. Beſides, friends at this time ſent preſents to one another: no war was to be proclaimed, and no offender executed. One day only was kept at firſt, the fourteenth of the calends of January; but the number was afterwards encreaſed to three, four, five, and, ſome ſay, to ſeven days (63).

(61) Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 7. (62) Horat. l. ii. ſatir. 7. (63) Lipſius ſaturnal. l. i. c. 3.

aſſembly, viz. Ancus Publicius of Cora and Spurius Vecilius of Lavinium, to whom a full power was granted of declaring war or making peace, as they ſhould think fit. However, the Romans did not think it adviſeable to make war upon them in a regular manner; they contented themſelves with making inroads and incurſions, and deſtroying their harveſt. Medulia alone, which had received a colony in Romulus's time, and had now joined the Latins, was taken, and, as was then thought, put out of a condition of ever taking up arms again [d]. Takes Medulia, a Latin city.

SOME years after, the Sabines, thinking themſelves in a condition to repair their antient loſſes, invaded the Roman territories, and dividing themſelves into ſmall parties, overran the whole country. As they met with little oppoſition, they began to entertain thoughts of laying ſiege to Rome. But Tullus, marching out againſt them, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made them once more ſenſible of the ſuperiority of Rome. Defeats the Sabines a ſecond time.

TULLUS, being now advanced in years, fell into ſuperſtition, and was eaſily impoſed upon by ſtories of prodigies and voices from heaven. Sometimes they told him, that it had rained ſtones on the hill of Alba, and ſometimes that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the Albans to reſume their antient ceremonies. The king believed theſe prodigies, and appointed expiatory ſacrifices for nine days, which gave riſe to the cuſtom of employing nine days to appeaſe heaven as often as men were alarmed with prodigies of this kind. As to the manner of his death, authors diſagree; ſome tell us, that he was killed by lightning, with his wife, children, and his whole family (Y); others are of opinion, that he died by the hands of Ancus Marcius, his ſucceſſor, who ſlew him and his whole family, while they were performing a domeſtic ſacrifice, and then ſet fire to the palace His death.

[d] Idem ibid.

(Y) He is ſaid by ſome to have ſtudied magic, and to have hid himſelf in a private place to perform a magical ſacrifice; but that, omitting ſome part of the neceſſary ceremonies, he ſo incenſed the god, to whom he was ſacrificing, that the enraged divinity ſet his palace on fire by lightning, and deſtroyed his wife and children in the flames (64).

(64) Dio. Hal. p. 176.

palace to conceal his crime. He died after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving the city greatly encreaſed, but the dominions much the ſame as they had been in the time of Romulus. As he was looked upon as a man ſtruck by the gods, we find no mention in hiſtory of honours decreed to his aſhes or even of the place of his burial.

Ancus Marcius. Year of the flood, 2366. Before Chriſt 633. Of Rome, 115.

AFTER a ſhort inter-regnum, the people and ſenate unanimouſly choſe Ancus (Z) Marcius, the grandſon of Numa, by his daughter Pompilia and Marcius his relation, the ſon of that Marcius, who perſuaded Numa to accept of the kingdom, and afterwards killed himſelf, becauſe he was choſe

(Z) Every Roman had, generally ſpeaking, three and ſometimes four, names: the firſt was called prænomen, the ſecond nomen, the third cognomen, and the fourth agnomen. The nomen ſhewed the family, from which he was ſprung; the prænomen and cognomen were often nick-names, taken from the circumſtances of the perſon's birth, or his defects, or bodily qualities; and the agnomen was a title of honour; as Africanus, Germanicus, &c. Thus the prince of the Roman orators was called Marcus Tullius Cicero. The prænomen Marcus ſignified that he was born in the month of March; his nomen, or name Tullius, was that of his family, and his cognomen, or ſurname Cicero, alluded to the mark or wart he had in his face, which was like a vetch, called by the Latin cicer. Valerius tells us, that Marcius had the name of Ancus from the Greek word ἀγκων, becauſe he had a crooked arm, which he could not ſtretch out to its full length. We muſt obſerve here, that the ingenui alone, or thoſe, who were free born, were allowed to take three names. Hence Juvenal,

Si quid tentaveris unquam
Hiſcere, tanquam habeas tria nomina, &c. (65).

For the ſlaves in antient times had no name, but what they borrowed from the prænomen of their maſters; as Lucipor, Publipor, Marcipor, that is, Lucii puer, Publii puer, &c. Or the ſlave of Lucius, of Publius &c. When this cuſtom grew out of faſhion, the ſlaves were uſually called by ſome name of their own, which was often taken from their country, as Syrus, Geta, &c. Upon their manumiſſion they took the prænomen and nomen of their maſters; but inſtead of the cognomen made uſe of their former name, as Marcus Tullius Tiro, the freed-man of Cicero. After the ſame manner it was cuſtomary for any foreigner, who had been made free of Rome, to bear the prænomen and nomen of the perſon by whoſe means he had obtained that privilege.

(65) Juvenal. ſat. 5. v. 126.

choſe in his room. The new king began his reign, by endeavouring to reſtore the religious ceremonies, which had been neglected in the laſt reign, to their former uſe, and to revive huſbandry, adviſing his ſubjects to lay aſide all ſorts of violence, and to return to their peaceable employments. Notwithſtanding this ſeeming inclination to peace, Ancus in his heart loved war, and was deſirous of the honours of a triumph. However, the love he affected for the arts of peace, gained him the affections of his ſubjects; but at the ſame time drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations. The Latins were the firſt, who made him give way to his martial inclination. Theſe, pretending that their treaty with the Romans was no longer binding, than while king Tullus lived, made inroads into the territories of Rome. Ancus therefore reſolved to be revenged on them; but, out of reſpect to the laws of Numa, omitted no ceremony in declaring war, which that law-giver had appointed (A). He then took the field with an army conſiſting entirely

His war with the Latins.

(A) The ceremonies were as follow: A fecialis was ſent to the Latins, to demand ſatisfaction; he no ſooner arrived on their borders, but he cried out, Great Jupiter, and ye confines of the Latin nation, hearken to juſtice. I come hither with a deputation from the Roman people in all the legal forms; and I demand that credit be given to what I ſay. After this formal declaration, he laid open his demands; and then, calling Jupiter to witneſs the truth of what he ſaid, he purſued thus: If I have unjuſtly and impiouſly made theſe demands, may'ſt thou, great god, never ſuffer me to return to my own country. He repeated theſe words at his entering the Latin territority; then to the firſt perſon he met; afterwards at the gate of the city; and laſtly, in the market-place. If in about thirty days his demands were not ſatisfied, he added to what he had ſaid before; O Jupiter, hear, thou Romulus, and all ye gods of heaven, of earth, and of hell, hearken; I call you all to witneſs, that the Latins are unjuſt. We will therefore enter into deliberations at Rome on the proper means of obliging them to give us juſt ſatisfaction. No ſooner was the fecialis returned, but the king referred the affair to the ſenate, addreſſing himſelf, according to the form preſcribed by Numa, to each particular ſenator in theſe words: Say, what think you of the refuſal, which the pater patratus and the whole nation of the Latins have given the pater patratus of the Romans, of reſtoring and granting us what we demanded of them? To which each ſenator gave this anſwer: Let us again demand our rights by a juſt

ly of new-raiſed troops, marched to Politorium (B) a Latin city, and made himſelf maſter of the place before the Latins could relieve it. He ſpared the city, and only tranſplanted the inhabitants to Rome, ſettling them with thoſe of Tillena and Ficana, two other cities of Latium, which he likewiſe took, on the hill Aventinus. The next year he retook Politorium, which the Latins had repeopled, and upon his ſecond reduction demoliſhed it entirely. He then laid ſiege to Medulia, a place of great ſtrength, which he took, after having led his troops four years ſucceſſively againſt it. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Ficana, deſtroying it with fire and ſword. This city he had taken in the beginning of the war; but, having neglected to demoliſh it, the Latins had poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he reduced it the ſecond time. The Latins, enraged, but not diſcouraged, at their loſſes, made great preparations, and took the field, with all the forces they could draw together. But Ancus, having defeated them in a pitched battle, obliged them to ſue for a peace, and triumphed at Rome for the advantages he had gained over them. The Fidenates, Veientes, and Volſci, felt likewiſe the effects of his martial diſpoſition. The Fidenates had revolted

And the Fidenates, Sabines, Veintes, and Volſci.

a juſt and lawful war. This is the opinion, for which I declare. When the greater part of the ſenators had thus declared their opinion, the war was conſidered as unanimouſly agreed on. Then the fecialis went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was dipped in blood, and either headed with iron, or burnt at the end. When he arrived on the territories of the Latins, he pronounced the following form of words in the preſence of at leaſt three perſons, not under fourteen years of age: On account of the damages which the Latin nation has done the Roman people, and in obedience to a decree made by the ſenate and people of Rome, importing that war be declared againſt the Latins; I and the Roman people declare it, and begin it. At theſe words he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands (66). 'Tis to be obſerved here, that at this time no uſe was made of the king's name or authority; he never being mentioned, but only the ſenate and people.

(B) It is not eaſy to aſcertain the true ſituation of Politorium, Tillena, and Ficana. All we know of them is, that they were all three of them Latin cities, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, not far from the mouth of the Tiber.

(66) Liv. l. i. c. 32.

revolted during the Latin war; and it was no ſooner ended, than Ancus marched againſt them, and took their city by ſap; this being the firſt inſtance we meet with in the Roman hiſtory of that kind of attack. The king dug a way under-ground from his camp quite under the walls of Fidenæ; and his men, having by that means got into the city without being obſerved, opened the gates to their companions, and put Ancus in poſſeſſion of the place, in which he left a ſtrong garriſon, after having cauſed thoſe to be put to death, who had been moſt active in the revolt. He next marched againſt the Sabines, who had renewed their hoſtilities, defeated their united forces, and granted them a peace upon honourable terms. Over the Veientes he obtained two complete victories, for which a triumph was decreed him by the ſeuate [e].

The Janiculum taken in.

ROME was greatly enlarged in this king's reign; for he not only carried the walls round the Aventine hill, but alſo incloſed the hill Janiculum, which ſtood on the other ſide of the Tiber, and made it a fort of citadel for Rome. In order to open a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge Sublicius (C) over the Tiber, where it waſhes the foot of the Aventine hill. He likewiſe made a large ditch, called Foſſa Quiritium, which was no ſmall defence againſt thoſe who came from the plains. And now, the city having received a vaſt encreaſe, Ancus, to ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs of ſuch multitudes of people, built a large priſon in the Roman forum. But he did not content himſelf with enlarging the city; he likewiſe extended its dominions; for having taken from the Veientes the Meſian foreſt, the territories of Rome reached quite to the ſea, where he built the port and city of

[e] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 172. Liv. ibid.

(C) Some writers derive the name Sublicius from the piles on which it ſtood, that being the import of the Latin word Sublica; others from the antient word licio, which ſignifies to join. Neither iron nor copper were made uſe of in building this bridge; both being equally prohibited, if we believe Plutarch, by an antient oracle. The care of keeping it in good repair belonged firſt to the pontifices, and afterwards to the quæſtors. It was the firſt bridge that was built over the Tiber, and perhaps in Italy.

Oſtia built. of Oſtia to ſecure the advantages of trade to his ſubjects. About this town he cauſed many ſalt pits to be dug; and the diſtribution of ſalt, which he made among his ſubjects at this time, gave riſe to thoſe liberalities, called congiaria, from the word congius, a meaſure uſed among the antient Romans. He rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius after a more ſtately and magnificent manner, and ſpent the latter years of his reign in improving the city and enriching the citizens. He died after a reign of twenty-four years; during which he ſhewed himſelf no-ways inferior to any of his predeceſſors in the arts either of peace or war. Plutarch ſays, he died a violent death, but is therein contradicted by moſt of the antients. Ancus left two ſons behind him, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, both under the tuition of Tarquin, not ſuſpecting that a ſtranger, who had lately ſettled at Rome, could gain

Ancus dies. the ſuffrages of the people in competition with his ſon, and place the crown on his own head. Tarquinius was

An account of Tarquin's family. the ſon of a rich merchant of Corinth, who, to ſecure his great wealth from the rapines of Cypſelus, the tyrant of that place, had left his native country, and ſettled in Tarquinii, one of the moſt famous cities of Hetruria. There he married a woman of diſtinction, and had by her two ſons, to whom he gave Hetrurian names, calling the one Arunx, and the other Leucumo. Arunx, who was the eldeſt, died before his father; and though he left his wife with child, yet his father, not knowing it and dying ſoon after, left his whole eſtate to Leucumo, his ſecond ſon. So that the poſthumous ſon of Arunx was diſinherited before he was born; and therefore took the name of Egerius from egere, to want. Leucumo, being now in poſſeſſion of his father's immenſe riches, aſpired to the higheſt dignities in Tarquinii, his wife Tanaquil, who was o a noble extraction, ſtirring up his ambition. But, being looked upon in Hetruria as a ſtranger, he was debarred from riſing to any conſiderable poſt in the country where h dwelt. Rouzed therefore by the reproaches of the aſpiring Tanaquil, he reſolved to remove to Rome, where tw Sabines had been raiſed to the throne, and where perſona merit was the ſureſt and only means of arriving at th

fir

firſt dignities of the ſtate (D). He was no ſooner admitted citizen of Rome, but he endeavoured to appear entirely Roman, changing the prænomen of Leucumo into Lucius, and the nomen, or name, Damaratus, which ſavoured too much of the Greek, into Tarquinius, borrowed from Tarquinii, where he had been brought up. As for the cognomen of Priſcus, or Old, it was not probably given him till after his death, when it was uſed to diſtinguiſh him from the other Tarquin. The polite and engaging behaviour of the Greek, now become a Roman, ſoon gained him the favour of the people, and made him known in the court of Ancus, into whoſe favour he artfully inſinuated himſelf; and left his immenſe riches ſhould create ſuſpicions, in a city which was yet poor, he offered to depoſit them in the public treaſury to ſupply the wants of the public. As he was well appriſed that military exploits were a ſure ſtep to great honours, he not only coutributed to the expences of the war out of his eſtate, but in all expeditions diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner. In the war with the Latins he fought on foot, and againſt the Veientes ſignalized himſelf at the head of the Roman cavalry; ſo that the king, in conſideration of his gallant behaviour, raiſed him to the rank of a patrician and ſenator. As he was no leſs prudent in council, than formidable in arms, he ſhone in the ſenate from his firſt admiſſion into it; and his advice was always followed by the king in military expeditions [f].

TARQUIN, looking upon the death of Ancus as a critical time to attempt mounting the throne, brought on the election with the utmoſt expediton, and cauſed the curiæ to be

[f] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 184, 185.

(D) The ſucceſs which attended the new comers, gave riſe to the following fable; viz. that as Tarquin was on the road with his wife in an open chariot, an eagle appearing over his head at the foot of the janiculum, ſnatched off his hat, and, ſoaring up again, was loſt for ſome time among the clouds; but at length came down again with great rapidity, and left the hat on Leucumo's head. Hereupon Tanaquil, who is ſaid to have been ſkilled in the art of augury, embracing her huſband with tenderneſs, in a tranſport of joy, explained to him the happy preſage of his future grandeur (67).

(67) Liv. ubi ſupra.

ſummoned before young Marcius was quite fifteen. For the greater precaution, he took care to keep his pupil out of the ſight of the people during the comitia; and for that purpoſe ſent him into the country on a hunting match. In the mean time, he carried on his intrigues, and gained ſome by money, others by promiſes. He was the firſt who introduced into Rome the cuſtom of ſoliciting for offices, and making intereſt to obtain them, the Romans having till his time concealed from the world the deſire they had of obtaining the higheſt poſts. But the Greek, who was above theſe timorous ſcruples, plainly begged the kingdom in an harangue, which he made to the people, urging the example of Tatius and Numa, the firſt an enemy as well as a ſtranger, and the ſecond wholly unacquainted with the city; whereas he was not only a friend to the Romans, but had ſpent all his riches among them, and was ſo well acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of Rome, that the late king had employed him in affairs both civil and military of the greateſt conſequence.

Tarquin elected king. Year after the flood, 2390. Before Chriſt 609. Of Rome 139.

Then he cunningly inſinuated his paſt ſervices, and as the people had a high opinion of his merit, they commanded him, for that was the term then uſed, to take upon him the management of public affairs. In the beginning of his reign, to ſtrengthen his party in the ſenate, and reward thoſe who had ſhewn moſt zeal in his election, he created an hundred new ſenators, who were called Senatores Minorum gentium, becauſe choſen out of the plebeian families. However, they had the ſame authority in the ſenate as the other ſenators, and their children were deemed patricians.

His war with the Latins.

His firſt war was with the Latins, from whom he took the cities of Apiolæ, Cruſtuminum, Nomentum, and Collatia. The inhabitants of Apiolæ were ſold for ſlaves; but thoſe of Cruſtuminum and Nomentum, having ſubmited after their revolt, were treated with great clemency. Collatia, which was more obſtinate, met with a more ſevere treatment: the inhabitants were diſarmed, and obliged to pay a large ſum of money. As for the city, he thought he might diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed, and therefore gave the ſovereignty of it to Egerius, his brother Arunx's ſon, who from thence took the name of Collatinus, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. Corniculum was likewiſe beſieged, taken by ſtorm, and reduced to aſhes. Tarquin's progreſs alarmed the other cites of Latium; ſeveral of them united their forces againſt the common enemy, but they were defeated

de^feated in a bloody battle near Fidenæ, and obliged to enter into an alliance with the conqueror. Hereupon a national aſſembly of all the Latins being held at Ferentinum, it was reſolved, that they ſhould employ all their ſtrength to oppoſe the torrent that threatened them. Purſuant to this reſolution, they drew together what forces they could, and, having engaged all Sabinia and great part of Hetruria to join them, took the field with a very numerous army. But Tarquin, having defeated the confederate armies in two actions, forced thoſe Latin cities which had refuſed his alliance, to ſue for it, and ſubmit to a ſort of dependence upon Rome [g]. Tarquin, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph. The ſpoils he had taken in the conquered cities of Latium, eſpecially in Apiolæ, he employed in building a circus for the Roman games, otherwiſe called the great games (E). The Circus Maximus built.

[g] Dio. Hal. l. iii. p. 188, 189, 190.

(E) As Tarquin was of a Greek family, he was the firſt who thought of building a circus at Rome in imitation of the chief cities of Greece. For the firſt circus we read of was built at Elis, where the olympic games were celebrated, and ſerved as a pattern for all the reſt. Livy aſſures us, that the Roman games were alſo called the great games, but we muſt not infer from thence, that all the ſports, which were celebrated in the circus, and called Circenſes, were the great games. Some were celebrated in the circus in honour of Ceres, Apollo, &c. which were different from the Roman or great games; as were alſo the Megalenſes. For the former were celebrated before the nones of April, and the latter on the eve of the nones of September. Beſides, the great games were celebrated in honour of the great gods; whence they were called the great games; and the latter in honour of Cybele. Laſtly, the great games were inſtituted by Tarquinius Priſcus, and the Megalenſes not till the time of Junius Brutus, who appointed them in honour of Cybele, then called Μεγαλησια, or the great goddeſs. As to the name of circus, which was given to the magnificent ſtructure raiſed by Tarquin, ſome derive it from the word circulus, a circle, part of it being built in that ſhape. Others will have it to have been ſo named, becauſe the chariots, that diſputed the prize, were obliged to run ſeven times round the poſts, which were at each end of it. The poets mention only ſeven rounds, without expreſsly ſaying, whether they were about ſeveral poſts, or one only. But Caſſiodorus tells us in expreſs words, that it was neceſſary to turn round ſeven different poſts. However, it

The place choſe for the circus was the Myrtian or Murtian valley, which reached from the Aventine to the Palatine hill (F).

Tarquin ſubdues the twelve leucumonies of Hetruria.

THE war with the Latins was ſcarce ended, when all Hetruria combined againſt Tarquin, on account of his detaining it is generally thought, that there was but one poſt, round which the charioteers were obliged to drive ſeven times. From this turning round ſome derive the word circus. But Tertullian (68) pretends, that the Roman Circus took its name from Circe, the fabulous daughter of the ſun, and imagines, that ſhe was the firſt who invented the Circenſian ſports, intending by them to repreſent the courſe of the ſun her father, running round the globe of the earth in a chariot drawn by four horſes.

The circus had four fronts; one at the bottom, where the poſts ſtood; one at the oppoſite end, where the chariots ſtarted, and one at each ſide, whence the ſpectators beheld the ſhews. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus tells us, that this circus was three ſtades and a half long, and four jugera broad, and that one hundred and fifty thouſand men could ſit in it at their eaſe. Pliny (69) tells us, that the Roman ſtadium contained ſix hundred twenty five Roman feet, each of which contained twelve inches, or ſixteen fingers-breadths; ſo that the circus, as it was, according to the above-mentioned writer, three ſtadia and a half long, muſt have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſeven Roman feet in length. As it was four jugera broad, each of which contained, according to Pliny, two hundred and forty Roman feet, it is from thence manifeſt, that the circus was nine hundred ſixty Roman feet broad, and conſequently above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the circus was ſomewhat more than three Engliſh furlongs. It was called the great circus, either on account of its vaſt circumference, or becauſe the great games were celebrated in it, or, perhaps, becauſe it was conſecrated to the great gods, viz. to Vertumnus, Neptune, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and eſpecially to the Dii Penates of Rome, which were in a ſpecial manner called the great gods This circus was extremely beautified and adorned by the Roman emperors, in whoſe times it was enlarged to ſuch a prodigious extent, that it contained in their proper ſeats two hundred and fifty thouſand ſpectators (70).

(F) This valley was ſo called, according to ſome, from a temple erected to a goddeſs of that name at the foot of the Aventine hill. Others ſtyle it Myrtea from a temple built in that place to Venus, ſurnamed Myrtea, becauſe the myrtle was conſecrated to her.

(68) Tertull. de ſpectac. (69) Plin. l. i. c. 3. (70) Plin. l. xxxiv.

detaining the embaſſadors, whom they had ſent to demand back ſome priſoners of theirs. It was even decreed in a general aſſembly of the twelve leucumonies, that if any city of Hetruria ſtood neuter, it ſhould be for ever cut off from the general alliance. Having by this means raiſed a conſiderable army, they took the field, ravaged the Roman territory, and made themſelves maſters of Fidenæ by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants. The king did not appear the firſt year in the field, but quietly ſuffered them to go on without oppoſition, chuſing rather to let them triumph for a time, than to encounter them without the neceſſary preparations. The next year he armed all his legions, and, having applied to his allies for ſuccours, took the field early in the ſpring, aud divided his army into two bodies. The Romans he commanded himſelf, and placed his couſin Collatinus at the head of the allies. Collatinus was defeated, while, preſuming too much on his ſtrength, he divided his army to plunder the enemy's country. But the king with his Romans made a more fortunate campaign, having routed the Hetrurians firſt near Veii, and afterwards under the walls of Cære. As Fidenæ was a key to the Roman dominions, Tarquin marched againſt it with all his forces, put the Hetrurian army, that covered it, to the rout, and made himſelf maſter of that important place. Such of the Fidenates, as were ſuſpected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death, and the reſt ſent into baniſhment, and their lands divided by lot among the Roman ſoldiers. Then Tarquin haſtened to fall upon the Hetrurians once more, before the whole ſtrength of the new army they were raiſing could be got together. He came up with them near Eretum, ten miles from Rome, and overthrew them with great ſlaughter; for which victory the ſenate decreed him a triumph [h]. And now the leucumonies, deſpairing of any future ſucceſs againſt the Romans, ſent deputies to the king, with an unlimited commiſſion to conclude a peace upon any terms whatſoever. As Tarquin was naturally inclined to clemency, and followed that inclination when he found it noways prejudicial to his ambition, he granted them a peace without inſiſting upon any other condition than their owning his ſovereignty over them. The Hetrurians readily

[h] Idem, p. 192.

agreed to this, and, in proof of their accepting the king of Rome for their ſovereign, ſent him all the enſigns of royalty, which were in uſe among them, viz. a crown of gold, a throne of ivory, a ſceptre with an eagle on the top of it, a tunic embroidered with gold and adorned with figures of palm-branches (G), and a purple robe enriched with

(G) This the Latins called Tunica Palmata, which we ought to diſtinguiſh from the Tunica Picta. The former was not, properly ſpeaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a veſt, which was partly hid under the robe. It had at firſt no ſleeves, and afterwards but very ſhort ones. As all the Romans wore tunics, they ſhewed the difference of their rank by that of their tunics. Some ſewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were ſtuck on like the heads of nails; and hence came the word Laticlavium. Only the chief magiſtrates, ſenators, and generals of the army, were allowed to wear theſe. The inferior magiſtrates, the Roman knights, and ſome other officers in the army, wore indeed tunics with purple flowers; but theſe flowers were ſmaller than the others; and from thence comes the name Angufticlavium. Thoſe who triumphed, inſtead of embroidered flowers, wore purple palm-branches upon their tunics or tunicæ palmatæ. As to the Toga picta, ſome think it was a robe common among the Romans, only of a purple colour: and as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a very long mantle hanging in great folds quite down to the ground, which they put upon their right ſhoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. The robes of the ſenators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their tunics; and thoſe of the knights with ſmaller. The robes of thoſe who triumphed were probably adorned with palm-branches, as well as their tunics. At leaſt, it is certain, they were made of rich ſtuffs, and were called togæ pictæ. Two peſons only had ever the priviledge of wearing them out of a triumph, viz. Paulus Æmilius and Pompey.

We have followed here the moſt common opinion with relation to the Laticlavium and Angufticlavium, about which critics are ſtrangely divided. Some are of opinion, that the clavi were a kind of flowers interwoven in the cloth; others will have them to be the buttons or claſps by which the tunic was held together. A third ſort pretend, that the Latus clavus was nothing but a tunic bordered with purple. Scaliger thinks the clavi did not belong to the veſt, but hung down from the neck, like chains and ornaments of that nature. Rubenius endeavours to refute all theſe conjectures, and to prove that the clavi were no more than purple lines or ſtreakes in the middle of the garment. According to that author they did not receive the name of clavi, as an immediate alluſion to the heads of nails, to which he ſays, they bore no reſemblance, but were ſo called from their being

with flowers of ſeveral colours. However, Tarquin deferred wearing theſe ſtately ornaments, till ſuch time as the people and ſenate had conſented to it by an expreſs law. He then applied theſe regalia to the decoration of his triumph, and never after laid them aſide. In his triumph he appeared in a gilt chariot drawn by four horſes, cloathed in a purple robe and a tunic embroidered with gold, attended by twelve lictors, with their axes and faſces, with a crown on his head, and a ſceptre in his hand. Thus ended the war with the Hetrurians, after it had laſted nine years.

His triumph.

TARQUIN having now an interval of reſt from his wars, applied all his thoughts to the beautifying, cleanſing, and fortifying of the city. He built the walls of Rome with hewn ſtone, and thoſe famous common-ſewers, which have been ſince looked upon as one of the wonders of the world (H). He likewiſe adorned the forum, ſurrounding it

Applies himſelf to the beautifying of Rome.

being of a different colour from the reſt of the garment. For the Romans, ſays that writer, uſed to inlay their cups, and other precious utenſils, with ſtuds of gold, or other ornamental materials. Theſe, from their likeneſs to nail-heads, they called in general clavi. So that it was very natural to bring the ſame word to ſignify theſe lines of purple, or other colours, which were different from all the reſt of the garment, as thoſe clavi were of a different colour and figure from the veſſels, which they adorned. A modern critic, of no mean character (71). tells us, that the clavi were nothing elſe but purple galoons, with which they bordered the fore-part of the tunic on both ſides in the place where it came together. The broad galoons, ſays he, made the Laticlavium, and the narrow the Angufticlavium. As to the name of clavi, he thinks the antients gave that name to any thing that was made with a deſign to be put upon another.

(H) Pliny, who did not examine them till near eight hundred years after they were built, could not ſpeak of them without admiration (72). Rome contained at that time four hills within its compaſs, viz. Palatinus, Tarpeius, Quirinalis, and Cœlius. In the vallies between theſe hills the rain-water and ſprings uniting, formed great pools, which laid under water the ſtreets and public places. The mud likewiſe made the way impaſſable, infected

(71) Dacier. in Horat. l. ii. ſat. 5.

(72) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 15.

it with galleries, in which were ſhops for tradeſmen, and building temples in it with ſchools for the youth of both ſexes, and halls for the adminiſtration of public juſtice.

His war with the Sabines.

THE king had ſcarce ended theſe works, when he engaged in a war with the Sabines, under pretence that they had aſſiſted the Hetrurians. Both armies took the field, and came to an engagement on the confines of Sabinia, which laſted the whole day without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; inſomuch, that the generals, ſtanding in awe of each other, retired to their reſpective camps, and ſoon after returned home, without attempting any thing elſe that campaign. Tarquin employed the winter in making the neceſſary preparations againſt the next year. He conſidered, that he had been often prevented from purſuing the advantages of a victory for want of horſe. For though the infantry was very numerous, the cavalry continued on the ſame foot, on which Romulus had left it. He therefore reſolved to add ſome new bodies of knights to thoſe of the firſt inſtitution. In any ſtate leſs ſuperſtitious than that of the Romans, this deſign would have been put in execution without any diſpute. But in Rome the innovation, which Tarquin had a mind to introduce, met with great oppoſition. As the firſt diviſion of the horſe into three bodies had been determined by auguries. Actius Nævius, the moſt famous augur infected the air, and rendered the city unhealthy. This prompted Tarquin to undertake the cleanſing of the city from its filth, by conveying off the waters through ſubterraneous canals into the Tiber. He made all the arches of theſe common-ſewers of hard ſtone, and ſpared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable. Their height and breadth were ſo conſiderable, that a cart loaded with hay could eaſily paſs through them under-ground. But what moſt encreaſed the difficulty of the work, was the conveying of the waters, which through theſe ſewers were to carry off the filth, into the Tiber. It was neceſſary to cut through hills, and under the city through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable ſtream and covered with arches ſtrong enough to bear the weight of houſes, which were often built upon them, and ſtood as firm as on the moſt ſolid foundations. The expence of this great work was never ſo well underſtood, as when it came to be repaired. For the cenſors gave no leſs than a thouſand talents to the perſon who undertook the cleanſing of it.

augur of that time, obſtinately withſtood the king's will, and took upon him the defence of Romulus's inſtitution. Tarquin could not perſuade himſelf, that the augur was ſerious in his oppoſition; and therefore commanded him to be brought into his preſence, fully reſolved to confound and diſcredit the diviner in the art, which ſuperſtition maintained to the diminution of the royal authority. As ſoon as Nævius appeared before Tarquin, in the midſt of the forum, and in the ſight of all the people; "Canſt thou diſcover by thy "art, diviner," ſaid the king, "whether what I am think-"ing of can be done, or not? Go and conſult thy birds." The augur did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, anſwered with great compoſure; "Yes, Tarquin, my art "tells me, that what you are thinking of may be done." Upon this the king, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous ſmile; "I was thinking whether it was poſſible to "cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy "own craft; the introducing of the gods into thy deciſions "is all cheat and impoſture. If thou canſt perform what "is impoſſible, do. At theſe words the people burſt out a laughing. But Nævius, without diſcovering the leaſt ſurpriſe, addreſſed the king with an air of aſſurance, and ſaid "Put the razor to the flint, and try; I readily ſubmit "to any puniſhment, if you don't do what you thought "on." The king did as he was directed, and ſaw, to his great ſurprize, the flint give way to the edge of the razor, which cut through it with ſo much eaſe, that it reached the king's hand, and drew blood from it [i]. Livy ſays, that Nævius took the flint into his own hand, and cut it in Tarquin's preſence [k]. Be that as it will, the people teſtified their ſurpriſe by loud acclamations; and Tarquin, turning his contempt for augury into admiration, laid aſide his project of encreaſing the number of the corps of horſe, and contented himſelf with augmenting the number of the knights of each corps, making the Roman cavalry amount in all to eighteen hundred men. From this time no determination was made, either in the camp or city, without the approbation of the augurs. As for Nævius, Tarquin erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory in the comitium, which continued there till Auguſtus's time. The razor and

The adventure of Nævius the augur.

[i] Dio. Hal. p. 203. [k] Liv. l. i. c. 36.

and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried near it, under an altar, at which witneſſes were afterwards ſworn in civil cauſes. This event, tho' related with ſo many circumſtances, atteſted by all the writers of the Roman hiſtory, and adopted by ſome of the fathers of the church, who impute it to magic, is without all doubt a mere fabulous invention, and was looked upon as ſuch by Tully, who, though himſelf an augur, writes of it thus: "Look with contempt (he ſpeaks to his brother "Quintus) on the razor and flint of the famous Attius; "when we reaſon as philoſophers, we ought to lay no "ſtreſs upon fables [1]."

Tarquin renews the war with the Sabines.

TARQUIN early in the ſpring took the field againſt the Sabines, who, having received conſiderable reinforcements from Hetruria, were beforehand with him, and had encamped near the conflux of the Anio and the Tiber. The Hetrurians were poſted on one bank of the Tiber, and the Sabines over-againſt them on the other. The confederate armies had a communication by a bridge of boats; and this Tarquin, who had encamped on a hill near the banks of the Anio, found means to ſet on fire, by ſending down the river flat-bottom'd boats, loaded with dry wood, ſulphur, and roſin. The Sabines haſtened to extinguiſh the flame, leaving, as is very frequent on ſuch unforeſeen and ſudden accidents, their camp unguarded. Then Tarquin, laying hold of this opportunity, attacked, and made himſelf maſter of it; while a detachment, which he had ſent out, having paſſed the Tiber in the night, came and fell ſuddenly on the camp of the Hetrurians. The enemy being thus attacked on both ſides, betook themſelves to flight, and in that confuſion periſhed, ſome by the flames, ſome by the ſword, and others by leaping into the river. By this means the arms of the enemy, which came floating down the ſtream, brought the news of the victory to Rome before the arrival of the couriers diſpatched by the king. After this victory, Tarquin, without allowing the enemy any reſpite, entered the territory of the Sabines; who, having with incredible expedition drawn together another army faced him a ſecond time; but being once more routed with great ſlaughter, they had at laſt recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror, and ſued for peace; but Tarquin did not think fit to grant them more than

[1] Cic. l. i. de divin.

than a truce, which was no ſooner expired, than they paſſed the Anio, and made incurſions on the Roman lands. Hereupon Tarquin, leaving the city, fell upon the free-booters, and having taken their booty from them, encamped with the few forces he had then with him over-againſt the enemy, while the reſt of the army haſtened after him. The Sabines, whoſe courage was not in the leaſt abated by their former misfortunes, did not fail to offer him battle; and the king, as ſoon as he was joined by the forces he expected, accepted the challenge. As the Sabines were no-ways inferior to the Romans, either in numbers or bravery, the victory continued doubtful, till a body of horſe, which Tarquin had detached before the battle, having taken a great compaſs, fell unexpectedly on the enemy's rear in the heat of the action. Then the Sabines, ſeized with a ſudden panic, betook themſelves to diſorderly flight. Few of them reached the neighbouring cities, their retreat being cut off on one ſide by the main body of the Roman army, and on the other by the detachment of horſe. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſwords of the conquerors, fled to their camp, which, though well fortified, was attacked and taken, almoſt without reſiſtance, by the Romans. Thus ended this campaign. The next year, the Sabines, having choſen a more experienced commander, appeared early in the field, but declined a battle. Tarquin, not thinking it ſafe to attack the enemy's camp, ſurrounded it on all ſides; and, by cutting off their communication with the neighbouring country, reduced the Sabines to the utmoſt extremity. The Romans looked upon them as a ſure prey; but the Sabine general, taking advantage of a dark and ſtormy night, marched his army out of it's entrenchments, and, without being obſerved, got out of the enemy's reach, leaving only in the camp ſome wounded men and a few cattle[m]; and thus the campaign ended.

THE next year, the Romans and Sabines appeared anew in the field, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for acting, and having encamped over-againſt each other, the two generals agreed to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle. As Tarquin had divided his army, which was very numerous, into three bodies, he commanded the Romans himſelf, put his nephew Arunx at the head of the Hetrurians, and gave the

[m] Idem, p. 197.

the command of the Latins and other allies to Servius Tullius, a foreigner, who from a ſlave was become a Roman citizen. The two armies engaged with the utmoſt fury, and fought the whole day with equal intrepidity and reſolution; but in the end the Romans gained the victory, after Tarquin had inſpired his men with freſh courage, by making a vow to build a magnificent temple in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The Sabines being routed and diſperſed, Tarquin entered their country, which now lay open to him; and having plundered their lands and open places, returned to Rome, loaded with booty and crowned with freſh glory. During the winter he made the neceſſary preparations for the beſieging of their fortified places, which was to be the work of the next campaign.

The Sabines ſubdued.

But in the mean time, the Sabines, deſpairing of ſucceſs, humbled themſelves ſo far as to ſend deputies to Tarquin, offering to put him in poſſeſſion of all their ſtrong-holds upon honourable conditions. The king treated them as favourably as he had done the Hetrurians, delivered up to them their priſoners without ranſom, and having taken poſſeſſion of their country, returned to Rome, and entered the city in triumph [n].

TARQUIN, being now advanced in years, thought only of enjoying the ſweets of repoſe, after his great labours and continual victories. However, mindful of the vow he had made to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, he levelled the top of the hill Tarpeius, marked out the

The temple of Jupiter, &c. on the capitol.

plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of that glorious ſtructure, which afterwards became the principal place of the Roman worſhip. And now the celebrated Nævius appeared again upon the ſtage. This augur, being conſulted about what part of Rome Jupiter would like beſt, declared for the hill Tarpeius, formerly Saturnius. But when they came to conſecrate the area, a difficulty aroſe about removing the gods, who had already altars on the hill, without giving them offence. By the help of augury all theſe gods were conſulted, and found willing to be removed, except the god Terminus and the goddeſs Youth, who inſiſted upon not being diſplaced, and were conſequently incloſed within the walls of the temple, which was afterwards conſecrated to Jupiter, his wife Juno, and his daughter Minerva. Not long after Nævius

[n] Idem ibid.

Nævius diſappeared; and as the manner as well as the author of his death were utterly unknown, the ſons of Ancus Martius endeavoured to fix the calumny on the king, and by that means ſtir up the people againſt him. But their accuſation being found groundleſs, the ſons of Ancus were deteſted for having calumniated their king, and delivered up to him by the incenſed multitude. Tarquin, who was naturally inclined to mercy, pardoned them, in conſideration of the favours he had received from their father. Motives of religion prompted him to be more ſevere on a proſtitute veſtal, by name Pinaria, whom he condemned to be buried alive. As this is the firſt inſtance we meet with of this kind of puniſhment, Tarquin is thought to have been the author of it. It was ever after inflicted on ſuch of thoſe prieſteſſes as diſhonoured their conſecration. However, the king did not ſhew leſs eſteem to the college of the veſtals, but on the contrary added two to their number, and encreaſed it to ſix °.

The ſons of Ancus conſpire the death of Tarquin.

As Tarquin was now about eighty years of age and drew near his end, the ambition of the ſons of Ancus grew daily more active. They had not forgot the arts, by which Tarquin had ſecured to himſelf their father's kingdom, and had long watched an opportunity of ſeizing it for themſelves. But finding it impoſſible to put their deſign in execution, they lived quietly under the government of Tarquin, till ſuch time as he began to take proper meaſures for the continuing of the crown in his family, by marrying one of his daughters to Servius Tullius. Then they ſet no bounds to their reſentment, but reſolved to put the king to death, before the intereſt of his ſon-in-law was well eſtabliſhed among the people. The method they took for the execution of their deſign was this: They hired two young men, who dreſſing themſelves like peaſants, with hatchets on their ſhoulders, as if they were wood-cleavers, began a feigned quarrel near the king's palace. Many of the conſpirators crouded about them under pretence of putting an end to the diſpute, which ſtill continued, till they got to the gate of the palace. Then they called out on the king for juſtice, and were brought before him by the officers of the court. At firſt they began to bawl and rail at each other, till they were reſtrained

° Idem, p. 204.

reſtrained by a lictor, and ordered to ſpeak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his ſtory, and while the king was wholly intent on what he ſaid, the other gve him a great blow on the head with his hatchet, and, leaving his weapon in the wound, fled with his companion out of the palace. But while ſome of the king's attendants haſtened to his aſſiſtance, others, purſuing the aſſaſſins, ſeized them. When they were put to the torture, they confeſſed that they had been employed by the ſons of Ancus. Queen Tanaquil, who had courage and wiſdom above her ſex, did not loſe her preſence of mind even at the ſight of her dying huſband. She immediately commanded the palace to be cleared of the crowd, and gave ſtrict orders, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be admitted within the gates. Then ſhutting herſelf up in the apartment of the expiring king, with her ſon-in-law Servius Tullius, his wife, and Ocriſia his mother, ſhe encouraged Servius to aſcend the throne. She then opened the window which looked into the ſtreet, where this ſudden accident had brought the people together; and, with an air of aſſurance, told them, that the wound was not deep; that the king was ſtunned with the ſudden blow, but was come to himſelf again, and hoped to have the pleaſure of ſeeing his people again very ſoon; but, in the mean time, ordered them to obey Servius Tullius, who would adminiſter juſtice to them, till the king was perfectly recovered. This wiſe diſſimulation of Tanaquil had all the ſucceſs ſhe could expect from it. The ſons of Ancus, believing that the king was ſtill alive, went of their own accord into baniſhment; ſo that the plot which perhaps would have ſucceeded, had the people ſeen Tarquin dead, was quite defeated, upon their believing that he was ſtill alive. The ſecond day after the murder of Tarquin, Servius Tullius heard cauſes from the throne in the royal robes, and attended by the lictors. But as he pretended only to ſupply the king's place, when any difficult caſe occurred, he promiſed to report it to the king. As he thought it incumbent upon him to enquire into the wicked attempt upon the king, and revenge it, he cited the ſons of Ancus to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance cauſed them to be declared infamous, and their eſtates to be confiſcated. After he had thus managed affairs for ſome time, and by his prudent adminiſtration gained the hearts of the people, the death of Tarquin

He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.

Queen Tanaquil by a ſtratagem, ſecures the kingdom to her ſon-in-law.

quin was publiſhed, as a thing recent, with great lamentations in the palace; and Servius, after having performed his obſequies with great pomp, appeared in public with a ſtrong guard and all the marks of royalty, without waiting for the election either of the ſenate or people [p]. Livy indeed tells us, that he took poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the conſent of the ſenators. But as he was not duly elected, the people looked upon him rather as governor, than king, of Rome [q].

Servius Tullius. Year after the flood, 2427. Before Chriſt, 572. Of Rome 176.

THE moſt probable account authors give of the birth and education of Servius Tullius, is, as follows: He was the ſon of Ocriſia, a native of Corniculum, who was made captive by the Romans at the taking of that place. But who his father was, is uncertain. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus tells us, that one Tullius an officer of royal extraction, who was killed in the defence of his country, was the huſband of Ocriſia, whom he left with child at his death. Tarquin made a preſent of this beautiful captive to his queen Tanaquil, who, being appriſed of her extraction and taken with her polite behaviour, reſtored her to her antient freedom. But as her ſon was born while ſhe was ſtill in a ſtate of ſlavery, the name of Serviüs was added to that of Tullius, which he received from his father. This is Dionyſius's account [r]. But Plutarch pretends, that Ocriſia was very young when ſhe was carried into captivity, and that ſhe was afterwards married to one of Tarquin's clients, by whon ſhe had Servius [s]. Some have given this prince a divine origin, and made him the ſon of Vulcan, or at leaſt of the Lar, or houſhold god, of Tarquin's palace. Perhaps by the god of the royal palace they meant Tarquin himſelf. But however that be, it is certain, that Tarquin ſhewed all the tenderneſs of a father for Servius and took particular care of his education. Tanaquil, who was no leſs fond of him than her huſband, in order to gain him the greater veneration and eſteem among the people, with what political view is not known, ſpread the following report, which the credulous people believed; viz. that a ſudden flame, in form of a crown, ſurrounded the head of Servius, while he was a child and aſleep in her apartment [t]. However, notwithſtanding the great favour

His birth and education.

ſhewn

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Liv. l. i. [r] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 206.
[s] Plut. de fort. Rom. [t] Liv. l. i. c. 39.

ſhewn him by the king and queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wiſe conduct, that he raiſed himſelf to the throne. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army by his gallant behaviour; and his extroardinary abilities in council ſo gained him the eſteem and affection of the people, that he was unanimouſly raiſed to the rank of a patrician and a place in the ſenate. The king then married him to an illuſtrious Roman lady, by name Gegania; and upon her death, as his merit and fame daily encreaſed, Tarquin thought it no diſhonour to his family to give him his daughter Tarquinia in marriage. From this time the court ſet no bounds to the favours they beſtowed upon him. The king repoſed an entire confidence in him, truſting him with the management both of his domeſtic concerns and the affairs of the republic; in which latter he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the people were no leſs ſatisfied with his conduct, than with the king's; and this, upon the death of his father-in-law, paved him the way to the throne.

The honours he pays to the goddeſs Fortune.

As Servius, notwithſtanding his ſuperior merit, looked upon himſelf as chiefly indebted to fortune for his grandeur, he erected an incredible number of temples and altars to her under the names of Fortuna Primigenia, Fortuna Obſequens, Fortuna Privata, Fortuna Virgo, Fortuna Virilis, &c. As he propoſed Numa for his pattern, and deſigned to eſtabliſh as much order in the civil, as that wiſe prince had done in the religious, polity of Rome, to gain himſelf reſpect from the people, he pretended to have a private correſpondence with the goddeſs Fortuna, as Numa had had with Egeria [u]. However, the beginning of his reign was not without diſturbances and diſſenſions. The ſons of Ancus Marcius had a ſtrong party among the patricians, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a man born in ſlavery. Beſides, it had been hitherto cuſtomary in Rome not to proceed to the election of a king, till after an inter-regnum; and this order, eſtabliſhed ever ſince Romulus's time, Servius had broken through, taking the power into his own hands, without the order or conſent of the people. Complaints of this nature were at firſt dropped, as it were accidentally, in private aſſemblies; but at laſt brought on an almoſt general conſpiracy. The ſenators agreed among themſelves to force the new king, the firſt time they aſſembled, to lay

[u] Plut. de fort. Rom.

lay down his authority, to eſtabliſh an inter-regnum, and then to proceed to the free election of another king. Servius, in this emergency, made it his ſtudy to gain the people, and make uſe of them againſt the ſenate. As he was therefore a man of great eloquence, inſtead of calling the ſenate together, he aſſembled the people, and placing one of the two grandſons of the late king on each ſide of him, made an artful and moving ſpeech to the multitude, entreating them to be joint guardians with him of the off-ſpring of a prince, whoſe memory ought to be dear to them, and promiſing to protect the people againſt the patricians, to pay all their debts, and to divide the lands taken from the enemy among them. Nor were his promiſes empty words; a few days after he commanded all thoſe who were in debt, to ſend him an account of their debts and the names of their creditors; and opening compting-houſes in the forum, paid there all the debtors bills with his own money. Nor was this all; he publiſhed an edict, commanding all thoſe who had uſurped lands belonging to the public, to quit them at an appointed time, and ordered the Roman citizens, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. In ſhort, he revived many of the laws of Romulus and Numa, which diſuſe had aboliſhed, and made ſeveral new ones in favour of the common people, who were in many things put upon an equality with the ſenators and patricians [w].

He defeats the Hetrurians.

THOUGH Servius was naturally more inclined to works of peace than to military exploits, yet he found himſelf obliged to embarque in a long war with the Veientes and the reſt of the Hetrurians, who had ſhaken off the yoke, pretending, that their obligations to be ſubject to Rome, were dead with Tarquin, who had ſubjected them. But Servius, taking the field, ſoon ſubdued them anew, and depriving them of their lands, transferred the property of them to ſuch of the new citizens of Rome as had yet no lands of their own. For this victory he obtained, by the favour of the people, in ſpite of the ſenate, the honours of a triumph, and entered Rome with all the pomp, which Tarquin had introduced in ſuch public ſhews [x].

SERVIUS, now finding the people entirely attached to his intereſt, reſolved to take advantage of their preſent favour, to render his title to the throne leſs diſputable. Ac-

[w] Idem, p. 213. [x] Faſt. Capit. & Dio. Hal. p. 216.

cordingly, he aſſembled the citizens, and in a moving ſpeech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a deſign formed by the patricians to take away his life, and to bring back the ſons of Ancus; and this for no other reaſon but becauſe he was too kind to the common people. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he left the kingdom to their diſpoſal, begging them to determine between him and his pupils on one ſide, and their competitors on the other. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than he came down haſtily from the tribunal, in order to leave the aſſembly; but they even uſed violence to ſtop him, entreating him to be their king, and encouraging him not to fear the plots of his enemies. Then ſome whom the king had diſperſed among the multitude for that purpoſe, cried with a loud voice, 'Let the curiæ be aſſembled without delay, that 'we may elect Servius to be our king.' In the mean time the prince, though at the bottom of the whole intrigue, affected to act only in compliance with the inclination of the people. 'I am glad' ſaid he, 'to find you have 'gratitude for the good offices I have done you. You 'may' continued he, with an air of indifference 'do 'juſt as you pleaſe.' Accordingly, a day was appointed, and Servius elected by the curiæ by a greater unanimity than any of his predeceſſors [y]. However, as the ſenate, whoſe faction was formidable, could never be brought to confirm the election, Servius deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people. But having imparted his uneaſineſs and perplexity to Tanaquil, ſhe removed his apprehenſions, and even prevailed upon him to take an oath, whereby he engaged never to reſign the crown. This great queen died ſoon after, and Servius omitted nothing that could contribute towards tranſmitting the remembrance of her noble actions to poſterity. To immortalize her domeſtic virtues, the true glory of a woman, he hung up her diſtaff in the temple of Hercules [z].

He is legally elected by the Curiæ.

Servius ſoon after his election marched againſt the rebellious Hetrurians, reduced them, and was on that account honoured with a ſecond triumph. After this victory he applied all his thoughts to the adorning and enlarging of the city. To the hills Palatinus, Tarpeius, Quirinalis, Cœlius,

He enlarges Rome.

y Liv. l. i. c. 46. Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 218.

z Plin. l. iii. c. 7.

lius, Aventinus, he added the Eſquilinus and Viminalis, incloſing them within the limits of the city, and fixing his own palace on the Eſquilinus, in order to draw inhabitants thither. He likewiſe added a fourth tribe to the three originally eſtabliſhed by Romulus, calling it Tribus Eſquilina. The public impoſts and taxes were raiſed by laying a certain ſum on every tribe, and hence the public ſubſidies were called tributes; and thoſe who commanded the tribes in war, were from them named tribunes, though that name was afterwards given to ſeveral ſorts of magiſtrates. The law which obliged each inhabitant to continue in the tribe in which he was born, eſtabliſhed great regularity in levying both the militia and the taxes. Servius made likewiſe a law, that a piece of money ſhould be paid upon every death, into the temple of the goddeſs Libitina, who preſided over funerals; another into the temple of Juno Lucina, upon every birth; and another into the temple of Youth, as ſoon as any perſon was paſt the ſtate of childhood. By this means the number of Roman citizens were known, eſpecially of ſuch as were able to bear arms. No regard had hitherto been had at Rome to ſlaves; but Servius, perhaps to do honour to his firſt condition, extended his care even to them, ordering little wooden oratories to be erected in all the croſs-ways of the ſeveral quarters of the city; theſe he conſecrated to the Dii Compitales, or gods of the croſs-ways, and appointed ſlaves only to be prieſts of theſe gods, who had their particular feſtival, on which maſters gave their ſlaves reſt from all labour, and by this act of humanity gained their good-will.

Adds a fourth tribe to the three old ones.

Inſtitutes the Compitalia.

THAT an equal order might be eſtabliſhed in the country, as well as in the city, the king divided the whole Roman territory into diſtinct tribes, commanding, that there ſhould be at leaſt one place of refuge in each tribe, ſituated on a riſing ground, and ſtrong enough to ſecure the effects of the peaſants, in caſe of a ſudden alarm. Theſe ſtrong-holds he called 'Pagi,' that is, 'villages,' and commanded that each of them ſhould have their peculiar temple, tutelary god, and magiſtrates. Each of them had likewiſe their particular feſtival, called paganalia, when every perſon was to pay, into the hands of thoſe who preſided at the ſacrifices, a piece of money, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third.

Divides the Romans into tribes.

By this means an exact computation was made of the men, women, and children in each tribe [a].

Marries his two daughters to the grandſons of the late king

IN the mean time his two wards, Lucius Tarquinius and Aruns, the grand-children of Tarquin being grown up, in order to ſecure their fidelity, he married them to his two daughters. And though the elder of theſe daughters, who was of a mild and tractable diſpoſition, reſembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters, who was of a violent and vicious temper, yet he thought it adviſeable to give his elder daughter to Tarquin, and the younger to Aruns; for by that means he matched them according to their ages, and at the ſame time hoped, that the elder Tullia's ſweet diſpoſition would temper Tarquin's impetuoſity, and the younger Tullia's vivacity rouſe the indolence of Aruns [b].

DURING the public rejoicing for this double marriage, the twelve leucumonies of Hetruria, uniting their forces, attempted to ſhake off the Roman yoke; but were in ſeveral battles defeated by Servius, and obliged to ſubmit to him on the ſame conditions, on which they had ſubmitted to his predeceſſor. For this ſucceſs Servius was honoured with a third triumph [c].

THE king, being thus diſengaged from a troubleſome war, returned to the purſuit of his political ſchemes, and put in execution that maſter-piece of policy, which Rome made uſe of ever after, and which eſtabliſhed a perpetual order and regularity in all the members of the ſtate, with reſpect to wars, to the public revenues, and the ſuffrages of the comitia. The public ſupplies had hitherto been raiſed upon the people at ſo much a head, without any diſtinction of rich and poor. Whence it likewiſe followed, that when levies were made for the war, the rich and poor were equally obliged to take the field, according to the order of their tribe; and as they all ſerved at their own expence, the poorer ſort could, with much ado, bear the charges of a campaign. Beſides, as the moſt indigent of the people ſaw themſelves burdened with the ſame taxes as the rich, they pretended to an equal authority in the comitia: ſo that the election of kings and magiſtrates, the making of peace or war, the judging of cri-

[a] Dio. Hal. p. 220. [b] Idem ibid. Liv. ubi ſupra.
[c] Faſt. Capit.

criminals, were given up into the hands of a populace, who were eaſily corrupted, and had nothing to loſe. Servius formed a project to remedy theſe evils, and put it in execution, by enacting a law, enjoining all the Roman citizens to bring in an account in writing of their own names and ages, and of thoſe of their fathers, wives, and children. By the ſame law all heads of families were commanded to deliver in upon oath a juſt eſtimate of their effects, and to add to it the places of their abode, whether in town or country. Whoever did not bring in an account of his effects, was to be deprived of his eſtate, to be beat with rods, and publicly ſold for a ſlave. Servius from theſe particular accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, undertook to eaſe the poor by burdening the rich, and at the ſame time to pleaſe the latter by encreaſing their power.

Divides the Roman citizens into ſix claſſes, and theſe into centuries.

To this end he divided the Roman people into ſix claſſes: the firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe eſtates and effects amounted to the value of ten thouſand drachmæ, or an hundred thouſand aſſes of braſs; the firſt way of computing being uſed by the Greeks, and the latter by the Latins. This claſs was ſubdivided into fourſcore centuries, or companies of foot. To theſe Servius joined eighteen centuries of Roman knights, who fought on horſeback, and appointed, that this conſiderable body of horſemen ſhould be at the head of the firſt claſs; becauſe the eſtates of theſe knights, without all doubt, exceeded the ſum neceſſary to be admitted into it. However, the public ſupplied them with horſes, for which a tax was laid upon widows, who were exempt from all other tributes. The firſt claſs including infantry and cavalry, conſiſted of ninety-eight centuries. The ſecond claſs comprehended thoſe, whoſe eſtates were valued at ſeven thouſand five hundred drachmæ, or ſeventy-five thouſand aſſes of braſs. It was ſubdivided into twenty centuries, all foot. To theſe were added two centuries of carpenters, ſmiths, and other artificers. In the third claſs were thoſe, who were eſteemed worth five thouſand drachmæ, or fifty thouſand aſſes. This claſs was ſubdivided into twenty centuries. The fourth claſs was of thoſe whoſe effects were rated at the value of five hundred drachmæ, or twenty-five thouſand aſſes, and was divided into twenty centuries; to which were added two other centuries of trumpeters and blowers of the horn, who ſupplied the whole army with this martial

tial muſic. The fifth claſs included thoſe only, whoſe whole ſubſtance did not amount to more than twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ, or twelve thouſand five hundred aſſes; and this claſs was divided into thirty centuries. The ſixth claſs comprehended all thoſe who were not worth ſo much as thoſe of the fifth claſs. They exceeded in number any other claſs, but nevertheleſs were reckoned but as one century [d].

THE wiſe king drew from theſe regulations all the advantages he had expected. Levies for the army were no longer raiſed by tribes, nor were taxes laid at ſo much a head, as formerly; but all was levied by centuries. When, for inſtance, an army of twenty thouſand men, or a large ſupply of money, was wanted for the war, each century furniſhed its quota both of men and money; ſo that the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries, though fewer men, than all the other together, furniſhed more men and more money for the public ſervice, than the whole Roman ſtate beſides. And by this means the Roman armies conſiſted, for the moſt part, of the rich citizens of Rome, who, as they had lands and effects to defend, fought with more reſolution, while their riches enabled them to bear the expence of a campaign. As it was but juſt the king ſhould make the firſt claſs amends for the weight laid on it, he gave it almoſt the whole authority in public affairs, changing the comitia by curiæ, in which the majority was not reckoned by ſingle perſons, but by centuries, how few ſoever there might be in a century. Hence the firſt claſs, which contained more centuries than the other five taken together, had every thing at its diſpoſal. The votes of this claſs were firſt taken; and if the ninety-eight centuries happened to agree, or only ninety-ſeven of them, the affair was determined, becauſe theſe made the majority of the hundred and ninety-three centuries, which compoſed the ſix claſſes. If they diſagreed, then the ſecond, the third, and the other claſſes in their order, were called to vote; though there was very ſeldom any occaſion to go ſo low as the fourth claſs for a majority of votes. So that, by this good order, Servius brought the affairs of the public to be determined by the judgment of the moſt conſiderable citizens, who underſtood the public intereſt, much better than

[d] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 223. Liv. l. i. c. 43. Aul. Gell. l. xvi.

than the blind multitude, liable to be impoſed upon, and eaſily corrupted.

The cenſus and luſtrum.

AND now the ſtate being thus divided into different orders, according to the cenſus or valuation of their eſtates, Servius reſolved to ſolemnize this prudent regulation by ſome public act of religion, that it might be the more reſpected and the more laſting. Accordingly, all the citizens were commanded to appear, on a day appointed, in the campus Martius, which was a large plain, lying between the city and the Tiber, formerly conſecrated by Romulus to the god Mars. Here the centuries being drawn up in battalia, a ſolemn luſtration, or expiatory ſacrifice, was performed in the name of all the people. The ſacrifice conſiſted of a ſow, a ſheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of Suove-taurilia. The whole ceremony was called luſtrum, à luendo, that is, from 'paying, expiating, clearing,' or perhaps from the goddeſs 'Lua' (I), who preſided over expiations, and to whom Servius had dedicated a temple. This wiſe king conſidering that in the ſpace of five years there might be ſuch alterations in the fortunes of private perſons, as to intitle ſome to be raiſed to a higher claſs, and reduce others to a lower, enjoined, that the cenſus ſhould be renewed every five years. As the cenſus was uſually cloſed by the luſtrum, the Romans henceforth began to compute time by luſtrums, each luſtrum containing the ſpace of five years. However, the luſtrums were not always regularly obſerved, but often put off, though the cenſus had been made in the fifth year. Some writers are of opinion, that Servius at this time coined the firſt money which had ever appeared at Rome, and add, that the circumſtances of the luſtrum probably led him to ſtamp the figures of the animals there ſlain on pieces of braſs of a certain

(I) The name of this goddeſs was loſt through the ignorance of editors; but brought to light again by Juſtus Lipſius in his commentaries on Tacitus. For that antient writer tells us, that Servius Tullius conſecrated an altar to the goddeſs Lua. But the editors, not knowing who this goddeſs was, changed the word Lua into Luna, as if Servius had dedicated an altar to the moon. Lipſius corrects this miſtake, and ſhews that Lua was the goddeſs, to whom the ſacrifice of the luſtrum was offered. As ſhe was the goddeſs of expiations, the luſtrum probably took its name from her, as ſhe did hers from the word luo, which ſignifies to pay, becauſe on that day every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century.

certain weight. It is paſt all doubt, that money was called 'pecunia,' from the word 'pecus' which ſignifies 'cattle,' a name which continued to be given to all coins, when the impreſſions on them were changed into more noble figures [c].

He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman citizens.

THE government of the city being thus eſtabliſhed in ſo regular a manner, Servius, remembering his former ſervile condition, and touched with compaſſion on thoſe, whom the misfortunes of an unſucceſsful war had reduced to ſlavery, thought, that ſuch of them as had by long and faithful ſervices deſerved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy of being made Roman citizens, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were admitted without diſtinction. He therefore gave the freedmen their choice, either to return to their own country, or continue at Rome. Thoſe who choſe to continue there, he divided into four tribes, and ſettled them within the city; and though they were diſtinguiſhed from the plebeians by their old name of liberti, or freed-men, yet they enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The ſenate took offence at the regard which the king ſhewed to ſuch mean people, who had but lately ſhaken off their fetters; but Servius, by a moſt humane and judicious diſcourſe, entirely appeaſed the fathers, who paſſed his inſtitution into a law, which ſubſiſted ever after.

Reforms the royal power.

THE wiſe king having thus eſtabliſhed order among the people, undertook at laſt to reform the royal power itſelf, his equity, which was the main ſpring of all his reſolutions, leading him to act contrary to his own intereſt, and to ſacrifice one half of the royal authority to the public good. His predeceſſors had reſerved to themſelves the cognizance of all cauſes both public and private; but Servius, finding the duties of his office too much for one man to diſcharge well, committed the cognizance of ordinary ſuits to the ſenate, and reſerved that only of ſtate-crimes to himſelf.

Secures the fidelity and friendſhip of the Latins and Sabines.

ALL things being now regulated at home, both in the city and country, Servius turned his thoughts abroad, and formed a ſcheme for attaching the Sabines and Latins to the Romans by ſuch ſocial ties, as ſhould be ſtrengthened by religion. He ſummoned the Latin and Sabine cities to ſend their deputies to Rome, to conſult about an affair of great

[c] Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

great importance. When they were come, he propoſed to them the building a temple in honour of Diana, where the Latins and Sabines ſhould meet once a year, and join with the Romans in offering ſacrifices to that goddeſs; that this feſtival ſhould be followed by a council, in which all diſputes between the cities ſhould be amicably determined; that there proper meaſures ſhould be taken to purſue their common intereſt; and laſtly, that, in order to draw the common people thither, a fair ſhould be kept, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. The king's deſign met with no oppoſition. The deputies only added to it, that the temple ſhould be an inviolable aſylum for the united nations, and that all the cities ſhould contribute towards the expence of building it. It being left to the king to chuſe a proper place for it, he pitched upon the Aventine hill, where the temple was built, and aſſemblies annually held in it. The laws which were to be obſerved in theſe general meetings were engraved on a pillar of braſs, and ſtill to be ſeen in Auguſtus's time, in the Latin tongue, but in Greek characters [f].

The wicked intrigues of Tarquin, and the younger Tullia.

BUT now Servius was grown old, and the ambition of Tarquin, his ſon-in-law, revived in proportion, as the king advanced in years. His wife uſed her utmoſt endeavours to check the raſhneſs and fury of her huſband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprizes; while her younger ſiſter, a domeſtic fury, was ever inſtigating Aruns, who placed all his happineſs in a private life, to the moſt villainous attempts. She was continually lamenting her fate in being tied to ſuch an indolent huſband, and wiſhing ſhe had either continued unmarried, or were become a widow. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and Tarquin. At length ſhe propoſed to him nothing leſs than the murdering of her father, ſiſter, and huſband, that they two might meet and aſcend the throne together. Soon after they paved their way to an inceſtuous marriage, he by poiſoning his wife, and ſhe her huſband, and then had the aſſurance to aſk the king and queen's conſent to their marriage. Servius and Tarquinia, though they did not give it, were ſilent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of poſterity. But theſe criminal nuptials were only the firſt ſtep towards a yet greater iniquity. The wicked ambition of the new-married

[f] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 230.

married couple firſt ſhewed itſelf againſt the king; for they publicly declared, that the crown belonged to them; that Servius was an uſurper, who being appointed tutor to Tarquin's grandchildren, had deprived his pupils of their inheritance; that it was high time for an old man, who was but little able to ſupport the weight of public affairs, to give place to a prince, who was of a mature age, &c. The patricians, whom Servius had taken great pleaſure in humbling during the whole time of his reign, were eaſily gained over to Tarquin's party; and by the help of money many of the poor citizens were alſo brought over to his intereſt. The king being informed of their treaſonable practices, endeavoured to diſſuade his daughter and ſon-in-law from ſuch proceedings, which might end in their ruin, and exhorted them to wait for the kingdom till his death. But they, deſpiſing his counſels and paternal admonitions, reſolved to lay their claim before the ſenate, which Servius was obliged to ſummon; ſo that the affair came to a formal proceſs. Tarquin reproached his father-in-law with having aſcended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and with having bought the votes of the people, and deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the ſenate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the crown and injuſtice of Servius, who, being only his guardian, had kept poſſeſſion of it, when he himſelf was of an age to govern. Servius anſwered, that he had been lawfully elected by the people, and that, if there could be an hereditary right to the kingdom, the ſons of Ancus had a much better one than the grandſons of the late king, who muſt himſelf have been an uſurper. He then referred the whole to an aſſembly of the people, which being immediately proclaimed all over the city, the forum was ſoon filled, and Servius harangued the multitude in ſuch a manner, as gained all their affections. They all cried out with one voice; "Let Servius reign; let him conti-" nue to make the Romans happy." Amidſt their confuſed clamours, theſe words were likewiſe heard; "Let "Tarquin periſh; let him die; let us kill him. This language frightened him ſo, that he retired to his houſe in great haſte, while the king was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people [g].

Tarquin regains the king's favour

THE ill ſucceſs of this attempt cooled Tarquins's ardent deſire of reigning; and his ambition made him act a new part.

[g] Dio. Hal. Liv. ibid.

part. He undertook to regain the favour of his father-in-law, by careſſes, ſubmiſſions, and proteſtations of a ſincere regard and affection for him; inſomuch, that the king, who judged of the probity of others from his own, was ſincerely reconciled to him, and tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in the royal family. But it was not long, ere Tarquin, rouſed by the continual reproaches of his wife, began to renew his intrigues among the ſenators; among whom he had no ſooner gained a conſiderable party, than he put in execution a ſtratagem, which ſurprized the people by its novelty, and ſucceeded by the boldneſs of its execution. He cloathed himſelf in the royal robes, and cauſing the faſces to be carried before him by ſome of his domeſtics, croſſed the Roman forum, entered the temple, where the ſenate uſed to meet, and ſeated himſelf on the throne. Such of the ſenators as were of his faction he found already in their places, for he had given them private notice to be there early; and the reſt, being ſummoned to aſſemble in king Tarquin's name, made what haſte they could to the appointed place, thinking that Servius was dead, ſince Tarquin aſſumed the title and functions of king. When they were all aſſembled, Tarquin made a long ſpeech, reviling his father-in-law, repeating the invectives againſt him, which he had ſo often uttered, called him a ſlave, an uſurper, a favourer of the populace, and an enemy to the ſenate and patricians. While he was yet ſpeaking, Servius arrived; and raſhly giving way to the motions of his courage, without conſidering his ſtrength, drew near the throne to pull Tarquin down from it. This raiſed a great noiſe in the aſſembly, which drew the people into the temple; but no-body ventured to part the two rivals. Tarquin therefore, being more ſtrong and vigorous, ſeized the old man by the waiſt, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the forum. The king, who was grievouſly wounded, raiſed himſelf up with ſome difficulty; but all his friends had abandoned him; only two or three of the people, touched with compaſſion, lent him their arms to lead him home to his palace. As they were dragging him on ſlowly, the cruel Tullia appeared in the forum, whither ſhe had haſtened in her chariot on the firſt report of what had paſſed in the ſenate. She found her huſband on the top of the ſteps of the temple, and tranſported with joy, was the firſt who ſaluted him king; and her example was immediately followed by the ſenators of Tarquin's party. Nor

was this enough for the unnatural daughter. She took a ſide her huſband, and ſuggeſted to him, that he would never be ſafe ſo long as the uſurper of his crown was alive. Hereupon Tarquin inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to take away the remains of the unfortunate king's life. The orders for the wicked parricide were no ſooner given, than Tullia mounted her chariot again, with an air of triumph, to return home. The way to her houſe was through a narrow ſtreet called Vicus Cyprus (K), or, the good ſtreet. There the aſſaſſins had left the king's body, which was ſtill panting. At this ſight the charioteer, ſtruck with horror, checked his horſes, and made a ſtop: Why don't you go on? cried Tullia to him. What ſtops you? The charioteer turning about to her, Alas! ſaid he, it is the body of the king your father. At theſe words Tullia, catching up a ſtool that was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head, Go on, ſhe cried, and don't be afraid of driving over a dead body. The charioteer obeyed, and the blood of the father is ſaid to have dyed the wheels of the chariot, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And hence the ſtreet was called ever after Vicus Sceleratus. Such was the end of Servius Tullius, after he had lived ſeventy-four, and reigned forty-four, years. He was a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, and made Rome more formidable by a peace of twenty years, than his predeceſſors had done by many victories. He was beloved by the people, eſteemed by the patricians, and perhaps would have had no enemies, if he could have preſerved the affections of his own family. Tarquin not ſuffering his obſequies to be performed with the uſual pomp, leſt the people might on that occaſion riſe up in arms and revenge his death, Tarquinia conveyed the body of her huſband privately by night to his tomb, and the night following died herſelf, but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedneſs of Tullia, is uncertain. The veneration which the people had for this king's memory, ſeems to have placed him among the gods; for the ſlaves annually celebrated his feſtival in the temple of Diana Aventina on the day he loſt his life.

Servius is murdered by Tarquin, who uſurps the throne.

Tarquin II. Year of the flood 2471. Before Chriſt 528. Of Rome 220.

TARQUIN, having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne by a moſt wicked parricide, behaved himſelf during the whole time of his reign like a moſt cruel and deſpotical tyrant. In the very beginning of it the ſurname of proud was given him, on

(K) The word Cyprus, according to Varro, is an old Sabine word, ſignifying good or happy; for this ſtreet, as the ſame author informs us, was firſt inhabited by the Sabines.

on account of his capricious humour and haughty behaviour. As he had aſcended the throne without a previous inter-regnum, and deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the people and approbation of the ſenate, he communicated no affairs of ſtate either to the ſenate or people. All controverſies whatſoever he decided himſelf, aſſiſted by his intimate friends, and baniſhed, fined, and even executed whom he pleaſed. To prevent the natural conſequences of his tyranny, he kept conſtantly a ſtrong guard about his perſon, moſtly conſiſting of ſtrangers, who were ready on all occaſions to execute his pleaſure. Wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes, as plainly appeared in the murder of M. Junius, a venerable old man, the father of the famous Brutus, who afterwards deſtroyed the regal power. This Junius was deſcended of a noble family, and had an ample patrimony, on which conſiderations Tarquin the elder had given him his daughter in marriage. The new king, to get poſſeſſion of his eſtate, cauſed both him and his other ſon to be aſſaſſinated, Brutus eſcaping by counterfeiting madneſs. The flower of the ſenate retired from the city into voluntary baniſhment, to avoid the effects of the king's cruelty and avarice. The people, who had rejoiced at firſt to ſee the ſenate humbled, were in their turn as ill treated as the ſenators, and all the laws made in their favour annulled. Informers were diſperſed all over the city to watch the words and behaviour of every citizen, and the worſt conſtruction was put upon every thing. All aſſemblies of the people, even for diverſion and recreation, were prohibited both in the city and country. But, as he was well appriſed that the people would ſooner or later attempt to ſhake off the yoke, and recover their antient privileges and freedom, he turned his thoughts to gain a ſtrong party among foreigners; and with this view married his daughter to Octavius Mamilius, a man of great intereſt among the Latins. Mamilius indeed did his utmoſt to bring over a great many leading men of his country to the intereſt of his father-in-law, and his ſolicitations ſucceeded. But the king had like to have loſt them again by his haughty behaviour. He had invited the Latins to meet in a national aſſembly at Ferentinum, on a day appointed by himſelf. The deputies came and took their places in the ſacred grove. But, as Tarquin did not appear after they had waited ſome hours, the aſſembly grew impatient, and Herdonius, an enterprizing man, who hated Tarquin, took this occaſion of inveighing againſt him.

His tyranny.

His

His ſpeech made no ſmall impreſſion upon the aſſembly; but Mamilius prevailed upon them to adjourn the council to the next day. Then Tarquin appeared, and, having firſt made a frivolous excuſe for his abſence, acquainted the aſſembly, that his buſineſs with them was to demand his right of commanding the Latin armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grand-father. Upon this a profound ſilence enſued, till Herdonius, ſtepping forth into the midſt of the aſſembly, made a bitter invective againſt Tarquin, and repreſented the fatal conſequences of admitting his propoſal. Tarquin, diſconcerted by the boldneſs of the orator, deſired, that the aſſembly might ſit again the following day, when he promiſed to anſwer the invectives of Herdonius. In the mean time, having corrupted ſome of his domeſtics, he engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their maſter's baggage. The next morning he entered the aſſembly with an air of confidence, and after having told them that the malice of Herdonius againſt him was wholly owing to his having refuſed him his daughter in marriage, he accuſed his adverſary of having laid a plot to cut off all the deputies there preſent, and to uſurp a tyranny over the Latin cities. In proof of this, he informed them of the arms concealed in Herdonius's baggage. The accuſed, knowing nothing of theſe arms, conſented to be adjudged guilty, if upon examination the fact alledged ſhould be found true. Accordingly, his baggage was ſearched, and the arms being found and brought into the aſſembly, the innocent Herdonius was immediately ſentenced to be thrown into a baſon at the head of the ſpring of Ferentinum; where, a hurdle being laid upon him, and ſtones heaped upon it, he was preſſed down into the water and drowned [h].

His treacherous contrivance to deſtroy Turnus Herdonius.

The Latins, not doubting but Herdonius was guilty of the crime laid to his charge, looked upon Tarquin as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grand-father, and declared him general of the Latin armies. Not long after the Hernici and two cantons of the Volſci entered into an alliance with him upon the ſame terms. Tarquin, to ſecure the fidelity of his new allies, erected, with their approbation, a new temple in the midſt of them, on a hill near the ruins of Alba, which he conſecrated to Jupiter Latialis. There the diets of the confederate cantons were to aſſemble; and theſe aſſemblies were called La-

tia

[h] Dio. Hal. l. iv. p. 247. Liv. l. i. c. 50.

tia. The twenty-ſeventh of April was the day appointed for their annual meeting, and had the name of Feriæ Latinæ. The Romans, as the chief members of the alliance, always preſided at the ſacrifices and deliberations. The diet conſiſted of forty-ſeven deputies from ſo many cities, who formed the Latin aſſociation, which was afterwards the beſt part of the Roman ſtrength, and contributed more than all the reſt of Italy to the conqueſt of the world.

The Feriæ Latinæ.

WITH the aſſiſtance of the Latins, Tarquin thought himſelf in a condition to make war upon thoſe Volſci, who had refuſed to enter into an alliance with him. But as he could not depend upon the fidelity of the Romans, he blended them in the ſame legions with the Latins, who till his time had been a ſeparate corps. The inhabitants of Sueſſa Pometia (L), one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the Volſci, were the firſt who felt the effects of this new alliance. They had plundered the territories of their neighbours, and Tarquin, laying hold of this pretence to begin the war, marched againſt them, defeated their army, laid ſiege to their city, and, having taken it by ſtorm, gave the plunder of it to his troops, reſerving only the tenth part of the ſpoil towards the expence of finiſhing the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He then turned his arms againſt the Sabines, who had committed ſome depredations in the Roman territories, gained two complete victories over them, and made the whole Sabine nation tributary. Upon his return to Rome, where we are told he triumphed twice [i], he undertook the finiſhing of the common ſewers and the great circus, and, having obliged the idle populace to work without any other reward, but that of a poor maintenance, ſoon brought to perfection thoſe two ſtructures, which his grandfather had begun [k].

Aſſiſted by the Latins, he defeats the Volſci, and ſubdues the Sabines.

IN the mean time, many of the diſcontented patricians, abandoning their native country, took refuge at Gabii, a city of Latium, about an hundred furlongs from Rome, and prevailed upon the inhabitants to eſpouſe their cauſe and make

His war with the people of Gabii.

[i] Faſti Capitol. [k] Dio. Hal. p. 251. Liv. l. i. c. 52.

(L) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus reckons Sueſſa Pometia among the moſt wealthy cities of the Volſci. It was called Pometia, to diſtinguiſh it from another Sueſſa in the country of the Aurunci beyond the Liris. It ſtood between Cora and Velitræ, at a ſmall diſtance from theſe two cities.

make war upon Tarquin. This war laſted ſeven years with various ſucceſs, during which time the Romans, who could neither ſow nor reap, being afflicted with a great famine, began to murmur, and at length to demand of Tarquin, in a tumultuous manner, either a peace or proviſions. Their complaints and murmurs being fomented by emiſſaries ſent privately from the exiles at Gabii, the whole city was in the utmoſt confuſion, and ſeemed only to wait for a favourable opportunity to take up arms, and drive out Tarquin, the cauſe of all their misfortunes. The king, being on one ſide unwilling to make a ſhameful peace, and apprehending on the other a general revolt of his ſubjects, was at a loſs what reſolution to take, and under the greateſt uneaſineſs.

The ſtratagem by which he became maſter of that city.

But his ſon Sextus Tarquinius found out an expedient, no leſs diſhonourable than artful, for extricating him out of this difficulty. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed againſt him as a tyrant. Hereupon the king, as it had been agreed on before-hand, commanded him to be publicly beaten with rods as a rebel. This was no ſooner known at Gabii, but the inhabitants, deſirous to have Sextus among them, made him privately great offers; which he readily accepted, after they had ſolemnly promiſed never to deliver him up to his father upon any pretence whatſoever. It is not to be imagined, how agreeable Sextus's arrival was to the Gabini, or what hopes they founded on their gaining over a prince, who was ſo much valued by the Romans. From that time they looked upon Rome as already reduced. And indeed the artful Sextus played his game with all imaginable dexterity. His public and private diſcourſe turned upon nothing but the tyranny of the king of Rome. From words he proceeded to actions. No enemy Rome ever had was more active. He often ravaged the Roman lands, and returned to Gabii loaded with booty. His father took care to facilitate his military exploits, and ſacrificed ſuch ſoldiers and officers as he ſuſpected, to the glory of his ſon. His reputation being thus encreaſed by the craft of his father, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any intelligence between them, the Gabini placed ſo much confidence in his fidelity and valour, that they appointed him commander in chief of their army. His authority being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in Gabii, he diſpatched a ſlave, in whom he could confide, privately to Rome, to enquire of his father what he ſhould do. The king

king, not thinking fit to anſwer, either in writing or by word of mouth, took the ſlave into a garden, and there ſtruck off the heads of all the talleſt poppies. This done, he ſent back the meſſenger. Sextus underſtood the hint, and, having aſſembled the Gabini, pretended to have diſcovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people preſſed him to declare the conſpirators, and extorted from him, as it were, by force, the name of Antiſtius Petro, a man whoſe merit had made him the moſt conſiderable perſon in his country. Sextus had bribed his ſervants to convey among his papers ſome letters from the king of Rome, which being produced and read, the incenſed multitude, without further examination, immediately ſtoned him, and committed to Sextus the care of diſcovering his accomplices, and inflicting on them ſuch puniſhments as he ſhould judge proper. Upon this he ordered the gates of the city to be ſhut, and having ſent officers into the ſeveral quarters of it, cauſed all the eminent men in Gabii, who gave him umbrage, to be inhumanly maſſacred. In the midſt of this deſolation and confuſion, he opened the gates to his father, whom he had acquainted with his deſign, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. The Gabini ſunk into the utmoſt deſpair at the ſight of the tyrant, who now had their lives, their eſtates, and their liberty, at his diſpoſal. But Tarquin, on this occaſion conſulting good policy more than revenge, treated them with great humanity, and even entered into an alliance with them, the articles of which were written on a ſhield made of the hide of an ox ſacrificed on that occaſion. This treaty was ſtill to be ſeen at Rome in Auguſtus's time, in the temple of Jupiter Piſtius, or Sancus, that is, the god of fidelity [1].

As Tarquin was jealous even of his own children, he took care to keep them at a diſtance from Rome. With this view he left Sextus at Gabii, declaring him king of that city, and ſent Titus and Arunx to found two new colonies, the one at Signia, the other at Circæum, a promontory on the coaſt of the Tyrrhenian ſea. As for his fourth ſon Lucius Tarquinius, he kept him in Rome, he not being yet of an age to give him umbrage.

The Romans, being now accuſtomed to the yoke of an imperious maſter, bore it with great patience, and allowed Tarquin to enjoy a profound peace. It was at this time, The [illegible] of th [illegible].

[1] Dio. Hal. p. 255. Liv. l. i. c. 54.

that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which ſhe offered to ſell, but demanded a very conſiderable price. Tarquin refuſing to purchaſe them at her rate, ſhe withdrew and burnt three of them. Some time after ſhe returned, and demanded the ſame price for the remaining ſix. She was therefore looked upon as a mad woman, and driven away with ſcorn. However, having burnt the half of them, ſhe ventured to return a third time, aſking as much for the remaining three as ſhe had done for the whole nine. Tarquin, ſurpriſed at the novelty of this proceeding, cauſed the books to be put into the hands of the augurs, who, finding them to be the oracles of the Sibyl of Cuma, declared them to be an invaluable treaſure, and adviſed the king to buy the three at the ſame price, which the woman had asked for the nine. Tarquin followed their directions, and the woman, having received the ſum ſhe demanded, ſoon after diſappeared, having firſt exhorted the Romans to preſerve her books with great care. Tarquin appointed two perſons of diſtinction, ſtyled Duumviri, to be guardians of them (M); and ordered them to be locked up in a vault under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as ſoon as that building was finiſhed; and there they were kept, till they were burnt with the temple itſelf [m].

ROME

[m] Dio. Hal. p. 259. Varro apud Lactant.

(M) Theſe officers were afterwards encreaſed to ten, and then to fifteen; and, as their number encreaſed, were called Decemviri, Quindecemviri, ſacris faciundis. It was their buſineſs to conſult the Sibylline books, when the ſenate thought proper. But recourſe was never had to them, unleſs the republic was under, or threatened with, ſome great calamity; as when a dangerous ſedition was like to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of thoſe prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to Rome. Then the Duumviri had the care of putting in execution whatever they thought commanded by the books of the Sibyls. They alſo preſided over the ſacrifices and public ſports, which they appointed to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. And laſtly, they ordered every thing that related to the Ludi Seculares. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, and from all civil and military employments. This magiſtracy continued at Rome from the time of Tarquin the Proud to the reign of the emperor Theodoſius, when this and many other antient ſuperſtitions were entirely aboliſhed.

ROME ſtill continuing to enjoy peace, though the people were as much diſcontented as ever, Tarquin, in order to keep them employed, undertook the finiſhing of the temple of the capitol, which his grand-father had begun. He hired for this purpoſe architects and ſkilful workmen out of Hetruria, and obliged his own ſubjects to perform the laborious part, making them the drudges, as he had done in ſo many other undertakings. This temple, which was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, ſtood on the top of the hill Tarpeius, made ſometime ſince a part of Rome. The original of the new name of Capitol is by hiſtorians ſaid to be this: As the workmen were digging the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, they are ſaid to have found very deep in the earth the head of a man, whoſe features were preſerved entire, and the blood as red and freſh as if it had been but newly ſhed. The Romans, looking upon this as a prodigy, conſulted the augurs, who declared it to preſage, that Rome would ſome time or other become the miſtreſs and head of Italy (N). This anſwer encouraged Tarquin to ſpare no pains or expence in raiſing a ſtructure to the honour of thoſe gods, who were the authors of ſo glorious a deſtiny. Accordingly the foundations were laid, and the temple built in a moſt ſtately manner. It ſtood upon eight acres of ground, and was two hundred foot broad, and about two hundred and fifteen long. The front of this magnificent ſtructure was to the ſouth, facing the hill Palatinus and the Forum Romanum. An hundred ſteps led up to it from the forum, which were divided at certain diſtances by large landing-places. This front conſiſted of three rows of pillars, and the two ſides of the temple were adorned with a periſtyle, conſiſting of a double row of pillars. It was in after-ages burnt down more than once (O); but the Romans always rebuilt it, ſtill preſerving

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus

(N) Macrobius tells us (73). that the name of the man, to whom this head belonged, was Tolus; ſo that the word Capitol is, according to him, compounded of caput and Tolus. Other writers ſay, that the hill Tarpeius was called Capitol, becauſe it was the capital or chief fortreſs in Rome.

(O) It was burnt in Sylla's time by the negligence of thoſe who kept it; but Sylla rebuilt it in a more magnificent manner. It was burnt a ſecond time in the reign of Vitellius, and repaired

(73) Arnob, contra gentes, l. vi

ſerving the ſame proportions. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt both within and without (P). It contained three chapels, or rather three temples, under the ſame roof, one dedicated to Jupiter, another to Juno, and the third to Minerva (Q). As this was a religious undertaking, the Romans aſſiſted Tarquin in carrying it on with more chearfulneſs than uſual; but the honour of putting the laſt hand to this ſtately work, and conſecrating it, was reſerved for a Roman conſul in the time of the republic.

Tarquin ſends his two ſons with Brutus to conſult the oracle of Delphos.

WHILE Tarquin and the Romans were thus employed, a cruel plague breaking out Rome, the king ſent his two ſons, Titus and Arunx, to conſult the oracle of Delphos about the cauſe and cure of the contagion. The princes prepared magnificent preſents for Apollo, and Junius Brutus, who was to attend them for their amuſement, reſolved to carry his offering too. He was the ſon of that venerable patrician, whom Tarquin had cauſed to be murdered in the very beginning of his reign, and had long acted the part of an idiot at court, which procured him the name of Brutus. His affected follies had ſomething inexpreſſibly amuſing in them, and he knew how to make uſe of them at proper times, and ſuppreſs them when unſeaſonable. He had been brought up ever ſince his father's death, in the king's palace, with the princes his couſins, who were greatly diverted with his follies. He was therefore appointed to attend them to Delphos. The preſent he choſe for the god was an elder-ſtick; which was matter

paired by Veſpaſian, It underwent the ſame misfortune under Titus, and was rebuilt by Domitian; but always on the old foundations of Tarquin.

(P) The gilding of the whole arch of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was a work undertaken by the Romans, as Pliny informs us (74), after the deſtruction of Carthage. This undertaking, if Plutarch is to be credited (75), coſt twelve thouſand talents, a ſum, which ſeems to exceed all belief. The gates of the temple were of braſs, covered with large plates of gold. The inſide of the temple, and the columns which ſupported it, were all of marble.

(Q) The inſide of the temple was divided into three parts by two rows of columns, which made the nave and the two iſles. The nave formed the chapel of Jupiter, and the two iſles the chapels of Juno and Minerva.

(74) Plin, l. xxxiii. (75) Plut. in Oſtav.

ter of diverſion for the whole court. However, as he was well appriſed, that the gods of thoſe times, or their miniſters, were affected with the value of the preſents, he had the precaution to incloſe a rod of gold in his ſtick without any body's knowledge. This was a true ſymbol of his own mind and conduct; for he concealed the moſt valuable gifts of nature under a contemptible outſide. All things being got ready, they ſet out for Delphos, and the young princes, having executed their father's commands, enquired of the oracle, which of them ſhould be prince of Rome? The god anſwered, that the government of Rome was reſerved for him who ſhould firſt kiſs his mother; which the princes miſunderſtanding, agreed to do it both together, and reign jointly. But Brutus, knowing the meaning of the oracle, as ſoon as they arrived in Italy, pretended to fall down by chance, and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all men [n].

The rape of Lucretia.

THE two princes on their return to Rome found the city in a great commotion, on account of the war, which the king had declared with the Rutuli, under pretence that they had entertained ſome Roman exiles. He had already inveſted Ardea their metropolis, which lay ſixteen miles ſouth-eaſt of Rome. While they lay before this place, the officers, having a good deal of leiſure, uſed to make mutual entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when Sextus Tarquinius was entertaining his brothers and his kinſman Collatinus, the converſation happened to turn upon the merit of their wives, every one extolling the good qualities of his own. This occaſioned a kind of quarrel, and, in order to end it, they agreed to mount their horſes, as they were heated with wine, and go and ſurprize their wives. She, whom they ſhould find employed in the manner moſt agreeable to her ſex, was, by common conſent, to have the preference. Away therefore they poſted firſt to Rome, where they found the kings' daughters-in-law ſpending their time in feaſting and diverſions. From Rome they haſtened to Collatia, where they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, in the midſt of her maids ſpinning and working in wool, though the night was far advanced before their arrival. Hereupon they unanimouſly gave her the preference, and, after a noble entertainment,

[n] Idem ibid.

returned the next day to the camp before Ardea. Sextus, captivated with her beauty, found a pretence to return very ſoon to Collatia, where he was entertained by Lucretia, in her huſband's abſence, with great civility and reſpect. At midnight he found means to convey himſelf into her bed-chamber, approached her bed with his drawn ſword, and laying his hand on her breaſt, threatened her with preſent death, if ſhe offered to ſtir or ſpeak. Lucretia awaking and ſeeing death ſo near, was in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, while Sextus declaring his paſſion, endeavoured by entreaties, mixed with menaces, to make her yield to his deſires. But when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatened her with ignominy, telling her, that if ſhe would not yield, he would firſt kill her, then lay one of her ſlaves dead by her ſide, and declare to all the world, that he had only revenged the injured honour of Collatinus. The dread of infamy got the better of Lucretia's conſtancy; and Sextus, having obtained his wiſhes, returned early the next morning to the camp. Lucretia, not being able to endure the thoughts of life after the violence ſhe had ſuffered, wrote to her huſband to meet her at her father's houſe; and then came to Rome in her chariot. Livy tells us, that ſhe deſired her father and huſband to meet her at her own houſe. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Poplicola, and with her huſband Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of diſtinction; for Lucretia had acquainted them, that ſhe had an affair of the utmoſt conſequence to impart to them. When the aſſembly was pretty numerous, ſhe diſcloſed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm reſolution not to outlive the loſs of her reputation, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpuniſhed. They all endeavoured to comfort her, telling her, that there could be no guilt where the heart was innocent. But the Roman heroine, embracing her father and huſband with a flood of tears, plunged a dagger, which ſhe had concealed under her garment, into her breaſt, and fell dead at their feet. While ſo tragical a ſight filled the ſpectators with grief and conſternation, Brutus, throwing off his long diſguiſe, drew near the body of Lucretia, and, ſnatching the poniard out of her boſom, told her relations there preſent, that tears and lamentations could never be heard, whilſt vengeance cried ſo loud. Then ſhewing the bloody poniard to the aſſembly, "I ſwear" ſaid he, "by this blood, which was

"once

" once ſo pure, and which nothing, but the deteſt-
" able villainy of Tarquin, could have polluted, that
" I will purſue Lucius Tarquinius the proud, his
" wicked wife, and their children, with fire and ſword;
" nor will ever ſuffer any of that family, or any other
" whatſoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods, I call you to
" witneſs this my oath". At theſe words he preſented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the reſt of the company, and engaged them to take the ſame oath. Theſe noble Romans, ſurpriſed at the ſudden and unexpected appearance of ſo much wiſdom in an idiot, thought him inſpired, and gave themſelves entirely up to his counſels. He then let them know, that his folly had been feigned, exhorted them to revenge the death of Lucretia, and encouraged them to ſhake off the ſhameful yoke, under which they had ſo long groaned. Finding them all reſolved to ſubmit to his conduct, and take what meaſures he ſhould judge moſt proper for the execution of their deſign, he commanded the gates to be ſhut, that all might be kept ſecret from Tarquin, till ſuch time as the people might be aſſembled, the dead body expoſed, and a public decree paſſed for the baniſhing of the king. The ſenate being aſſembled, no one oppoſed the baniſhment of Tarquin; but as they were divided in their opinions with reſpect to the new form of government, Brutus repreſented to them the abſolute neceſſity of coming to a ſpeedy reſolution, ſhewing them, that the regal power was not conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the ſtate and ſafety of the people, and therefore was not to be truſted with one man; but two were to be choſen, who ſhould govern with equal authority and power. Then becauſe names alone gave ſome people offence, he adviſed them to change the name of the kingdom for that of commonwealth, and, inſtead of the title of king and monarch, to give thoſe, who ſhould govern, ſome more modeſt and popular name. He added, that the main thing to keep theſe magiſtrates in awe was to prevent their perpetual power, and that, if they were annual, after the manner of Athens, they might learn both how to obey, and how to command. Laſtly, that the name of king might not be wholly loſt, he was for giving it to one, who ſhould be charged with the care of religious matters, and be called Rex Sacrorum (R). This employ-

Brutus procures the baniſhment of the Tarquins.

(R) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus gives us the following account of this inſtitution: Becauſe the kings, ſays he, had in a great many reſpects been ſerviceable to the ſtate, the founders of the commonwealth

employment was to be for life, and attended with immunity from warfare; but the Rex ſacrorum ſhould only concern himſelf with thoſe religious rites, which the king had charge of before. The particulars of his ſpeech were all approved of by the ſenate; and a decree was immediately iſſued out, baniſhing the king and all his poſterity °.

BRUTUS, having thus gained the ſenate, cauſed the yet bleeding Lucretia to be carried to the place where the comitia were uſually held; and placing the dead body where it might be ſeen by all, he ordered the people to be called together. When the multitude were aſſembled, he began his ſpeech to them by explaining the myſtery of his paſt conduct, and the neceſſity he had been under, for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means of preſerving his life, after the murder of his father and elder brother. Then he proceeded to acquaint them with the reſolution the patricians had taken to depoſe the tyrant, and preſſed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to concur in that deſign. He enumerated the many crimes which had rendered Tarquin odious to his ſubjects; that he had poiſoned his own brother and wife, murdered his lawful ſovereign, and filled the common ſewers with the bodies of the nobility; that he came to the

° Liv. l. i. 58, 59.

commonwealth thought it very proper to keep always up the name of king in the city. Upon this account they ordered the augurs and pontifices to chuſe a fit perſon, who ſhould engage never to meddle with civil affairs, but devote himſelf wholly to the care of the public worſhip and to the ceremonies of religion, with the title of Rex Sacrorum (75). Livy informs us, that this dignity was inferior to that of Pontifex Maximus, the eſtabliſhers of the commonwealth having made the Rex Sacrorum but a ſubordinate officer even in affairs of religion, leſt the name of king, which had been formerly ſo odious to the people, ſhould ſtill in ſome meaſure prove prejudicial to their liberty (76). His wife was called queen, and was one of the chief prieſteſſes. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity. The Rex Sacrorum was always choſen in the comitia of the people, aſſembled in the campus Martius by centuries. As he was not allowed to have any hand in civil affairs, when the uſual ſacrifices before the electing of magiſtrates or generals were over, he was obliged to withdraw. So jealous were the Romans even of the ſhadow, we may ſay, of a king.

(75) Dio. Hal. l. v. antiq. (76) Liv. l. vi.

the throne as an uſurper, and continued on it as a tyrant; being treacherous to his beſt friends, and inhuman to all his ſubjects; that his three ſons were of a temper as tyrannical as himſelf, eſpecially the elder, of which they had a diſmal inſtance before their eyes; that ſince the king was abſent, and the patricians reſolved to ſhake off the yoke, neither men, money, nor foreign aid, ſhould be wanting, had they but courage for the enterprize. He urged in the end of his ſpeech, that it was ſhameful in them to think of commanding the Volſci, the Sabines, and other nations abroad, while they were ſlaves at home; and to maintain ſo many wars, in order to gratify the ambition of a tyrant, while they had not courage enough to undertake one for their own liberty. As for the army before Ardea, he told them, that he did not doubt, but they would readily join in whatever ſhould be agreed on in the city [P].

A commonwealth eſtabliſhed at Rome. year after the flood, 2494. Before Chriſt 505. Of Rome, 243.

THE multitude, tranſported with joy at the thoughts of liberty, gave their conſent with loud acclamations, and called out for arms. But Brutus did not think fit to arm the people, till they had confirmed by their ſuffrages the decree of the ſenate baniſhing Tarquin. This decree deprived him of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his poſterity to perpetual baniſhment, and devoted to the infernal gods every Roman, who ſhould by word or deed attempt his reſtoration. The curiæ being aſſembled and the decree propoſed, they were all unanimous in confirming it. And now the adminiſtration being reduced to an inter-regnum Lucretius was by the ſuffrages of the people declared inter-rex; ſo that it was his buſineſs to prepare every thing for the election of the new magiſtrates. He therefore called the people together once more, not by curiæ, but by centuries, and directed them to come armed into the campus Martius, in order to elect their new governors, who, according to the plan of government, propoſed by Brutus and approved by the people, were to be called conſuls (S). The inter-rex propoſed

[P] Liv. ibid. Dio. Hal. p. 276.

(S) Pomponius the civilian is of opinion, that the name of conſul was taken from the word conſulere, as ſignifying to watch for the public good. Varro derives it from the ſame word, but in a different ſignification, viz. as importing to conſult or aſk counſel; becauſe the intent of thoſe who firſt inſtituted the

poſed to the people Junius Brutus, the head of the conſpiracy, and Tarquinius Collatinus, the huſband of Lucretia; and they were unanimouſly elected to the new dignity and proclaimed conſuls. In the mean time, Tarquin being informed by ſome who had got out of the city before the gates were ſhut, that Brutus was raiſing commotions to his prejudice, haſtened to Rome, attended only by his ſons and a ſmall number of his moſt truſty friends; for he was little apprehenſive of a conſpiracy carried on by one whom he deſpiſed as an idiot. But finding to his great ſurprize, the gates ſhut, and the people in arms upon the walls, he returned with all expedition to the camp. There the army, during his ſhort abſence, had been gained over by the conſpirators to their party. Livy tells us, that Brutus went in perſon to the camp, and that he arrived before Ardea at the

the conſuls was, that they ſhould do nothing without the advice of the people and ſenate. The law, which placed them at the head of the republic, calls them prætors and judges. We have this law ſtill remaining, as quoted by Tully in the third book of laws. When it was made in the comitia, which changed the monarchy into a republic, it was couched in the following words: Reges imperio duo ſunto, iique præeundo, judicando, & conſulendo, prætores, judices, conſules, appellentur. Militiæ ſummum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis ſalus populi ſumma lex eſto. They were indeed allowed the common uſe of the ſceptre, crown, and an habit of diſtinction. But Livy aſſures us, that on the days of their triumphs, in the public ſports, and at ſolemn ſacrifices, they wore a crown of gold, an ivory ſtaff or ſcepter, and an habit ſtriped with purple, as the kings did (77). Valerius Maximus (78) tells us, that they retained firſt as many lictors as the kings, viz. twenty-four; he adds, that the conſul Poplicola reduced them to twelve. But each conſul was not attended by twelve lictors, neither did they divide them ſo as to have ſix apiece. They were only guarded by twelve lictors alternatively, each in his month. This ceremonial began with the two firſt conſuls; the conſul who was the oldeſt, or had moſt children, or moſt ſuffrages for the conſulſhip, had the lictors the firſt month. Brutus was attended with the faſces before his collegue Collatinus, as appears from the following verſe of Virgil:

> Conſulis imperium hic primus ſævaſque ſecures
> Accipiet———(79).

(77) Liv. l. xxx. (78) Val. Max. l. xii. (79) Virgil Æneid. l. vi.

the ſame time that Tarquin appeared at the gates of Rome. Others ſay, that the new conſuls ſent letters to the camp, giving an account of the reſolutions taken at Rome, and exhorting the troops to ſhake off the tyrannical yoke. However that be, it is certain, that, before Tarquin returned, the ſoldiers, being convened by centuries, had unanimouſly agreed to receive the decree paſſed in the city; ſo that when Tarquin returned, they refuſed to admit him. The tyrant being thus driven from his capital and abandoned by his troops, was forced, at the age of ſeventy-ſix, to fly with his wife and children to Gabii, or, as Livy will have it, to Cœre in Hetruria. Titus Herminius and Marcus Horatius, who commanded the army under Tarquin, made a truce with the Rutuli for fifteen years, and, having raiſed the ſiege of Ardea, returned to Rome with all their forces [q]. Thus ended the regal ſtate of Rome, two hundred and forty-three, or two hundred and forty-five years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city (T); and a new form of government was introduced, which,

[q] Dio. Hal. ibid. Liv. l. i. c. 60.

(T) We have followed the common computation with regard both to the ſeven kings of Rome and to the fourteen kings of Alba. But we cannot help thinking Sir Iſaac Newton's computations to be better grounded, and nearer the truth. We ſhall deliver his opinion in his own words: When the Greeks and Latins, ſays that writer, were forming their technical chronology, there were great diſputes about the antiquity of Rome. The Greeks made it much older than the olympiads; ſome of them ſaid it was built by Æneas; others by Romus the ſon or grandſon of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; others by Romus the ſon of Ulyſſes, or of Ancanius, or of Italus; and ſome of the Latins fell in at firſt with the opinion of the Greeks, ſaying, that it was built by Romulus, the ſon or grandſon of Æneas. Timæus Siculus repreſented it built by Romulus, the grandſon of Æneas, above an hundred years before the olympiads; and ſo did Nævius the poet, who was twenty years older than Ennius, and ſerved in the firſt Punic war, and wrote the hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed on; but about a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to ſay, that Rome was built a ſecond time by Romulus in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of Troy; by ages they meant the reigns of the Latins at Alba, and reckoned the firſt fourteen reigns at about four hundred and thirty-two years, and the following reigns of the ſeven

which, without any conſiderable alteration, ſubſiſted till the times of the emperors.

ſeven kings of Rome at two hundred and forty-four years; both which numbers made up the time of about ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix years from the taking of Troy, according to thoſe chronologers; but are much too long for the courſe of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of Rome upon the ſixth or the ſeventh olympiad. Varro placed it on the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the Romans. But this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature; for I do not meet with any inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince chronology was certain, wherein ſeven kings, moſt of whom were ſlain, reigned two hundred and forty-four years in continual ſucceſſion. The fourteen reigns of the kings of the Latins at twenty years a piece, one with another, amount to two hundred and eighty years; and theſe, counted from the taking of Troy, end in the thirty-eighth olympiad: and the ſeven reigns of the kings of Rome, four or five of them being ſlain, and one depoſed, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to fifteen or ſixteen years a piece, one with another. Let them be reckoned at ſeventeen years apiece, and they will amount to a hundred and nineteen years; which being counted backwards from the regifuge, end alſo in the thirty-eighth olympiad: and by theſe two reckonings Rome was built in the thirty-eigth olympiad, or thereabout. The two hundred and eighty years and the hundred and nineteen years together make up three hundred and ninety-nine years; and the ſame number of years ariſes by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years apiece: and this being the whole time between the taking of Troy and the regifuge, let theſe years be counted backward from the regifuge, An. 1. olymp. 68, and they will place the taking of Troy about ſeventy-four years after the death of Solomon (80). The death of Solomon Sir Iſaac places nine hundred and ſeventy-nine years before Chriſt; ſo that the taking of Troy by the Greeks, after which Æneas began his voyages, will be about nine hundred and five years before Chriſt: and as he makes the building of Carthage by Dido to be eight hundred and eighty-three before the chriſtian æra, there are according to him, little more than twenty years between theſe two laſt-mentioned events. This computation clears Virgil from that monſtrous anachroniſm of near three hundred years, with which he has been ſo often reproached.

(80) Sir Iſaac Newton's chron. p. 128.

CHAP.

A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.

1. The Forum Romanum
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinæ.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-Market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupit.r Stator
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedic.d to Fortune
13. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis
14. The Temp.le of Jupit.r Capitolinus
15. The Temple of Fidius.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temp.le of Jupit.r Feretrius.
24. Temple of Diana
25. Temple of Victory
26. Temple of Queen Juno.
27. The Campus Sceleratus.
28. The Temp.le of Venus Erycina
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres. Bacchus & Proserpine.
31. The Temp.le of Castor & Pollux
32. The Temple of Faith.
33. The Temple of Good Fortune
34. The Temp.le of y.e Elder Fortune.
35. The Temp.le of Vbed.t Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temple of Jupit.r Sponsor
39. The Temple of Libitina
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury
42. The Temple of Murcia
43. The Temp.le of Neptunus Equestris
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temp.le of Venus Cloacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmenta.
48. The Temple of Carna.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercury
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.

G. Viminalis. G. Collatina G. Querquetulana G. Esquilina G. Nevia

G. Collina

Tarquins Bullwark

G. Pincia

The Pomerium

The Tribe of y.e Collina

The Hill Viminalis

Suburra

The Hill Equilinus

The Esquiline Tribe

The Wicked Street

The Hill of Gardens or of Pincius

G. Celimontana

G. Latina

G. of Gabii

Cœliolus

G. Cispena

The Hill Cœlius

The Pomerium

The Suburran Tribe

G. Frigemina

Fort Remuria

The Hill Palatinus.

The Capitol

G. Flumentalis

The Campus Martius

The Tyber

G. Camentalis

The Bridge Sublicius

The Hill Aventinus

G. Fontinalis

G. Navalis

The Janiculus

Gate of y.e Janiculus

The Hill Testaceus

John Davisson Sculp.t



A Pla
of

28

27

G.

G. Pinc

The Hill of Gardens
or of Pincius

The

The Tyber

1. The Forum Romanum
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinæ.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-Market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupit. Stator
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedic.d to Fortune
13. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis
14. The Templ.le of Jupit.r Capitolinus
15. The Temple of Fidius.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Templ.le of Jupit.r Feretrius.
The Temple of Diana
The Temple of Victory
The Temple of Queen Juno.



John Davison Sculp.t

CHAP. III.

The conſular ſtate of Rome, from the beginning of the government to the burning of the city by the Gauls.

ROME enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning of the new government. The army, which had ſerved under Tarquin before Ardea, being returned to the city, the conſuls, ſuſpecting they might preſerve ſome inclination for their general, called them together in the campus Martius, and, after having exhorted them to concord, they cauſed the decree, which was paſſed againſt the Tarquins to be renewed in their preſence. After this, the conſuls, ſtanding before the altars, on which the entrails of the victims had been offered, took an oath in the name of their children and all their poſterity, that they would never replace either Tarquin or his ſons, or any of his family, on the throne, nor create any other king of Rome, nor ſuffer any to be elected. Then the conſuls made the people take the ſame oath, and proceeded, after that ſolemn ceremony was over, to the election of a Rex Sacrorum, when Manius Papirius, a man of patrician extraction, was by the ſuffrages of the people raiſed the firſt to that dignity. The conſuls having now nothing to fear from the people, who were reſtored to all their antient rights, employed their thoughts about ſecuring the ſenators, among whom Valerius had great intereſt. He had expected to be named conſul at the firſt election; and the preference, which the people gave to Collatinus, had diſpleaſed him to ſuch a degree, that he had abſented himſelf from the ſenate and public affairs; inſomuch, that he began to be ſuſpected of favouring the baniſhed king. But the public apprehenſion ceaſed, when he appeared in the ſenate on the day appointed for the ſenators to take the ſame oath which the people had taken. He then ſignalized anew his love for liberty, and ſwore the firſt, that he would never favour the preten-

The conſuls and people ſwear, that they will never ſuffer the Tarquins or any other to reign at Rome.

pretenſions of the Tarquins, nor ſuffer them, or any ot ever to reign at Rome[r].

The inhabitants of Tarquinii ſend an embaſſy to Rome in favour of the Tarquins.

THUS Rome was in tranquillity at home, but Tarc was raiſing her many enemies abroad. He had made T quinii in Hetruria his place of reſidence, and prevailed u the inhabitants to ſend an embaſſy to Rome with a letter fr him to the Roman people. The embaſſadors delivered letter to the ſenate, demanding that it might be read to people aſſembled in the comitia. But Valerius ſtrenuo oppoſed ſo dangerous a proceeding, and, by his intereſt the ſenate, defeated the firſt attempt of the artful Tarq As this body of the new commonwealth was above all otl concerned to exclude kings, by whom they had been k in a ſtate of dependence, the conſuls thought it neceſſary reſtore the ſenate to its antient majeſty and to gain the ſpect of the people, as well by the number of the ſenat as by their dignity. With this view the antient number three hundred was once more completed, the vacant pl being filled up by men of prudence and intereſt, choſen fr among the Roman knights. Theſe new ſenators were ca Conſcripti, that is, perſons written or inrolled on the ſa liſt, for they were added to the old ſenators.

BUT though Tarquin himſelf was hated both by the p ple and patricians, yet his ſons had a great number of yo debauchees in their intereſt. The Tarquins building th hopes on theſe young noblemen, who regretted the loſs their companions and the ſupporters of their extravagar prevailed with the Tarquinienſes to ſend a ſecond emb to Rome, under pretence of demanding the eſtates of exiles; but in reality to ſtir up a faction againſt the conſ The embaſſadors being admitted into the ſenate, ſpoke v great modeſty and reſerve; they only deſired, that the k might have his paternal eſtate reſtored to him, that at le which had been tranſmitted to him by his grandfather T quinius Priſcus, who had deſerved no ill treatment at t hands. Collatinus was for complying with the dema ſince the king promiſed, in caſe it was complied with, n to attempt the recovery of the kingdom by force of a But Brutus oppoſed the demand, thinking it no good po to furniſh an enemy with money, which without all do would be employed againſt themſelves. The affair being

[r] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 279.

laſt referred to the people, it was carried by one vote in the comitia, that the Tarquins ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their paternal eſtates [a].

WHILE the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and ſelling what could not be carried off, the embaſſadors laid hold of that opportunity, to engage ſome young noblemen in a plot againſt the conſuls. Among theſe were three of the Aquilian family, the ſons of Collatinus's ſiſter, and two Vitellii, whoſe ſiſter Brutus had married. The latter engaged in the ſame conſpiracy Titus and Tiberius, the two ſons of Brutus. The conſpirators met at the houſe of the Aquilii, and there the reſolution of putting the conſuls to death, and letting the Tarquins into the city by night, was taken in the preſence of the embaſſadors. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths, with the deteſtable ceremony of drinking the blood of a murdered man, and ſwearing over his trembling bowels, that they would do all that lay in their power to deſtroy the conſuls and reſtore the king. After the ceremony was over, each of them wrote a letter to the king, as an authentic proof of their zeal for his intereſt, and put them into the hands of the embaſſadors. But, in ſpite of all the precaution uſed by the conſpirators to keep the ſecret from their ſervants, Vindicius, or, as Plutarch calls him, Vindex, a ſlave of the Aquilii, ſuſpecting his maſter's deſign, ſtaid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice ſaw all the myſteries of the conſpiracy. However, he was afraid to diſcloſe the ſecret to either of the conſuls, apprehending that Brutus, to ſave his ſons, and Collatinus, to ſecure the lives of his nephews, might think fit to deſtroy the ſingle evidence of their crime. He went therefore ſtrait to P. Valerius, whoſe houſe was always open to the meaneſt of the people, and unburdened his mind to him. Valerius took the ſlave under his protection, and having ſhut him up in a room under the care of his wife, he went out attended by his friends, clients, and domeſtics, whom he divided into two bands; one he poſted, under the conduct of his brother M. Valerius, at the entrance of the houſe of the Aquilii, while he himſelf with a ſtrong guard entered the apartment of the embaſſadors, who lodged in the ſame houſe, and there found and

The embaſſadors engage ſome of the young patricians in a plot.

The plot is diſcovered.

[a] Dio. Hal. ibid. p. 281, 282. Liv. l. ii. c. 3. Plut. in Poplic.

and ſeized the letters, which the conſpirators had writ the night before. As he was coming out, he met the Aquilii, who being ſurprized to ſee him and ſuſpecting that their letters were ſeized, endeavoured to force them from him. But all their endeavours were in vain; for Valerius not only kept them, but with the aſſiſtance of his attendants took all the heads of the conſpiracy priſoners. M. Valerius, his brother, had alſo the good luck to intercept other letters, concealed among ſome cloaths, which the domeſtics of the Aquilii were carrying away [t].

EARLY the next morning, the people were ſummoned to the comitia, where Brutus and his collegue ſat on the tribunal of juſtice. The priſoners, being brought before their judges, were, one after another, tied to ſtakes with their hands bound behind them. This was ſo melancholy a ſight, that the people could ſcarce refrain from tears, when they beheld in that condition the ſons of Brutus, whom they looked upon as their deliverer. The minds of the multitude were in ſuſpenſe about the ſentence, which the conſuls were to pronounce, the one againſt his ſons, the other againſt his nephews. But Brutus, without betraying the leaſt concern, began the trial with the examination of his ſons. Vindicius appeared againſt them; and his teſtimony was found unanſwerable. Then Brutus ordered the letters to be read, which his ſons had wrote to the Tarquins. The proof being clear, the priſoners made no defence but with their tears. "Titus," ſaid he, ſpeaking coldly to the two priſoners without calling them ſons, "and you, Tiberius, what have you to offer "in your defence?" They were thrice called upon to make their defence; but tears were ſtill their only anſwer. Upon which the greater part of the ſenators were moved with compaſſion, and a confuſed murmur was heard among them, "baniſh them; baniſh them." Collatinus wept, and Valerius, ſevere as he was, did not utter a ſingle word. This favourable diſpoſition gave the two guilty youths ſome hopes. But the whole aſſembly trembled, and expected the deciſion with horror. As the two criminals offered nothing in their defence, Brutus at length roſe up to give ſentence. Upon which enſued a profound ſilence, every one preſent being concerned for the young men as for their own children. But Brutus with a ſteady voice, not interrupted by a ſingle ſigh, turning to the lictors, who were the executioners, "To you, "lictors," ſaid he, "I deliver them, execute the law upon "them."

Brutus condemns his own ſons to death.

[t] Dio. Hal. p. 283 Plut. in Poplic.

" them." At theſe words a loud ſhriek was heard in the aſſembly, diſtreſs ſhewed itſelf in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity. But the conſul ſhewing no regard to their tears, the whole aſſembly cried out, with one voice, " We give them back to their country " and to their family." But neither theſe interceſſions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father with the moſt indearing names, could ſoften the inflexible judge. He would not even abate of the puniſhment which was in ſuch caſes inflicted on the greateſt criminals. The lictors ſeized them, and having ſtripped them naked, and tied their hands behind them, they firſt beat them with rods, and then ſtruck off their heads, Brutus all the time gazing on the cruel ſpectacle, with a ſteady look and an unaltered countenance. When this execution was over, Brutus came down from the tribunal, quitted the comitia, and left the reſt of the criminals to the diſcretion of his colleague [u]. Collatinus, inclined to ſpare his nephews, allowed them one day to clear themſelves, and even ordered, that Vindicius ſhould be taken out of the hands of the accuſers, and delivered up to his maſters. This rouſed the zeal of Valerius, who had promiſed to protect the evidence. The lictors attempted in vain to force the important witneſs from him, and the people called for Brutus, inſiſting upon his coming back to the comitia. The unfortunate father had had but a few minutes to recollect himſelf, and ſecretly bewail the misfortunes of his family. However, he appeared again with the ſame firmneſs of mind he had ſhewn before, and, aſcending the tribunal, told the multitude, that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children; but that for the reſt of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate, and either condemn his ſeverity by inſtances of lenity, or approve his firmneſs by examples of juſtice.

Collatinus is inclined to ſpare his nephews.

THUS three articles of great importance to the riſing commonwealth were left to the deciſion of the curiæ, viz. 1. What puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the reſt of the conſpirators; 2. What puniſhment the embaſſadors of the Tarquinienſes had deſerved; 3. What reward ſhould be given to the diſcoverer of the conſpiracy. As to the firſt, they determined, that the conſpirators ſhould, without exception, ſuffer as rebels; which decree was accordingly executed. As to the ſecond

But they are executed.

[u] Dio. Hal. & Plut. ibid.

ſecond, the embaſſadors were ſpared out of reſpect to the law of nations. In the third place, it was decreed, that Vindicius ſhould enjoy that liberty which he had ſecured to the Romans (U), and beſides, that he ſhould be rewarded with all the privileges of a Roman citizen, and with twenty-five thouſand aſſes of braſs, to be paid him out of the public treaſury. And now, though the people had formerly decreed, that the eſtates of the Tarquins ſhould be reſtored to them, the

(U) It is commonly believed, that the Latin phraſe, vindicare in libertatem, that is, to ſet free, had its riſe from the name of Vindicius. Some indeed derive it from the word vindicta, which ſignifies a wand, with which the prætor uſed to ſtrike the ſlave, whoſe maſter had a mind to ſet him at liberty. But in all likelihood the vindicta, or wand itſelf, took its name from Vindicius. The ceremony of granting freedoms publicly was thus performed: the ſlave was brought before the conſul, and in after-ages before the prætor, by his maſter, who, laying his hand upon his ſlave's head, ſaid to the prætor, hunc hominem liberum eſſe volo, and with that took him by the hand, and immediately let go his hold; whence came the Latin word manumiſſio, and the phraſe è manu emittere. Then he gave him a blow on the cheek, and preſented him to the conſul or prætor, who, ſtriking him gently with his vindicta or wand, pronounced theſe words, aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium. Hence Perſius.

Vindicta poſtquam meus a prætore receſſi.

This ceremony being ended, the ſlave was regiſtered upon the roll of freed-men. Then he was ſhaved, and received a cap in token of his liberty. But this ceremony of taking the cap was performed in the temple of Feronia, the goddeſs of freed-men. In this temple there was a ſeat of ſtone with this inſcription, Bene meriti ſervi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi. The pileus, or cap was among the Romans, as is well known, a ſymbol of liberty. Another way of conferring freedom was by teſtament. A ſlave was ſaid to be free by teſtament, when his maſter, in conſideration of his faithful ſervice had left him free by his laſt will. This kind of liberti or freed-men were ſtiled Orcini, becauſe their maſters were gone to Orcus, or the infernal regions. In alluſion to this cuſtom, thoſe ſenators were merrily diſtinguiſhed by the name of Senatores Orcini, who, upon the death of Julius Cæſar, thruſt themſelves into the ſenate without any juſt claim to the ſenatorial dignity (81). From theſe two manners of conferring freedom came the Latin expreſſions, liber manumiſſione, liber teſtamento.

(81) Suet. in Octav. c. 35.

the ſenate refuſed to the declared enemies of Rome thoſe means which they deſigned to make uſe of for its deſtruction; ſo that their palace, with its beautiful portico, was deſtroyed, and their lands diſtributed among thoſe indigent citizens who had none of their own. The public kept only a piece of ground, lying between the city and the Tiber, and bordering on the campus Martius, which the king had, by an incroachment on the city, added to his demeſnes, and cultivated for his own profit. This piece of ground was conſecrated to Mars, and became afterwards a common field, where the Roman youth exerciſed themſelves in running and wreſtling. After the field was conſecrated, the Romans ſcrupled making any advantage of the corn, which they found ready reaped to their hands, and therefore threw it, together with the trees which encompaſſed the field, into the Tiber. The water being at that time very low, the trees and ſheaves of corn, ſtopping in a muddy place, began to form that iſland, which, from the many temples built on it, was afterwards called the holy iſland [w] (W).

In the mean time, the weakneſs which Collatinus had betrayed at the trial of the conſpirators, had turned the ſuſpicions, which the people entertained of him, into hatred. Brutus, obſerving this, took advantage of the diſpoſition of the multitude to get him depoſed. In a numerous aſſembly of the people he made a ſpeech, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt him, as if he had attempted the deſtruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend. He ended his harangue with theſe words; 'His ſoliciting you to reſtore 'to the enemies of Rome their eſtates, and to grant impu-'nity to cruel conſpirators, have unmasked a partiſan of the 'Tarquins, concealed under the appearance of a conſul. Let 'us prevent, O Romans, the evils, which a domeſtic enemy 'is preparing for us. Let us deprive him of that authority 'which he abuſes, and wreſt that ſword out of his hand with

[w] Dio. Hal. & Plut. ibid.

(W) The Romans built ſeveral temples on the iſland, particularly three frequently ſpoke of by the antients, viz. one dedicated to Faunus, another to Jupiter, and the third to Æſculapius, which was a very magnificient ſtructure. From theſe temples it was called the ſacred iſland. It was joined to the city, and to the Janiculum by two bridges, whence it took the name of the iſland of the two bridges.

'which he threatens us. In my judgment he ought to be 'depoſed. I therefore order you to aſſemble by curiæ, to 'determine by your ſuffrages, whether Collatinus or Brutus 'is to be your conſul; you cannot have both, for I from this 'moment renounce the conſulſhip, if Collatinus is to ſhare 'the government with me.' Theſe words made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the multitude, that they would not hear Collatinus, when he began to ſpeak in his own defence. His only reſource was to forbid the people, by virtue of his authority as conſul, to hold the aſſembly, which his collegue had appointed; but this prohibition was a new provocation, which raiſed the indignation of the people to ſuch a height, that they cried out to have their votes inſtantly taken, and were going to depoſe Collatinus with ignominy, and baniſh him by a public decree. But Spurius Lucretius, his father-in-law, having obtained leave of the conſuls to ſpeak to the aſſembly, adviſed Collatinus voluntarily to reſign into the hands of the people that authority which he had received from them. Then he exhorted Brutus not to inſiſt on the diſgraceful baniſhment of a collegue, who, jointly with him, had been one of the principal authors of the common liberty, adding, that if Collatinus ſhould, of his own accord, deveſt himſelf of the conſulſhip, it would be but reaſonable, that the Romans ſhould mitigate the uneaſineſs of his voluntary retirement by their liberality, ſo as to enable him to ſupport the dignity of a Roman conſul in his retirement. This advice was received with univerſal applauſe. Collatinus reſigned the conſulſhip; and Brutus, after having commended his wiſdom, to ſhew that he had no perſonal enmity to him, procured him a preſent of twenty talents out of the public treaſury, to which he added five talents of his own. Collatinus retired to Lavinium, where he led a quiet life, and died in a very advanced age [x] (X).

Collatinus is forced to abdicate the conſulſhip.

BRUTUS

[x] Dio. Hal. p. 287. Plut. ibid.

(X) Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus differs in his account of this whole matter from Plutarch, whom we have followed, thinking his relation of theſe tranſactions more agreeable to the temper of Brutus. The former writer tells us, that Brutus, immediately after the execution of his children, cauſed the Aquilii to be brought before him, and gave them leave to make their defence; and that they, after their letters were read aloud, having recourſe to tears and entreaties only, owned the crimes that

BRUTUS, that the people might have no room to ſuſpect that he intended to govern ſingly, immediately aſſembled the people by centuries in the campus Martius, for the election of a new conſul, when Publius Valerius was choſen, a man remarkable for his eloquence, for the talent of reconciling differences, an exceſſive abſtemiouſneſs, ſeverity to himſelf and compaſſion for the miſeries of other men (Y). As the two conſuls were equally eminent for their love of virtue and of the

P. Valerius is choſen to ſucceed him.

that were laid to their charge. Whereupon the inflexible Brutus ordered the lictors to ſeize them, and execute the law upon them. Collatinus ſuſpended the execution, and made the warmeſt remonſtrances in favour of the conſpirators; but being piqued at the obſtinacy of Brutus, he had recourſe to his authority and pardoned the criminals. This ſo exaſperated Brutus, that he committed the Aquilii to priſon, in ſpite of the oppoſition of his collegue, and accuſed him before the people of treaſon and perfidiouſneſs. Collatinus, finding the people obſtinately bent againſt him and thoſe whoſe defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exerciſe the office of conſul with dignity, and therefore abdicated. Brutus, upon his abdication, put all thoſe to death, who had been any-ways concerned in the conſpiracy. Livy ſays, that Collatinus was obliged to lay down the conſulſhip, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had the misfortune to be deſcended from the Tarquins. The ſame author places the conſpiracy of the Vitellii and Aquilii in the conſulſhip of Brutus and Valerius, after Collatinus was depoſed; but therein he is contradicted both by Plutarch and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, who place the circumſtances of the conſpiracy in the order we have related them.

(Y) Valerius was originally a Sabine, and ſtill preſerved that auſterity of manners, which was profeſſed in the country of his anceſtors. The firſt of his family, who ſettled at Rome, was Valerius Voleſus, or, as Feſtus and the Faſti Capitolini call him, Veluſus. Plutarch gives him the honour of negotiating the peace between Romulus and Tatius. Valerius Voleſus, father of P. Valerius, left him a great eſtate, the beſt part which he applied to the relief of the indigent in the time of the kings, when his liberality could not proceed from any hopes of preferment. He was a man of great eloquence, conſidering the ruſticity of the Romans in thoſe days; but is ſaid never to have made uſe of the art of perſuaſion but to defend the oppreſſed, as he made no other uſe of his great wealth, but to relieve the miſerable. However, he was not free from ambition, and had taken it very much amiſs, that the people, in the former election, had preferred to him one of the blood of the Tarquins.

public good, there was a perfect harmony between them. They began their adminiſtration by paſſing a law, which granted a general amneſty to all thoſe who had followed the fortune of the Tarquins, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wiſe precaution deprived the baniſhed king of a great number of friends and ſoldiers, and brought back to Rome many perſons of eminent parts [y]. However, Tarquin was not ſo diſcouraged by the deſertion of the Romans, as to loſe all hopes of recovering the kingdom, and getting by force what he could not carry by ſtratagem. He had recourſe to the Veientes, the old enemies of Rome, and having engaged them and the Tarquinienſes to unite their forces in the ſupport of his cauſe, he advanced towards Rome. The conſuls, without delay, marched out to meet him. Brutus commanded the horſe, and Valerius the foot, drawn up in a ſquare battalion. When the two armies were in ſight of one another, a motion was made on both ſides to begin the onſet. Brutus advanced with his cavalry, and Aruns, one of Tarquin's ſons, at the ſame time came forward at the head of the enemy's horſe. Aruns no ſooner diſcovered Brutus, attended with lictors, but, inflamed with rage, he cried out, "There he is, the enemy of my "family, the uſurper of my father's throne." This ſaid, he puſhed on his horſe, and Brutus flew to meet him. As the two champions were hurried on more by hatred and rage, than the love of glory, paſſion left no room on either ſide for ſkill or precaution. They ruſhed on to the encounter with ſuch fury, that they were both run through the body. Their horſes, meeting each other with a violent ſhock, threw their dying riders; and the death of theſe generals was the prelude to the battle, which continued till night with dubious ſucceſs, it not being known in either camp which ſide had gained the victory, or which had loſt the greater number of men; but in the night the Hetrurians, being terrified by a voice which was heard out of the neighbouring wood of Arſia, declaring the Romans conquerors, without doubt a ſtratagem of Valerius, abandoned their camp in great confuſion, diſbanded, and returned into their own country. Hereupon Valerius, remaining maſter of the field, plundered the enemy's camp; and, having cauſed the ſlain to be numbered, found, that the Hetrurians had loſt eleven thouſand three hundred men, and the Romans but one man ſhort of that number. For this

The Tarquinienſes and Veientes declare for Tarquin.

Brutus ſlain in the engagement.

[y] Dion. Halicar. p. 288.

this victory Valerius triumphed on his return to the city, after a more magnificent manner than any before him. Soon after he buried his collegue Brutus with great pomp, and gave Rome the firſt example of thoſe funeral orations, which were ever after made in commendation of great men. The women diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, for looking upon Brutus as the avenger of the honour of their ſex, they mourned for him a whole year (Z). As Valerius deferred ſome time convening the centuries for the election of a new conſul, the Romans, who carried their love of liberty to an exceſs, began to put a bad conſtruction upon his delays; and their jealouſy was in ſome meaſure countenanced by his building at that time a fine houſe, on a ſteep part of the hill Palatinus, which commanded the forum. But Valerius, being informed of their uneaſineſs, cauſed the houſe to be levelled with the ground the very next night; and having called the people together as ſoon as it was day, he expoſtulated with them about their groundleſs ſuſpicions, bid them go ſee the ruins of that building which had given them umbrage, and told them, that he deſigned to fix his habitation in the valley, that they might, from the top of the hill, cruſh him with ſtones, if he was ſtill the object of their jealouſy. When he had ended his ſpeech, he ordered the comitia to aſſemble for the election of a new conſul. On this occaſion Rome gave a freſh proof of her gratitude to the firſt authors of her liberty; for Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, was unanimouſly choſen to ſucceed Brutus. He was the only perſon who remained unrewarded of the four patricians, who had bound themſelves by oath to deliver their country from ſlavery. He was

(Z) Brutus is deſervedly counted by all the antients among the moſt illuſtrious heroes we find mentioned in hiſtory. He reſtored liberty to his country, ſecured it with the blood of his own ſons, and died in defending it againſt an uſurper. The Romans looked upon him as a ſecond founder of their city, and owned, that he had undergone more hardſhips and dangers in eſtabliſhing the commonwealth, than Romulus had done in founding the kingdom. The Romans afterwards erected his ſtatue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midſt of the kings of Rome, with a naked ſword in his hand. It plainly appears, that he left no iſſue; and yet Tully mentions Marcus Brutus, one of the chief conſpirators againſt Cæſar, as lineally deſcended from the firſt conſul; but herein he is contradicted by moſt of the antients, who tell us, that Junius Brutus left no children behind him.

was therefore pitched upon for the conſular dignity; but the new conſul died a few days after his election; ſo that Valerius was once more ſole governor. And now the many proofs which he gave the people of his zeal for their intereſt, gained him the name of Poplicola, or Popular, which he ever after retained. He began his adminiſtration by ordering the axes, which were ſo apt to ſtrike terror, to be taken out of the faſces, which he obliged the lictors to lower in the aſſemblies of the people. He made ſeveral laws in favour of the people, which greatly retrenched the conſular power. By one he allowed an appeal from the conſuls to the people. By another he exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute. A third law preſcribed an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the orders of the conſuls; but limited the fine laid upon thoſe who diſobeyed them, to the value of five oxen and two rams. He alſo publiſhed a fourth, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any perſon who ſhould aſpire to the ſovereign power. Impunity was promiſed to the murderer, provided he could prove the ill deſigns of the perſon he had killed. The laſt law he enacted was, with relation to the public money, which he ordered to be removed from his own houſe to the temple of Saturn, where it was committed to the care of two ſenators of probity, choſen by the people, and afterwards called quæſtors[z] (A). Poplicola had no ſooner enacted

Valerius gets the name of Poplicola or Popular.

His laws in favour of the people.

[z] Liv. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) According to Plutarch, there were no quæſtors in Rome till Poplicola's time; and this office was originally annexed to that of the conſuls, or rather a branch of it. But Ulpian, on the contrary, pretends, and quotes ſeveral authors to ſupport his opinion, that there were quæſtors even in Tullus Hoſtilius's reign. To reconcile theſe two opinions, it is to be obſerved, that the name of quæſtors among the Romans had two different ſignifications; ſometimes it ſignified commiſſioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and ſometimes magiſtrates, who were put in commiſſion for managing the public money. Ulpian might ſpeak of the former ſort of quæſtors, as being in the time of the kings; and Plutarch of the other, which was introduced by Poplicola in the time of the commonwealth. The office of the quæſtors was to take care of the public treaſure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; for their office laſted no longer; to furniſh the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the public; and to receive embaſſadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and

ed thoſe laws, and made ſeveral other regulations very advantageous for the people, but he aſſembled the comitia for the election of a new conſul, which he had deferred, only becauſe he apprehended, that a collegue might poſſibly oppoſe his deſign

and other neceſſaries. When the army returned from any war, the military enſigns were put into their hands, to be depoſited by them in the temple of Saturn. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the ſpoils taken from the enemy, and ſwore to it. Tho' the quæſtors had no juriſdiction, that is, could not cite any perſon to appear before them, or impriſon a man; Neque vocationem, neque prehenſionem habebant, atque ad prætorem in jus vocari poterant, ſays Aulus Gellius (82); yet the moſt illuſtrious patricians, and even thoſe who had been conſuls, did not think this office beneath them. We find in the antient annals, that Titus Quinctius Capitolinus and M. Valerius were quæſtors, after they had enjoyed the honour of the conſulſhip three times. Cato the elder accepted the quæſtorſhip after he had triumphed, and diſcharged the firſt and moſt honourable employments of the republic. There were at firſt two quæſtors only, and thoſe of the patrician order; but, as their buſineſs encreaſed, it was thought adviſeable to create two more, whoſe province was confined to the paying of the armies abroad, and the ſelling of the plunder and booty. When this regulation came to be paſſed into a law by the people, the tribunes inſiſted, that it ſhould not paſs, but upon condition, that two of the four quæſtors ſhould be plebeians. This the ſenate and conſuls oppoſed at firſt, but were at length obliged to yield to the demands of the tribunes. Theſe new quæſtors were called quæſtores conſulares, militares, and peregrini. They attended the Roman armies, paid the troops, and ſold the ſpoils and priſoners taken from the enemy. The other quæſtors were called quæſtores ærarii and urbani, becauſe they were quæſtors of the treaſury, and reſided at Rome. In the laſt conſulſhip of Fabius Gurges, that is, about the year of Rome 488, the great encreaſe of the republic cauſed the number of the quæſtors to be doubled. The four new ones were called provincial quæſtors, and each of them had his province, where he reſided, thoſe parts of Italy, which were ſubject to Rome, being divided into four large provinces or diſtricts. The provincial quæſtors were afterwards multiplied, in proportion as the republic enlarged her conqueſts. The military quæſtors and the urbani, or thoſe who reſided in Rome, had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor apparitores, nor any other marks of diſtinction annexed to their office; nay, they were obliged to appear before the prætor, when ſummoned by the meaneſt of the citizens; but the provincial quæſtors, to encreaſe the ſtate of the Roman people,

(82) Aul. Gel. l. xiii. c. 13.

were

ſign of diminiſhing the conſular power. The choice fell upon Horatius Pulvillus; and a few months after his election, the firſt year of the conſular power being expired, Poplicola was choſen again, and with him was joined T. Lucretius, the brother

were allowed to appear in their provinces with the pretexta, and guarded by lictors with their faſces. This is plain from ſeveral paſſages in Tully. In his third oration againſt Verres, The two Sicilian quæſtors, ſays he, came before me with their faſces; and in his oration for Plancius, he acknowledges it as a favour, that Plancius, tho' then quæſtor, came to receive him at Dyrrachium without his lictors and the uſual marks of his dignity. The office of the provincial quæſtors was to take the ſame care of the revenues of the provinces, which the quæſtores ærarii had of the revenues at Rome. They were particularly concerned in all caſes relating to proviſions; and no contract for corn could be made without them. The four provincial quæſtorſhips were ſought for by the moſt ambitious, before Rome had extended her conqueſts beyond Italy; but when ſhe had brought the eaſt and weſt under ſubjection, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces, the four Italian ones began to be deſpiſed. The proconſuls and proprætors, that is, the governors of thoſe provinces and kingdoms, had each his quæſtor to take care of the revenues; and then the quæſtorſhips of the large and diſtant provinces were moſt greedily ſought for by thoſe who were qualified to ſtand candidates for them. They were there out of the ſight of the ſenate, and ſometimes in rich governments, where they could raiſe more money, and were more honoured and reſpected; for this reaſon, when the quæſtors drew lots in the preſence of the Roman tribes for the quæſtorſhips, the perſon, to whom any of the Italian ones fell, became the jeſt of the people. He goes to the waters, ſaid the people, meaning, that he was going to live quietly near Rome, as thoſe Romans did, who went to Baia or Puteoli for the waters. Some think, that this proverb alludes to the office of the Italian quæſtors, who were often obliged to go to the ſea-ports to collect the impoſts the republic had laid on exported goods. The quæſtors were firſt choſen by the people, and afterwards by the conſuls, the quæſtorſhip being originally a branch of their office. In Tully's time they were again choſen by the people in the comitia by tribes; of which more hereafter. The office of quæſtor, tho' often diſcharged by perſons who had been conſuls, was the firſt ſtep to great employments. None could ſtand for the quæſtorſhip till they attained to a certain age; but to determine the exact age the laws required, is no eaſy matter. Some pretend, that none could undertake this office till they were twenty-ſeven, and quote Polybius in favour of their opinion; for

brother of the famous Lucretia. The new conſuls revived the cenſus and the luſtrum, and on that occaſion found one hundred and thirty thouſand men in Rome, who were at, or paſt, the age of puberty [a].

In the mean time, Poplicola's ſecond conſulſhip being expired, he was choſen a third time, and with him Horatius Pulvillus, who had before been conſul for a few months. During their conſulſhip, Porſena, king of the Cluſini, one of the twelve nations of Hetruria, being gained by the great promiſes of Tarquin, eſpouſed his cauſe, and, at the head of a prodigious, but ſomewhat confuſed, multitude of Hetrurians, advanced to the banks of the Tiber. The firſt poſt he attacked was the fort of the Janiculum, which he made himſelf maſter of, obliging the Romans to retire over the bridge into the city. This firſt ſhock put them into confuſion; but the conſuls, encouraging their men, made them paſs the river with the utmoſt expedition, and drew them up in order of battle beyond the bridge, to ſecure the paſs. Hereupon Porſena advanced to engage them. The victory was long doubtful; but M. Valerius, Poplicola's brother, and T. Lucretius, who were at the head of the left wing, being both wounded and carried out of the field, a general terror ſeized the Roman army. Horatius Cocles, a brave Roman, having endeavoured in vain to rally the terrified legions, reſolved rather to die than abandon his poſt; and being joined by Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, theſe three heroes placed themſelves in the narrow paſs which led to the bridge, and there, calling out to the Romans to break it down, valiantly oppoſed the enemy, till the demolition of the bridge was near completed. Then Horatius, having prevailed upon his companions to croſs the river on a few planks which remained, ſuſtained for ſome time

Porſena king of Cluſium eſpouſes the cauſe of the Tarquins.

The remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles.

[a] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 293.

for that author writes (83), that the quæſtorſhip was not to be obtained till after ten years ſervice in the army; and the Romans uſually entered into the army at the age of ſeventeen. Others think, that the age fixed by the law was twenty-four or twenty-five. In proceſs of time, when honours were obtained by intrigues and favour, theſe laws were neglected; for Cæſar and Pollio were quæſtors, as Quintilian informs us (84), long before they were of the age the law required.

(83) Polyb. l. vi. (84) Quintil. l. xii.

time alone the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, upon a ſignal given him that the bridge was quite demoliſhed, he leaped into the river, and gained the oppoſite bank, through a ſhower of darts. Thus, by the wonderful bravery of one man, was the city and republic ſaved from impending ruin. The whole city was ſo ſenſible of this, that they all haſtened to pay their acknowledgments to their deliverer. They crowned him at his arrival, carried him on their arms from the place where he landed into the city, and erected a ſtatue of braſs to him in the temple of Vulcan. The ſenate gave him as much land as one plough could encloſe within a circular furrow in one day; and tho' there was a great ſcarcity in Rome, yet the inhabitants, to the number of three hundred thouſand, aſſeſſed themſelves, to make him a preſent of as much proviſions as each of them conſumed in a day. However, as Horatius had but one eye, whence he was ſirnamed Cocles, and continued lame the remainder part of his life, theſe defects prevented his ever being elected conſul.

As Porſena was maſter of the country on both ſides of the river, it was very difficult to find proviſions for ſo great a number of inhabitants. A famine therefore began to be felt, and many of the indigent populace, who, in ſuch caſes, are the firſt ſufferers, went to ſeek bread in the enemy's camp; but the conſuls kept up the courage of the beſt citizens, by aſſuring them, that a convoy of corn would ſoon arrive in the camp from Pometia: and their expectations were not diſappointed; many boats loaded with corn ſafely entered the port of Rome in the night. But in a ſhort time the city was again reduced to great ſtreights; which Porſena having notice of, ſent the Romans word, that he would deliver them from the hunger they ſuffered, if they would receive their old maſters; but they, notwithſtanding their preſent diſtreſs, returned this anſwer, That hunger was a leſs evil than ſlavery and oppreſſion.

In the mean time, the conſuls formed a ſcheme for drawing the enemy into an ambuſcade; and for that purpoſe ſpread at Rome a report, which was ſoon carried into the Hetrurian camp by the ſlaves who deſerted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be ſent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bate drew the enemy into an ambuſh, in which five thouſand of them were cut in pieces; but, notwithſtanding this and ſome other ſmall advantages, Rome was almoſt wearied out with ſo long a ſiege

a ſiege, when Mucius Cordus, a young Roman of an illuſtrious birth, formed a deſign, which raiſed the courage of the people. He prevailed upon the conſuls to conſent to it, and imparted it to the ſenators, leſt his leaving Rome ſhould be looked upon as a deſertion; but all he told them was, that he intended to croſs the Tiber, enter the enemy's camp, and there execute ſome great exploit. The conſuls and ſenate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the preſent deplorable ſtate of Rome, he went out of the city with a poniard under his garment, and, being dreſſed in the Hetrurian habit, entered the enemy's camp undiſcovered, mixed with the Hetrurian ſoldiers, whoſe language he had learned from his infancy, and made his way quite to the king's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were all reviewed and paid, and Porſena's ſecretary, magnificently dreſſed, was ſitting on the ſame tribunal with the king, giving audience and receiving petitions. Mucius, miſtaking him for the king, leaped upon the tribunal, and, with one ſtroke of his poniard, laid him dead at the king's feet. He then attempted to make his eſcape through the multitude that ſtood amazed at ſo bold and unexpected an attempt; but being ſeized and brought back to the tribunal, which he had juſt ſtained with blood, "Thou execrable "aſſaſſin", ſaid the king, "who art thou? whence comeſt "thou? who are thy accomplices"? To which words Mucius, leſs terrified than his judge, made this reply; "I "am a Roman, and my name is Mucius Cordus. My de- "ſign was to deliver Rome from her moſt cruel enemy; "diſcharge therefore all thy fury upon me. Thou haſt "been an eye-witneſs of my courage, now try my con- "ſtancy with tortures; and then thou wilt be forced to "confeſs, that Roman bravery has made me capable both "of attempting whatever man can do, and ſuffering what "human nature can endure". This diſcourſe filled Porſena with amazement; but he was ſtill more ſurprized when he ſaw the Roman, with a ſteady countenance, and a look, which teſtified his inward rage at having miſſed his blow, thruſt his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there hold it a great while without ſhewing any ſigns of pain. So ſurpriſing a ſight changed the king's reſentment into admiration. Porſena granted him his life and liberty, and reſtored him the dagger, which he had made uſe of with a deſign to ſtab him. Mucius, who had now loſt the uſe

The deſperate enterprize, and wonderful reſolution of Mucius Scævola.

of

of his right hand, took it with his left; and thence had the ſirname of Scævola, that is, Left-hand [b].

Mucius was in his turn charmed with the generoſity of his enemy; but had the preſence of mind to invent a ſtory for the ſervice of his country. He pretended to diſcover to the king a plot, which, he ſaid, was formed at Rome againſt his life by three hundred young Romans, all as reſolute as himſelf, who were diſperſed in the Hetrurian camp, and had bound themſelves, by the moſt ſacred oaths, to attempt his life, one after another, at the ſame hazard as he had done. Porſena, ſtruck with terror at his pretended diſcovery, as ſoon as Mucius was retired, called a council to deliberate about the means of preſerving himſelf from the dangers which threatened him. His friends and counſellors ſuggeſted various precautions; but none of them ſeeming ſufficient to remove his uneaſineſs, his ſon Aruns, a great admirer of the Roman virtue, adviſed him to render all precautions needleſs, by abandoning the cauſe of a few exiles, and concluding a peace with the Romans. His advice made an impreſſion on Porſena; and, as the Hetrurians had already begun to complain of the length of the ſiege, he ſent deputies to Rome, whoſe demands ſhewed, that their maſter had much abated of his former pretenſions; for they did not inſiſt on the reſtoration of the Tarquins, but only on the reſtitution of their eſtates, or an equivalent. And, in regard of their own nation, they required the Romans to reinſtate the Veientes in the poſſeſſion of ſeven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars. The embaſſadors were received at Rome with joy; and their demands being heard in the ſenate, Poplicola prevailed upon the ſenators to comply with them; but the people would not conſent to the firſt article, till Porſena had heard the ſtrong reaſons they had to offer againſt it; after which they were willing to leave it to his arbitration. As to the other article, they readily agreed to it, and offered hoſtages to ſecure the performance of it. A truce being agreed on, the Romans ſent their deputies to Porſena's camp, to plead their cauſe againſt the Tarquins, and with them the hoſtages they had promiſed, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome. Among theſe were the ſon of Horatius the conſul, Valeria the daughter of Poplicola, and the famous Clælia. The reception Porſena gave the Roman

Porſena deſiſts from his demand of having Tarquin reſtored

[b] Liv. l. ii, c. 12. Plut. in Poplic.

man envoys, raiſed the jealouſy of the Tarquins, who, ſtill retaining their antient pride, refuſed to admit Porſena for a judge between them and the Romans. But the king, without any regard to their oppoſition, reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf, by an exact enquiry, whether the protection he had given the Tarquins was juſt? But while the cauſe was ready to be opened before the Roman deputies, news was brought, that the young women, whom the Romans had ſent as hoſtages, had ventured to ſwim croſs the Tiber and were returned to Rome. They had gone to bathe in the river; and Clælia happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, that ſight raiſed in her a deſire of returning to it. She therefore ventured to ſwim croſs the river; and having encouraged her companions to follow her, they all got ſafe to the oppoſite ſhore, and returned to their fathers houſes (B). The return of the hoſtages gave the conſul Poplicola great uneaſineſs; he was afraid leſt this raſh action might be imputed to want of fidelity in the Romans. To remove therefore all ſuſpicions, he ſent a deputation to the Hetrurian camp, aſſuring the king, that Rome had no ſhare in the fooliſh attempt of the young women, and promiſing to ſend them immediately back to the camp from whence they had fled. Porſena was eaſily appeaſed; but the news of the ſpeedy return of the hoſtages being known in the camp, the Tarquins, without any regard to the truce, or reſpect to the king their protector, lay in ambuſh on the road to ſurprize them. Poplicola, having put himſelf at the head of the Roman troops who eſcorted them, ſuſtained the attack of the Tarquins, tho' ſudden and unexpected, till his daughter Valeria rode full ſpeed to the Hetrurian camp, and gave notice of the danger her father and companions were in; and then

The adventure of Clælia.

(B) Authors vary as to the circumſtances of this fact; for Livy ſays, that the young women croſſed the river in ſight of the Hetrurians, who lined the ſhore, and in the midſt of the darts, which were diſcharged at them from all parts. Aurelius Victor and Florus tell us, that Clælia, having accidentally found a horſe, croſſed the river on horſe-back. Porſena, as we have ſaid, preſented her with a fine horſe; which might give riſe to this fable. An equeſtrian ſtatue was erected to her memory in the via ſacra, which, according to Plutarch, was to be ſeen in his time (85). Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus ſays it was conſumed by fire.

(85) Plut. in Poplicol.

then Aruns, the king's ſon, flying with a great body of cavalry to their relief, put the aggreſſors to the rout. This notorious piece of treachery in the Tarquins, gave Porſena ſtrong ſuſpicions of the badneſs of their cauſe. He therefore aſſembled the chief commanders of the Hetrurians, and having heard in their preſence the complaints of the Romans, and the juſtification of their proceedings againſt the Tarquins, he was ſo ſtruck with horror at the recital of the crimes the Tarquins were charged with, that he immediately ordered them to leave his camp, declaring, that he renounced his alliance with them, and would no longer continue the hoſpitality he had ſhewn them. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and enquired, who was the firſt author and chief manager of the enterprize? They all kept ſilence, till Clælia herſelf, with an air of intrepidity, confeſſed, that ſhe alone was guilty, and that ſhe had encouraged the others by her advice. Upon this, the king, extolling her reſolution above the bravery of Horatius and the intrepidity of Mucius, made her a preſent of a fine horſe with ſumptuous furniture. After this he concluded a peace with the Romans, and reſtored to them all their hoſtages, declaring that their bare word was to him ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of the articles [c].

Porſena renounces his alliance with the Tarquins.

His generoſity towards the Romans

And now Porſena, being to return to Cluſium, gave, before his departure, a further teſtimony of his reſpect and friendſhip for the Romans. He knew, that Rome was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; but being afraid to offend the inhabitants by relieving them in a direct manner, he ordered his ſoldiers to leave behind them their tents and proviſions, and to carry nothing with them but their arms. As his camp abounded with all ſorts of proviſions, Rome was hereby much relieved in her wants. The moveables and corn of the Hetrurians were ſold by auction to private perſons; and on this occaſion the Romans took up the cuſtom of making a proclamation by an herald, when any effects belonging to the public were to be ſold, in the following words, "Theſe are Porſena's goods." The deſign of this was to preſerve the memory of that prince's kindneſs. The ſenate, not ſatisfied with this, erected a ſtatue of the king near the comitium, and ſent an embaſſy to him with a preſent

[c] Dio. Hal. p. 302. Liv. l. ii. c. 4. Plut. ibid.

ſent of a throne adorned with ivory, a ſceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe [d].

AFTER the departure of Porſena, the Romans firſt rewarded thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the ſiege, eſpecially Mucius Scævola, to whom they gave a large piece of ground belonging to the public. Their next care was to ſhew their gratitude to the gods, by ſome public act of religion; and as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had not yet been conſecrated, the ſenate ordered the conſecration of it. It naturally belonged to one of the conſuls to perform the ceremony; but it was the right of the ſenate to appoint which of the conſuls they pleaſed. The patricians had been long jealous of the glory, which Poplicola had acquired in his three conſulſhips; and therefore in order to rob him of this mark of diſtinction, ordered him to march out againſt ſome Latin troops, that committed ravages in the Roman territory, and in his abſence, appointed his collegue Horatius Pulvillus to perform the ceremony. As he was beginning the conſecration, Poplicola's brother, Marcus, cried out, "I give you notice, that your ſon has "loſt his life in a battle." This was falſe; but he hoped by theſe words to interrupt the ceremony. But Horatius, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, coldly replied, "Then "let him be buried," and finiſhed the conſecration. Thus Poplicola ended the glorious year of his third conſulſhip, with receiving a mortification, which could not but ſenſibly affect him. Spurius Lartius and T. Herminius, who had ſo valiantly defended the bridge, were choſen conſuls for the next year; which proved a year of peace.

IN the conſulſhip of M. Valerius, brother to Poplicola, and P. Poſthumius, who ſucceeded the above-mentioned conſuls, the Sabines, invading the Roman territories, committed great devaſtations. Whereupon the two conſuls took the field; and having divided their forces into two bodies, Poſthumius with one of them encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Rome, to prevent a ſurprize from the Tarquins; while Valerius poſted himſelf at Tiber upon the Anio. As the Sabines were encamped on the oppoſite bank, Valerius, by the advice of his brother Poplicola, croſſing the river, offered them battle; which they not declining, a bloody engagement enſued, wherein Valerius gained ſome advantage with his right, but his left being almoſt puſhed into the river,

The Sabines twice defeated.

[d] Dio. Hal. p. 303. Liv. & Plut. ibid.

he was very near loſing the day, when his collegue who had notice of the action, coming ſeaſonably to his relief, attacked the enemy in flank, and put them to flight. The Sabine troops would have been entirely cut off, if night coming on had not given them an opportunity to eſcape. For this victory the conſuls were decreed a triumph, and they both entered Rome in the ſame chariot. Valerius is ſaid to have gained the ſame year a ſecond victory over the Sabines, and to have killed thirteen thouſand of them, without the loſs of one Roman. The republic therefore, to reward him according to his merit, built him a houſe, and, to diſtinguiſh it from all others, ordered the door to be ſo hung, as to open outwards to the ſtreet; whereas the doors of all other houſes opened inwards. As for Poſthumius, he was allowed to have a burial-place for himſelf and his family within the walls of Rome; a privilege never before granted to any [e].

Appius Claudius ſettles at Rome.

THE next year, when Poplicola was conſul the fourth time, the Sabines renewed the war. Actius Clauſus, the moſt eminent man in Sabinia, for riches, valour, and eloquence, firſt retarded their preparations, by ſpeaking in all their diets againſt a war with Rome, and then came over to the Romans, with five thouſand families of his friends and dependents. On his arrival at Rome, he changed his name to Appius Claudius, was immediately declared a patrician, and took his place in the ſenate. Twenty-five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city aſſigned for his friends and followers, to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Theſe donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the ſenate, confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people. The family of the Claudii became afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious families of Rome. The Sabines, enraged at the departure of Clauſus, took the field with a very conſiderable army; and it was very lucky for Rome that they determined to come to a battle before the year of Poplicola's conſulſhip was out. The

The Sabines defeated again,

Sabine army was divided into two bodies, one of which encamped in the open field near Fidenæ; the other kept within the walls of that city, to guard it, and ſecure a retreat to the other body, in caſe they were defeated. On the other hand, the conſuls, having likewiſe divided their army

[e] Plut. ibid. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15.

army into two bodies, marched out againſt the enemy. Poplicola took his poſt over-againſt the Sabines, while Lucretius, the other conſul, encamped on an eminence within reach of his collegue. The Romans were eager to engage immediately, and end the diſpute at once by a deciſive battle; but the Sabines, not daring to venture an engagement in the day-time, reſolved to make a ſudden attack on the enemy's camp in the dead of the night. With this view they prepared great quantities of faſcines to fill up the ditch, and ſcaling ladders to mount the ramparts. The body of Sabines, which guarded Fidenæ, was ordered to march out of the town on the firſt ſignal, and fetching a large compaſs, to lie in ambuſh behind Lucretius's camp, in order to ſurprize it, when Lucretius ſhould march to the aſſiſtance of his collegue, and then charge him in the rear. But the wiſe Poplicola, receiving timely intelligence of the enemy's deſigns, inſtantly diſpatched his brother Marcus to the other camp, to acquaint Lucretius with the night-expedition reſolved upon by the Sabines. Both conſuls, having taken the neceſſary precautions, waited for the enemy, without ſuffering their troops to ſhew any marks of ſuſpecting their intention. The Sabines marched ſilently out of their camp before midnight, and drawing near the Roman entrenchments, filled up the ditch with faſcines, and paſſed over to ſcale the rampart; but, as faſt as they advanced to it, they were, without any noiſe, ſtabbed by the Romans, who were drawn up in the ſpace between the ditch and the rampart. The ſlaughter continued till the moon roſe, when the Sabines diſcovering the dead bodies of their companions, and the Roman troops, who had ſtrewed the ground with them without being perceived, betook themſelves to a confuſed flight. The Romans purſued them with loud ſhouts; which being heard by Lucretius, he, in his turn, went to attack the body that lay in ambuſh, and gained a complete victory over them. In this action thirteen thouſand Sabines were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand two hundred taken priſoners[f]. Poplicola, taking advantage of the enemy's conſternation, advanced with all his forces to Fidenæ; and having taken the place by aſſault, put to death the heads of the revolt; but ſpared the other inhabitants, obliging them only to ſurrender part of their lands, for the ſupport of the garriſon he left in the city. Poplicola, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph;

[f] Dio. Hal. l. v. p. 308.

Poplicola dies.

but ſoon after died, and was buried at the expence of the public, there not being found money enough in his houſe to defray the charges of his funeral. He was the moſt virtuous citizen, the greateſt general, and the beſt affected conſul to the people Rome had ever had. He had always led a frugal life, and taken more care to tranſmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. The Romans thought they could not refuſe him a burial-place in the city, and therefore erected a tomb for him near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the ſame place. But as the Valerii always affected popularity, they never made uſe of this privilege, but contented themſelves with carrying the bodies of thoſe who died in Rome to the ſepulchre of the founder of their family, and conveying them from thence out of the city, where the aſhes were depoſited in a tomb near the walls. As Poplicola had been one of thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the chaſtity of the Roman women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for Brutus. But his greateſt glory was compriſed under the name of Poplicola (C), which the Romans gave him, and his tender regard for the people had deſerved [g].

The Sabines renew the war.

THE Sabines were no ſooner informed of Poplicola's death, but they raiſed a more numerous army than they had done the preceding years; and, having made a ſudden incurſion into the Roman territory, advanced to the very gates of Rome. P. Poſthumius, one of the conſuls, being provoked at the inſolence of the Sabines, ſallied out againſt them with a good body of men, drawn together in a tumultuous manner. The Sabines, as ſoon as he appeared, fled to a neighbouring foreſt, where the main body of their army lay concealed. Poſthumius followed them; but, as he drew near the foreſt, the Sabines rallying faced about, and, with loud ſhouts, gave the ſignal to the whole army to fall upon the conſul's troops. Poſthumius made what reſiſtance he could with men out of breath and in diſorder; but was obliged to retire with great loſs. To complete his misfortune

[g] Idem, p. 314. Liv. l. ii. c. 16. Plut in Poplic.

(C) In ſome editions of the Latin hiſtorians we read Publicola inſtead of Poplicola; but the Faſti Capitolini, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, Plutarch, and Dio, call him conſtantly Poplicola which is an abbreviation of Populicola, a word denoting his regard for the people.

misfortune, he was intercepted in his retreat by a body of Sabines poſted on a little hill between him and the city; ſo that he was forced to paſs the night in the open field, ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy's ſquadrons. As ſoon as the defeat of Poſthumius was known at Rome, Menenius Agrippa, the other conſul, marched at the head of the braveſt youth in the city, to the relief of his colleague. But the Sabines, at his approach, retired into their own country, whence, elated with their late ſucceſs, they ſent a proud meſſage to the Romans, requiring them to receive the king they had baniſhed, to ſubmit to the Sabines, by whom they had been conquered, and to receive their laws. To this demand the Romans returned a ſuitable anſwer, commanding the Sabines to return to their former duty, and to come in a ſuppliant manner to beg pardon of their attempts againſt the authority of their maſters. After theſe mutual bravadoes, the conſuls on one ſide, and the Sabines on the other, took the field again, with all the forces of their reſpective ſtates. Both armies encamped near Eretum, about ten miles from Rome, where they ſoon came to a general engagement, in which Poſthumius, deſirous to redeem his credit, behaved with extraordinary valour, and, together with his collegue, obtained a complete victory. No ſooner did the news of this glorious day reach the ſenate, but they decreed a full triumph for Menenius, and an inferior one, which they called ovation (D), for Poſthumius, whoſe gallant behaviour in the

The Romans gain a complete victory over them.

(D) Authors differ in their opinions as to the derivation of this word; ſome derive it from ohè, denoting the admiration of the people in theſe ceremonies; others from the words evan or evoe, with which the Greek bacchanals rung. Plutarch refers the orgin of this word to the kind of victim, which was offered to the gods in the ceremony of the ovation (86); for in the triumph a bull was ſacrificed in the capitol, but in the ovation only a ſheep; ſo that, according to this writer, ovatio comes from the word ovis, ſignifying a ſheep. The perſon, who was honoured with an ovation, entered Rome on foot, or, at moſt, on horſe-back, and was attended by the ſenate only: his crown was of myrtle, not of laurel; and his robe only the prætexta, the common habit of magiſtrates. The ovation of Poſthumius, the firſt that had ever been ſeen in Rome, is marked in the Faſti Capitolini on the third of the nones of April. Two days after, Menenius

(86) Plut. in Marcel.

late action had not, in the opinion of the fathers, ſufficiently attoned for his miſcarriage in the beginning of the war.

THE Sabine war continued under the new conſuls, Sp. Caſſius Uſcellinus and Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus. The former, entering the enemy's country, defeated them in a pitched battle near Cures, ten thouſand three hundred of them being killed and four thouſand taken priſoners. This defeat obliged them to ſue for peace, which, after many ſubmiſſions, they purchaſed with corn, money, and ten thouſand acres of arable land. While Caſſius was thus employed againſt the Sabines, his collegue Virginius reduced Cameria, a city in the neighbourhood of Alba, which had revolted from the Romans; and having beheaded the moſt guilty of the inhabitants, ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and razed the city [h].

They ſubmit at laſt.

TARQUIN, ſtill reſtleſs, and not deſpairing to recover his kingdom, by means of his ſon-in-law Mamilius Octavius, prevailed upon the Latins, who had hitherto ſtood neuter, to eſpouſe his cauſe. During the alarm which this reſolution occaſioned at Rome, the Tarquins, in concert with ſome of the inhabitants of Fidenæ, made themſelves maſters of that city. Hereupon the conſul Manius, marching againſt the rebels, cloſely inveſted the place, and reduced it to great ſtreights. The beſieged, in that extremity, implored the aſſiſtance of the Latins; which occaſioned a general meeting of the deputies from the ſeveral cities of Latium. In this aſſembly it was debated, whether the Latins ſhould declare in favour of the Tarquins and the Fidenates, or adhere to the antient treaties between the two nations. After long debates, it was reſolved, that an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the Romans with propoſals, which were; 'That they ſhould receive the Tarquins, after they 'had engaged by oath to grant a general amneſty, and that 'they ſhould raiſe the ſiege of Fidenæ.' The embaſſadors were to allow the Romans a whole year to conſider on theſe overtures, and to threaten them with a war, in caſe they refuſed to comply with them. The chief view of Tarquin and his partizans in promoting this embaſſy was, to lay

The Latins declare for king Tarquin.

But, before they take the field, they ſend an embaſſy to Rome.

[h] Idem, p. 315.

Menenius Agrippa appeared with all the magnificence of a triumph; being mounted on a chariot, ſeated in a curule chair, cloathed with a robe embroidered with palm branches, he was conducted to the capitol with the ſound of trumpets, and the acclamations of the army and people.

lay hold of that opportunity to raiſe a ſedition in the city. To the embaſſadors therefore of the Latins he joined ſome of his own emiſſaries, who, on their arrival in the city, found two ſorts of people diſpoſed to enter into their meaſures, viz. the ſlaves and the meaner citizens. The ſlaves had formed a conſpiracy the year before to ſeize the capitol, and ſet fire to the city in ſeveral quarters at the ſame time. But, the plot being diſcovered, thoſe, who were concerned in it, had been all crucified; and this execution had highly provoked the whole body of ſlaves. As to the meaner citizens, who were for the moſt part overwhelmed with debt and cruelly uſed by their creditors, they were well appriſed, that there could happen no change in the government but to their advantage. Theſe were the conſpirators pitched upon; and to them were given the following parts to act: the citizens were to make themſelves maſters of the ramparts and gates of the city, at an appointed hour of the night, and then to raiſe a great ſhout as a ſignal to the ſlaves, who had engaged to maſſacre their maſters at the ſame inſtant. The gates of the city were then to be opened to the Tarquins, who were to enter Rome while it was yet reeking with the blood of the ſenators. The conſpiracy was ripe for execution, when Tarquin's principal agents, Publicus and Marcus, both of his own name and family, being terrified with frightful dreams, had not courage enough to proceed in their deſign, till they had conſulted a diviner. However, they did not diſcover to him the conſpiracy; but only aſked him in general terms, what ſucceſs they might expect in a project they had formed? The ſoothſayer, without the leaſt heſitation, returned the following anſwer, 'Your 'project will end in your ruin; diſburden yourſelves of 'ſo heavy a load.' Hereupon the Tarquins, fearing leſt ſome of the other conſpirators ſhould be before hand with them in informing, went immediately to S. Sulpicius, the only conſul then at Rome, and diſcovered the whole matter to him. The conſul greatly commended them, and detained them in his houſe, till, by private enquiries, he was aſſured of the truth of their depoſitions. Then he aſſembled the ſenate, and gave the Latin embaſſadors their audience of leave, with an anſwer to their propoſals; which was, 'that the Romans would neither receive the Tarquins 'nor raiſe the ſiege of Fidenæ, being all to a man ready 'to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their liberty, and 'willing to undergo any dangers, rather than ſubmit to 'the government of a tyrant.' The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed

A conſpiracy formed by ſome of Tarquin's emiſſaries.

The plot diſcovered.

diſmiſſed with this anſwer, and conducted out of the city, Sulpicius laid open to the fathers the dreadful conſpiracy, which ſtruck them with horror; but they were all at a loſs in what manner they ſhould apprehend and puniſh the guilty, ſince, by the law of Poplicola, there was an appeal to the people in all capital caſes, and the two witneſſes, who were ſtrangers, might be excepted againſt by the Roman citizens. In this perplexity they left the whole conduct of this critical affair to Sulpicius, who took a method, which, he thought, would equally ſerve to prove the guilt and puniſh the guilty. He engaged the two informers to aſſemble the conſpirators, and appoint a rendezvous at mid-night in the forum, as if they deſigned to take the laſt meaſures for the execution of the enterprize. In the mean time, he took all proper meaſures to ſecure the city, and ordered the Roman knights to hold themſelves ready, in the houſes adjoining to the forum, to execute the orders they ſhould receive. The conſpirators met at the time and place appointed by the two Tarquins; and the knights, upon a ſignal agreed on before-hand, inveſted the forum, and blocked up all the avenues to it ſo cloſely, that it was impoſſible for any of the conſpirators to make their eſcape. As ſoon as it was light, the two conſuls appeared with a ſtrong guard on the tribunal; for Sulpicius had ſent to his collegue Manius, who was beſieging Fidenæ, deſiring him to haſten to the city with a choſen body of troops. The people were convened by curiæ, and acquainted with the conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt the common liberty. The accuſed were allowed to make their defence, if they had any thing to offer againſt the evidence; but not one of them denying the fact, a decree paſſed in the ſenate, that the conſpirators ſhould be put to death, in caſe the people approved it. This decree of the ſenate being read to, and approved by, the aſſembly, the people were ordered to retire, and the conſpirators were delivered up to the ſoldiers, who put them all to the ſword. The peace of Rome was thought ſufficiently ſecured by this ſtroke of ſeverity; and therefore, tho' all the conſpirators were not puniſhed with death, it was judged proper not to make any further enquiries. The two informers were rewarded with all the privileges of Roman citizens, an hundred thouſand aſſes, and twenty acres of land. Three feſtival days were appointed for expiations, ſacrifices, and public games, by way of thankſ-

The conſpirators put to death.

ing

giving to the gods. But the general joy was diſturbed by a melancholy accident: as the people were conducting Tullius Manius the conſul from the circus to his houſe, he fell from his chariot, and died three days after[i].

THE city of Fidenæ was not yet reduced; it held out during the following conſulſhip of T. Æbutius and P. Veturius; but was taken the next year by T. Lartius, who, together with Q. Clælius, was raiſed to the conſular dignity. The Latins, enraged at the loſs of this town, began to complain of their leading men; which opportunity Tarquin and Mamilius improved ſo far, as to make all the Latin cities, twenty-four in number, enter into an alliance againſt Rome, and to bind themſelves by oath never to violate their engagements. The Latins made vaſt preparations, as did likewiſe the Romans; but the latter could procure no aſſiſtance from their neighbours. As the Latin nation was much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, they ſent deputies to ſollicit ſuccours from the ſeveral ſtates with which they were ſurrounded; but their negotiations proved every-where unſucceſsful: and what was worſe than all, the republic had rebellious ſons in her own boſom, who refuſed to lend their aid in defence of their country. The poorer ſort of people and the debtors refuſed to take the military oaths, or to ſerve, alledging their poverty and the fruitleſs hazards they ran in fighting for the defence of a city, where they were oppreſſed and enſlaved by their creditors. The ſpirit of mutiny ſpread among the inferior claſſes, moſt of them refuſing to liſt themſelves, unleſs their debts were all remitted by a decree of the ſenate; nay, they began to talk of leaving the city and ſettling elſewhere. The ſenate, apprehending a general inſurrection, aſſembled to deliberate on the means of quieting theſe domeſtic troubles. Some were for a free remiſſion of all debts, as the ſafeſt expedient at that juncture; others urged the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a condeſcenſion, adviſing them to liſt ſuch only as were willing to ſerve, not doubting, but thoſe who refuſed their aſſiſtance would offer it of their own accord, when it was no longer deſired. Several other expedients were offered; but at length this prevailed, viz. that all actions for debts ſhould be ſuſpended till the concluſion of the war with the Latins. But this the indigent debtors thought only

The Latin cities enter into an alliance againſt Rome.

The poorer citizens in Rome, and debtors, refuſe to ſerve.

[i] Idem, p. 320.

ly a ſuſpenſion of their miſery; and therefore it had not the intended effect on the minds of the unruly multitude. The ſenate might indeed have proſecuted the ringleaders of the ſedition; but the law of Poplicola, called the Valerian law, which allowed appeals to the aſſembly of the people, was a protection for the ſeditious, who were ſure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion. The ſenate therefore, to elude the effect of a privilege that put ſuch a reſtraint upon their power, reſolved to create one ſupreme magiſtrate, who, with the title of dictator, ſhould have an abſolute power for a time; but, as this could not be done without ſtriking at the law of Poplicola, and transferring the power of the people in criminal caſes to a magiſtrate ſuperior to all laws, it was neceſſary to uſe artifice, in order to obtain the conſent of the curiæ. They therefore repreſented to them in a public aſſembly, that, in ſo difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domeſtic quarrels to decide, and at the ſame time a powerful enemy to repulſe, it would be expedient to put the commonwealth under a ſingle governor, who, ſuperior to the conſuls themſelves, ſhould be the arbiter of the laws, and, as it were, the father of his country; that his power ſhould have no limits; but, however, leſt he ſhould abuſe it, they ought not to truſt him with it above ſix months. The people not foreſeeing the conſequences of this change, agreed to it; but the greateſt difficulty was, to find a man duly qualified in all reſpects for ſo great a truſt. T. Lartius, one of the conſuls, ſeemed to be of all men the moſt unexceptionable; but the ſenate fearing to offend his collegue by an invidious preference, gave the conſuls the power of chuſing a dictator, and obliged them to name one of themſelves, not doubting but Cloelius would yield to the ſuperior talents of his collegue; nor were they diſappointed in their expectation. But Lartius, with the ſame readineſs, named Cloelius; and the only conteſt was, which of the two ſhould raiſe the other to the ſupreme authority. Each perſiſted obſtinately in remitting the dignity to his collegue, till Cloelius, ſtarting up on a ſudden, abdicated the conſulſhip, and, after the manner of an inter-rex, proclaimed Titus Lartius dictator (E), who there-

(E) This ſupreme officer was called dictator, either becauſe he was dictus, that is, named by the conſul, or from his dictating and commanding what ſhould be done. No one could be created

thereupon was obliged to take upon him the government of the republic [k].

The firſt dictator. Year after the flood, 2506. Before Chriſt, 493. Of Rome 255.

LARTIUS indeed took as much ſtate upon him, after he had entered upon his office, as he had ſhewn modeſty in refuſing it. He began by creating, without the participation either of the ſenate or people, a general of the Roman horſe (F), an office which laſted only during the dictatorſhip, and which all ſubſequent dictators revived immediately after their election. Sp. Caſſius, formerly conſul

[k] Idem, p. 333

ed dictator till he had been conſul. The time aſſigned for the duration of the office was the ſpace of ſix months. As to the perpetual dictatorſhips of Sylla and Julius Cæſar, they were notorious uſurpations and violations of the laws of their country. The dictator was not allowed to march out of Italy, leſt he ſhould take advantage of the diſtance of the place, to attempt ſomething againſt the common liberty. He was always to march on foot, except in caſe of a tedious or ſudden expedition, and then he formally aſked leave of the people to ride (87). In all other things his power was abſolute and uncontrouled. He might proclaim war, levy forces, lead them out, diſband them, &c. without conſulting the ſenate. He could puniſh as he pleaſed; and from his judgment lay no appeal. To make his authority more awful, he had always twenty-four faſces with axes carried before him, if we believe Plutarch (88) and Polybius (89). Livy aſcribes the firſt riſe of this cuſtom to Sylla (90). The authority of all other magiſtrates ceaſed, or were ſubordinate to him. He had the naming of the general of the horſe, who was wholly at his command. When his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his adminiſtration. In ſhort, the dictatorſhip was a kind of abſolute monarchy, tho' not durable, and was looked upon as the only refuge of the commonwealth in time of danger, till Sylla and Cæſar, converting it into a tyranny, rendered the name of dictator odious; inſomuch that, upon the murder of the latter, a decree paſſed in the ſenate, forbidding the uſe of that dignity upon any account whatſoever for the future (91).

(F) As the regal power was revived in the dictator, he was allowed to create a chief officer in the army, under the name of magiſter equitum, that is, maſter or general of the horſe; which

(87) Dio, l. xliv. Appian. l. iii. (88) Plut. in Fab. Max. (89) Polyb. l. iii. (90) Liv. epit. l. lxxxix. (91) Dio. Caſſ. l. xliv.

ful and honoured with a triumph, was the perſon he advanced to this ſecond ſtation in the republic. Lartius, having by this means ſecured the Roman knights, reſolved, in the next place, to make the people reſpect and fear him. With this view he never appeared in public, but attended by twenty-four lictors, to whoſe faſces he added again the axes, which Poplicola had cauſed to be taken from them. The novelty of this ſight was alone ſufficient to awe the ſeditious, and, without executions, to ſpread conſternation throughout Rome. The murmurs of the inferior claſſes being by this means ſilenced, the dictator commanded a cenſus to be taken, according to the inſtitution of king Servius. Every one, without exception, brought in his name, age, the particulars of his eſtate, &c. and there appeared to be in Rome one hundred and fifty thouſand ſeven hundred men, who were paſt the age of puberty. Out of theſe the dictator formed four armies; the firſt he commanded himſelf; the ſecond he gave to Clœlius his late collegue; the third to Sp. Caſſius his general of the horſe; and the fourth he left in Rome, under the command of his brother Sp. Lartius, who was to guard the city. The Latins not being ſo forward in their preparations as was expected, all their hoſtilities againſt Rome this campaign amounted to no more than the ſending a detachment into the Roman territory to lay it waſte. The dictator gained ſome advantage over that party; and the great humanity with which he treated the priſoners and wounded, diſpoſed the Latins to liſten the more readily to the overtures, which he at the ſame time made them for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities. At length a truce was agreed on for a year; and then Lartius, ſeeing the republic reſtored to its former tranquillity, reſigned the dictatorſhip, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired [1].

A truce is made with the Latins for a year.

THE year of the truce with the Latins expired, when Aulus Poſthumius and T. Virginius took poſſeſſion of the conſulſhip. Both Romans and Latins were buſied in making

[1] Idem, p. 335.

which anſwered to the office of the Tribunus celerum in the time of the kings. It was the ſecond dignity in the Roman ſtate, but, like the dictatorſhip, temporary. The magiſter equitum ſerved as the dictator's lieutenant-general; but could act nothing without his expreſs order.

ing the neceſſary preparations for war. The nobility of Latium, who were for the moſt part in the intereſt of the Tarquins, having found means to exclude the citizens from the Latin diets, carried all before them in thoſe aſſemblies; whereupon many of the citizens removed with their families to Rome, where they were well received. The Latins being bent upon war, the ſenate, notwithſtanding the perfect harmony that reigned between them and the people, thought it expedient to create a dictator. The two conſuls were therefore impowered to name one of themſelves to that dignity; whereupon Virginius readily yielded it to his collegue Poſthumius, as the more able commander. The new dictator, having created Æbutius Elva, formerly conſul, his general of the horſe, and divided his army into four bodies, left one of them, under the command of Sempronius, to guard the city, and with the other three, commanded by himſelf, Virginius, and Æbutius, marched out againſt the Latins, who, with an army of forty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, under the command of Sextus Tarquinius, Titus Tarquinius, and Mamilius, had already made themſelves maſters of Corbio, a ſtrong-hold belonging to the republic, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Poſthumius encamped in the night on a ſteep hill near the lake Regillus; and Virginius on another hill over-againſt him. Æbutius was ordered to march ſilently in the night, with the cavalry and light armed infantry, to take poſſeſſion of a third hill upon the road, by which proviſions muſt be brought to the Latins. Before Æbutius had fortified his new camp, he was vigorouſly attacked by Lucius Tarquinius, whom he repulſed three times with great loſs, the dictator having ſent him a timely reinforcement. After this, Æbutius intercepted two couriers ſent by the Volſci to the Latin generals, and, by letters found upon them, diſcovered, that a conſiderable army of the Volſci and Hernici were to join the Latin forces in three days. Upon this intelligence, Poſthumius drew his three bodies of troops together, which amounted in all to no more than twenty-four thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, with a deſign to engage the enemy before the arrival of the ſuccours they expected. Accordingly he encouraged his men, and with his army in battle array, advanced to the place where the enemy was encamped. The Latins, who were much ſuperior to the Romans in number, and beſides began to want proviſions,

A new dictator created

did

The battle of Regillus.

did not decline the engagement. Titus Tarquinius, at the head of the Roman exiles and deſerters, was in the centre, Mamilius in the right wing, and Sextus Tarquinius in the left. In the Roman army the dictator commanded in the centre, Æbutius in the left wing, and Virginius in the right. The firſt body that advanced was that of the dictator, and as ſoon as it began to march, T. Tarquinius ſingling out the dictator, ran full ſpeed againſt him. The dictator did not decline the encounter, but flying at his adverſary, wounded him with a javelin in the right ſide. Upon this, the firſt line of the Latins advanced to cover their general; but he being carried out of the field, they made but a faint reſiſtance when charged by the troops of the dictator. They were deſtitute of a leader, and therefore began to retire, when Sextus Tarquinius taking the place of his brother, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigour, that the victory in the centre was ſtill doubtful. On the ſide of Mamilius and Æbutius, both parties, encouraged by the example of their leaders, fought with incredible bravery and reſolution. After a long and bloody conteſt, the two generals agreed to determine the doubtful victory by a ſingle combat. Accordingly the two champions puſhed on their horſes againſt each other. Æbutius with his lance wounded Mamilius in the breaſt; and Mamilius with his ſword Æbutius in the right arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal; but both generals falling from their horſes put an end to the combat. Marcus Valerius, the brother of Poplicola, ſupplying the place of Æbutius, endeavoured, at the head of the Roman horſe, to break the enemy's battalions; but was repulſed by the cavalry of the Roman royaliſts. At the ſame time Mamilius appeared again in the van with a conſiderable body of horſe and light-armed infantry. Valerius, with the aſſiſtance of his two nephews, the ſons of Poplicola, and a choſen troop of voluntiers attempted to break through the Latin battalions, in order to engage Mamilius; but, being ſurrounded by the Roman exiles, he received a mortal wound in his ſide, fell from his horſe and died. The dead body was carried off by the two ſons of Poplicola, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the exiles, and delivered to Valerius's ſervants, who conveyed it to the Roman camp; but the young heroes, being afterwards inveſted on all ſides and overpowered by numbers, were both killed on the ſpot. Upon their death, the

the left wing of the Romans began to give ground; but were ſoon brought back by Poſthumius, who, with a body of Roman knights, flying to their aſſiſtance, charged the royaliſts with ſuch fury, that they were, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged to give way and retire in the utmoſt confuſion. In the mean time Titus Herminius, one of the dictator's lieutenants, having rallied thoſe who had fled, fell upon ſome cloſe battalions of the enemy's right wing, which ſtill kept their ground under the command of Mamilius, killed him with his own hand, and put that body to flight. But while he was buſy in ſtripping the body of his enemy, he received himſelf a wound, of which he died ſoon after. Sextus Tarquinius in the mean time maintained the fight with great bravery, at the head of the left wing, againſt the conſul Virginius, and had even broke through the right wing of the Roman army, when the dictator attacked him unexpectedly with his victorious ſquadrons. Then Sextus, having loſt at once all hopes of victory, threw himſelf, like one in deſpair, into the midſt of the Roman knights, and there ſunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner. The death of the three generals was followed by the entire defeat of the Latin army. Their camp was taken and plundered, and moſt of their troops cut in pieces; for of the forty-three thouſand men who came into the field, ſcarce ten thouſand returned home. The next morning the Volſci and Hernici came, according to their agreement, to aſſiſt the Latins; but finding, upon their arrival, how matters had gone, ſome of them were for falling upon the Romans, before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but others thought it more ſafe to ſend embaſſadors to the dictator, to congratulate him on his victory, and aſſure him, that they had left their own country, with no other deſign, than to aſſiſt Rome in ſo dangerous a war. Poſthumius, by producing their couriers and letters, gave them to underſtand, that he was well appriſed of their deſigns and treacherous proceedings. However, out of regard to the law of nations, he ſent them back unhurt with a challenge to their generals to fight the next day; but the Volſci and their confederates, not caring to engage a victorious

The Latins defeated.

torious army, decamped in the night, and returned to their reſpective countries before break of day [m].

The whole Latin nation ſubmits.

THE Latins, having now no remedy but an entire ſubmiſſion, ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit a peace at Rome, yielding themſelves entirely to the judgment of the ſenate. As Rome had long ſince made it a maxim to ſpare the nations which ſubmitted, the motion of Titus Lartius, the late dictator prevailed, and the antient treaties with the Latins were renewed, on condition, however, that they reſtored the priſoners they had taken, delivered up the deſerters, and drove the Roman exiles out of Latium. Thus ended the laſt war, which the Romans waged with their neighbours on account of their baniſhed king; who, being now abandoned by the Latins, Hetrurians, and Sabines, retired into Campania, to Ariſtodemus tyrant of Cumæ, and there died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fourteenth of his exile.

Tarquin dies.

THE freedom, which the Romans recovered by the expulſion of Tarquin, being now ſecured to them by the death of that prince, who was the laſt of his family, and the Latin war ended greatly to the advantage of the republic, Poſthumius laid down his office, the courts of juſtice were again opened, and the creditors began to proſecute their debtors (G) with more vigour than ever, which revived

[m] Dio, Hal. l. vi. p. 345—350. Plin. l. xxxiii. Liv. l. iii. c. 4.

(G) When the debtor was inſolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to ſell him as a ſlave. After a certain number of ſummonſes, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace to raiſe the ſum for which he was accountable. The words of the law are; Æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis, triginti dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito——Vincito aut nervo, aut compedibus. After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not diſcharged the debt he was led to the prætor, who delivered him over to the mercy of his creditors. Theſe bound him and kept him in chains for the ſpace of ſixty days. Afterwards for three market-days ſucceſſively, the debtor was brought to the tribunal of the prætor; then a public crier proclaimed in the forum the debt, for which the priſoner was detained. It often happened, that rich perſons redeemed the priſoner by paying his debts; but if no-body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the puniſhments appointed by the law; Tertiis nundinis capite

vived the complaints and murmurs among the inferior claſſes. To prevent the diſturbances, which this affair might occaſion, the ſenate procured the conſulſhip for Appius Claudius, who had ever oppoſed, with great warmth, the pretenſions of the people; but leſt he ſhould exert too great ſeverity, they gave him for his collegue P. Servilius, a man of a gentle and humane temper, and greatly beloved by the people. The latter exhorted the ſenate, as ſoon as he entered upon his office, to eaſe the people, and reſtrain the ſeverity of the creditors; but Appius maintained, with his uſual conſtancy, that it was a manifeſt injuſtice to relieve the debtors at the expence of the creditors. The ſenate aſſembled daily, in order to ſettle the tranquillity of the city upon a laſting foundation; but met with ſo many difficulties, the conſuls being of different opinions, that they could never come to any concluſion. In the mean time, the oppreſſed populace held ſecret aſſemblies in the night, and ſeemed diſpoſed to riſe up in arms; ſo that the ſenate began to apprehend nothing leſs than a civil war. In the midſt of theſe diſturbances, the Volſci, who were all acquainted with the preſent ſtate of the city, having drawn together what forces they could, advanced towards Rome, promiſing themſelves great advantages from the domeſtic diſorders and univerſal confuſion which reigned in the city. It was therefore neceſſary for the conſuls to raiſe an army; but the Roman youth abſolutely refuſed to ſerve. This diſobedience occaſioned new diſputes between the conſuls, Claudius being for ſeverity, and Servilius for moderation.

Domeſtic broils at Rome.

capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregre venumduito, that is, Let him on the third market-day be puniſhed with death, or ſold beyond the Tiber as a ſlave. If there were ſeveral creditors, they were allowed, in conſequence of this ſevere law, to divide the body of the priſoner into ſeveral parts, and ſhare it among them, in proportion to the ſum they demanded; but, according to Quintilian and Cæcilius, humanity and cuſtom had given preſcription againſt ſo barbarous a law, which was never put in execution. This puniſhment was changed to coercion; that is, the creditors had a right to impriſon their debtors in their own houſes, and make them ſlaves. Theſe were called noxi, and not ſervi, becauſe their ſlavery laſted no longer than till their debts were paid. This coercion was afterwards changed into public impriſonment, which was a leſs rigorous puniſhment, than the ſlavery the debtors underwent in the creditors houſes, where they were often cruelly treated, and whipped unmercifully.

As the time drew near to take the field againſt the Volſci, the ſenate decreed, that Servilius ſhould command the army, and Claudius govern the city. But tho' Servilius was look-
The plebeians refuſe to liſt themſelves.
ed upon as a friend to the people, yet they refuſed to liſt themſelves, unleſs the ſenate came firſt to ſome determination about the important affair of debts. Servilius was therefore obliged to march againſt the enemy with ſuch only as offered to ſerve out of a perſonal affection to him. The Volſci, depending on the civil broils at Rome, had not been ſo expeditious in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face a Roman army in the field; and therefore they had recourſe to entreaties, by which they prevailed upon the goodnatured conſul to favour them and grant them a peace, upon condition that they ſupplied his troops with cloaths and proviſions, and delivered to him three hundred hoſtages of the beſt families [n].

Not long after the return of Servilius, the ſenate was informed from Latium, that the Volſci were making new preparations for war; that they had engaged the Hernici and Sabines to join them againſt Rome, and ſent deputies to their nation for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe deputies the Latin embaſſadors brought with them, and delivered them up to the ſenate. Such a treacherous proceeding in the Volſci, after they had been ſo kindly treated by the conſul Servilius,
An inſurrection at Rome
fired the ſenate, and war was immediately declared; but while the ſenators were yet ſitting, a plebeian, loaded with chains, appeared in the forum. He was advanced in years, tall of ſtature, lean, pale, with his eyes ſunk into his head, a long beard, and his hair in diſorder. At his clamours and geſtures the people crouded about him, and all looked on him with great attention, till at length ſeveral knew him, and remembered to have ſerved with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight in the firſt ranks of the legions with great valour. The bare ſight of him raiſed the compaſſion of the multitude; but when they had heard him give an account of his misfortunes, they were all filled with rage and indignation. He told them, that he was born fr[illegible]; and that he had, in eight-and-twenty battles, expoſed his life for the good of his country; that in the laſt war with the Sabines, he not only

[n] Idem ibid. p. 361. Liv. l. ii. c. 22.

only had been hindered from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after having plundered his houſe, had ſet it on fire; that the neceſſities of life and the tributes, which, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that, the intereſt been grown by degrees to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it; but that the mercileſs creditor, not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon, with two of his children; that to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had tore his body with whips. At the ſame time he flung off his garment, and diſcovered his back ſtill bloody; and on his breaſt the ſcars of the honourable wounds, which he had received in fighting for his country. At this ſight, the people, already ripe for ſedition, uttered a thouſand curſes againſt the patricians, and made ſuch outcries, as terrified the ſenate, which was then ſitting. The people flocked from all quarters of the city into the forum; the artificers left their ſhops; and thoſe, who were confined for debt, having found means to eſcape from their creditors, with the frightful figure they made, with their ragged cloaths, and the noiſe of their chains, raiſed both pity and indignation. Theſe unhappy wretches ſpread themſelves all over the city; and if any one offered to ſtop them, he was immediately maſſacred by the enraged multitude. The conſul Appius, ſeeing that the fury of the mutineers was like to fall upon him, left the ſenate, and, by favour of the tumult, got ſafe to his own houſe. Servilius, having pulled off his robe, that he might be thereby more agreeable to the people, ran into the thickeſt of the croud; and tho' he embraced ſome, threw himſelf at the feet of others, and ſhewed great compaſſion for all, yet he could not prevail upon them to ſuſpend all acts of violence to the next day, till he had promiſed, that the ſenate ſhould have regard to their complaints; nay, he went further, and proclaimed by a herald that no one ſhould moleſt any Roman citizen for debt, till the ſenate had decreed otherwiſe.

THE next day the forum was ſoon filled, both with citizens and country-people, brought thither by their common intereſt. The ſenate aſſembled, and Servilius laid before them the neceſſity, in ſuch a conjuncture, of abating ſomewhat of the ſeverity of the laws. On the other hand

Appius pretended, that this project tended to the ruin of the ſubordination neceſſary in a well-governed ſtate; and that the condeſcenſion, which Servilius was for ſhewing to the neceſſities of the people, would be looked upon by the ſeditious, only as a diſguiſed weakneſs, and ſo breed new pretenſions. As Appius could not bear contradiction, his ſpeech was tinctured with the harſhneſs of his manners; he even came to perſonal reflections, and repreſented his collegue as a vile flatterer of the plebeians and a favourer of the revolt. Servilius, in his turn, reproached him with the obſtinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animoſity he ſhewed againſt the people. The ſenators were divided between theſe two great men; ſo that there was no end of their diſputes. In the mean time, the people expected with impatience a decree in their favour, and there not being a ſufficient number of ſenators aſſembled for that purpoſe, they imputed their abſence to the conſul's management, in order to fruſtrate their hopes. While the people were yet in the forum, they ſaw ſome horſemen come full ſpeed to acquaint the Romans, that the Volſci were advancing with a deſign to beſiegeRome. The plebeians were overjoyed to ſee their own country in danger; and when the debtors were invited to take up arms in defence of the common liberty, they ſhewed the chains, with which their creditors had loaded them. 'Is it not the ſame thing to us,' ſaid they, 'whether theſe chains are put upon us by the enemy, or 'by our own countrymen? Let the patricians expoſe their 'lives, ſince they alone reap advantage from our victo-'ries. Shall we make a rampart with our bodies, only to 'hinder the enemy from pulling down our priſons, and 'carrying away our chains?' It was neceſſary, in this extremity, that ſomething ſhould be done to quell the tumult, and induce the people to lend their aſſiſtance againſt an inſulting enemy. Appius was obſtinate and inflexible; but Servilius was prevailed upon by his friends to make the people ſuch promiſes in the name of the ſenate, as the ſenators were firmly reſolved never to perform. He told them, that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the ſenate to comply with their demands, as it were out of fear; but that when the war ſhould be ended, the ſenate would in gratitude remit all their debts. This diſcourſe abated the fury of the populace; and the reading a decree, which paſſed the ſame day, entirely quelled it. All creditors were thereby forbidden to proſecute any Roman citizen for debt, who was willing to ſerve, or to ſeize his children

The conſul Servilius, by fair promiſes engages the people to liſt themſelves.

dren or his goods; but the creditors, were commanded to proſecute all ſuch debtors with the utmoſt ſeverity, as either ſhould refuſe to ſerve, or deſert after they were inrolled. To this wiſe law Rome owed her preſervation; for it was no ſooner publiſhed, than multitudes crouded to the capitol, and even made intereſt to be admitted into the legions. When the levies were completed, Servilius marched to meet the enemy, and encamped near the Pontine lake (H); where the Volſci, attempting to ſurprize his camp, were entirely defeated. The conſul, to reward his ſoldiers, gave them all the ſpoil, that they might have wherewithal to pay their debts (I). He then marched to Sueſſa Pometia, the capital of the Volſci, took it by aſſault, and put all to the ſword who were able to bear arms. He gave likewiſe this wealthy city up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of the ſpoil for the public treaſury. In the mean time, Appius, who had been left in Rome, beheaded

And defeats the Volſci.

(H) The Pontine lake took its name from the city of Pometia, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable cities of Latium. This part of Latium, before it was laid under water by the overflowing of the Nymphæus, the Amaſena, the Aſtura, and the Ufens, was thought the garden of Italy. There were, according to Pliny (2), twenty-three cities in it, which are ſuppoſed to have been drowned by inundations, or overturned by earthquakes; for there were no remains of them to be ſeen in the time of Dionyſius Harlicarnaſſeus.

(I) It was cuſtomary, in the beginning of the commonwealth, to divide the ſpoils between the victorious army and the public treaſury. The product of theſe ſpoils was generally applied to the building of temples, the celebrating of public games, or the adorning of the city. Servius tells us (3), that the generals thought themſelves obliged to appropriate part of the fruit of their victories to the god, whoſe protection they had invoked. Agreeable to this cuſtom, adds the ſame writer, there was a temple in Rome, conſecrated to Jupiter the plunderer, Jovi prædatori. Servilius was accuſed by his collegue of having acted contrary to the law, which ordained, that the general, who returned from any military expedition, ſhould not diſpoſe of the ſpoil as he pleaſed. This law made him accountable for it; but nevertheleſs the republic often diſpenſed with it, and left it to the diſcretion of the general to diſtribute ſuch military rewards among his ſoldiers, as he thought fit; provided he gave an account of his adminiſtration to the people, and did not appropriate to his own uſe the fruits of the conqueſts he had made in the name of the republic.

(2) Plin. l. iii. c. 5.

(3) Servius in l. iii. Æneid.

the three hundred hoſtages, which the Volſci had given to the Romans upon Servilius's firſt expedition [n].

So glorious a campaign had merited the honours of a triumph for the conſul, who returned to the city with hopes of obtaining it; but, on his arrival, he was informed, that his collegue Appius had perſuaded the ſenate to refuſe him it, under pretence, that he was a ſeditious man, who aimed at popularity, by an exceſſive indulgence and profuſeneſs to his ſoldiers. Servilius, being ſenſibly affected with the unjuſt proceedings of the ſenate, took a bold ſtep, which afterwards proved a fatal precedent to his country. He no ſooner came before Rome, which none were allowed to enter who demanded a triumph, but he cauſed the people to be called together in a field without the walls, and there complained to them, both of the jealouſy of his collegue and the injuſtice of the ſenate; upon which the people encouraged him by their acclamations to attempt whatever he pleaſed. Without regard therefore to the deciſion of the ſenate, he decreed himſelf a triumph, and marched, with the uſual pomp, to the capitol, followed by his army, and attended by all the people [o].

He is refuſed a triumph.

But triumphs in ſpite of the ſenate.

WHILE the people were taken up with public games and rejoicings, on account of the victory over the Volſci, embaſſadors arrived from the Aurunci, demanding, that the Roman garriſon in Ecetra, a Volſcian town which had lately ſubmitted to Rome, ſhould be removed from thence, and adding threatenings, in caſe of refuſal. As Ecetra ſtood on the confines of the country of the Aurunci, they had taken umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garriſon. The ſenate therefore ſent the envoys back with this anſwer, Go, tell your maſters, that it is a dangerous thing to attack thoſe, whoſe very neighbourhood is formidable to them. The Aurunci, provoked at this anſwer, entered Latium, and advanced as far as Aricia, where they were met by the Roman army, under the command of Servilius and the famous Poſthumius, ſirnamed Regillenſis from the victory he had gained over the Latins at the lake Regillus. The battle which enſued was very bloody; but the Romans, though at firſt greatly diſheartened at the gigantic ſtature, fierce looks, and martial

[n] Dio. Hal. p. 362,—365. Liv. l. ii. c. 23—25. [o] Dio. Hal. & Liv. ibid.

martial air of the enemy, gained at length a complete victory, and made themſelves maſters of the camp of the Aurunci, who retired into their own country. Of all the plebeians, who ſerved in this and in the late war with the Volſci, none behaved with more gallantry than thoſe who were moſt in debt. The people therefore thought, that, after ſo many victories, they might demand of the ſenate the performance of Servilius's promiſe. But the inflexible Appius even doubled the ſeverity of the judgments he gave againſt ſuch debtors as were brought before his tribunal; he ordered all thoſe, who had been ſet at liberty during the war, to be brought back to their creditors priſons by force. Thoſe who were arreſted appealed to Servilius, urging the promiſes he had made before the campaign, and the ſervices they had done in the war; but Appius having got the aſcendent in the ſenate, Servilius had not intereſt enough to prevail upon them to make good his word given in their name, or to protect the unhappy wretches; ſo that he became as much deſpiſed, as Appius was hated. This appeared very remarkably, when the time came to conſecrate a temple, which had been erected to Mercury. The conſecrator was to enjoy conſiderable powers and privileges; and on this account the ſenate, unwilling to diſguſt either Appius or Servilius, referred the whole matter to the people. The curiæ were therefore aſſembled, with full power to chuſe whom they pleaſed; and they, to ſhew how much they were diſpleaſed with both the conſuls, beſtowed the honour of conſecrating the temple on one Lætorius, who was only a centurion. Hereupon Appius and Servilius, equally enraged, joined with the ſenate in putting in execution the laws againſt debtors with the utmoſt ſeverity; but the people, paying no regard to their authority, when any plebeian was proſecuted for debt, crouded into the forum, and made ſuch a noiſe, that the ſentence pronounced by the judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appeaſe their creditors, or mollify the ſenate by entreaties, but inſulted both; ſo that the patricians, and not the plebeians, were now in danger of impriſonment and ſlavery [p].

He defeats the Aurunci.

In

[p] Liv. ibid. c. 23,—27.

The Sabines revolt, but the people refuſe to ſerve.

In the mean time, the Sabines, encouraged by theſe inteſtine broils, revolted, and engaged the Roman colony of Medulia to enter into an alliance with them; which was confirmed by mutual oaths. The new conſuls, A. Virginius and T. Veturius, both men of little note, ſummoned the tribes, in order to raiſe an army for the war, which threatened them; but the people obſtinately refuſed to liſt themſelves, till ſuch time as all debts ſhould be cancelled. Hereupon the conſuls, aſcended their tribunal, called upon one of the moſt factious by name to come and be enrolled. As the man did not anſwer the ſummons, he was inſtantly ſeized; but the populace tore him out of the lictors hands, and inſulted both the conſuls, and patricians who attended them. While the city was thus rent into factions, and all things ſeemed to tend to a civil war, envoys arrived from the Latins and Cruſtumini, complaining of the hoſtilities of the Æqui and Sabines, and at the ſame time embaſſadors from the Volſci, demanding reſtitution of the lands, which had been taken from them in the late war. Theſe embaſſies filled the Romans with conſternation or joy, according to the party each had embraced. As it was neceſſary to give all theſe deputies proper anſwers, the ſenate aſſembled, and after long debates, returned the following anſwer to the embaſſadors of the Volſci, viz. That it was not conſiſtent with the honour of the republic to comply with their demands. As to the Latins and Cruſtumini, who were in alliance with Rome, they were aſſured, that the republick would not leave them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, without ſending them ſuccours. With theſe anſwers the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed; but, as Rome could neither protect her allies, nor repulſe her enemies, unleſs peace were firſt eſtabliſhed at home, the ſenate met again the next day, to deliberate about the methods neceſſary to procure that happineſs. The conſul Virginius was for protecting thoſe debtors, who had fought ſo ſucceſsfully the laſt year, and for leaving the others to the ſeverity of the law. Titus Lartius, that venerable ſenator who had been formerly dictator, pleaded in behalf of all debtors. Appius, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, enumerated all the motives, which had engaged him to ſide with the patricians; declared, that he could not change his opinion; urged the dangerous conſequences of violating contracts between debtors and creditors; and, in the cloſe of his

ſpeech

ſpeech, propoſed the naming of a dictator in the preſent extremity. This expedient was thought dangerous by ſome of the oldeſt ſenators; but the motion was carried by a majority, and Manius Valerius, a man of ſeventy years of age, brother to the famous Poplicola, was nominated by one of the conſuls, contrary to the law, which required, that the dictator ſhould be choſen out of ſuch as had been, or were actually, conſuls; but, as no man was judged more proper for that ſtation at this time, the neceſſity of the caſe made the ſenate overlook rules. Valerius, as ſoon as he was proclaimed dictator, named for his general of the horſe Quintus Servilius, brother to the laſt year's conſul; and finding the minds of the people well inclined to his government, he aſcended the tribunal, and harangued the multitude, putting them in mind of the great zeal his family had always ſhewed for their intereſt, and deſiring in return their confidence. He promiſed, that, if they would lend their aſſiſtance and ſerve their country at this time, he would procure for them from the ſenate all the reaſonable condeſcenſions they could expect. "And, "in the mean time", ſaid he, "I command, that no "mention be made of confiſcations or impriſonments "during my adminiſtration". The people, depending on the promiſes of the dictator, took arms with pleaſure, and ten legions were ſoon raiſed; three of which were given to each conſul, and four reſerved for the dictator. Veturius was ordered to march againſt the Æqui, Virginius again the Volſci, and the dictator himſelf led his legions againſt the Sabines. The three generals were all attended with good ſucceſs, and it proved a glorious campaign for the republic. Valerius on his return was honoured with a triumph, and, as a further mark of diſtinction, both the ſenate and people agreed in allotting him an honourable place in the circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed, that a curule chair ſhould be always placed there for him; an honour which they made hereditary in his family [q].

Manius Valerius, a brother of Poplicola, created dictator.

The Æqui, Volſci, and Sabines, defeated.

But now Valerius, remembering his promiſes to the people, demanded of the ſenate the performance of them. But the patrician uſurers had made ſuch a party in the ſenate during his abſence, that the ſenators not only refuſed to comply with his demands, but reproached him with the affection

The ſenate refuſes to comply with the demands of the dictator in favour of the people

[q] Dion. Hal. p. 373. Liv. ibid.

affection of his family for the plebeians, and taxed him with betraying the intereſts of the ſenate. The prudent dictator, to prevent in ſome degree, the misfortunes which threatened the republic, ſent a colony of poor debtors to Velitræ, which had been juſt taken from the Volſci. But, as there ſtill remained a great number of theſe unhappy wretches, he ſolicited anew the ſenate in their favour. But his motion being rejected, he told the ſenators in great anger, that perhaps in a ſhort time they would wiſh for ſuch an interceſſor with the people, and, leaving the ſenate abruptly, ſummoned the people. When the aſſembly was formed he appeared in it with all the enſigns of his dignity; and in the firſt place acknowledged his obligations to them; then he made great complaints of the unſincere conduct of the ſenate, with regard both to them and him; and laſtly declared his reſolution to retire, or to ſurrender himſelf up to their reſentments, if they ſuſpected that he had betrayed their intereſt. Having ended this ſpeech, he laid down his employment, and ſtripped himſelf of the badges of the dictatorſhip. The people, who had heard him with ſentiments of reſpect and veneration, conducted him quite home to his houſe with loud acclamations, as if he had procured the abolition of their debts. The ſenate to prevent the diſorders which they foreſaw muſt attend the abdication of an injured dictator, ordered the two conſuls, who ſtill held the ſoldiers engaged by their oath (K), to lead

He reſigns his dignity.

(K) The giving the military oath, called ſacramentum, was, properly ſpeaking, the legal method of forming the Roman armies. After the ſoldiers had been choſen out of each tribe, this oath was adminiſtered to them in the following manner: The tribunes of each legion aſſembled the bodies they commanded. Then one ſoldier in a legion ſwore, in the name of all the reſt, to obey the commander of the Roman army. After this, every ſoldier came and ſingly engaged to perform what had been ſworn. In proceſs of time another oath, called by Livy (4) jusjurandum, was added to this, by virtue of which rebels and deſerters were puniſhed with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewiſe another way of inliſting men, called conjuratio, which took place in unforeſeen commotions and ſudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be loſt in raiſing the neceſſary forces, the ſoldiers were excuſed the formalities uſually obſerved in inrolling them. The general only went

(4) Liv. l. xxii.

lead the army into the field, under pretence, that the Æqui and Sabines were making freſh preparations for war. The ſoldiery, who were well appriſed of the artifice, went out of Rome with the utmoſt rage; and therefore, as ſoon as they were in the field, ſome of the moſt ſeditious propoſed the aſſaſſinating of the conſuls, not out of any perſonal hatred, but merely to free themſelves from the oath which bound them to their command. Others thought, it would be monſtrous to put an end to the religious engagements they had entered into with the conſuls by criminal means, and on that account rejected the motion. After the leaders of the mutiny had conſidered of various projects, they concluded at laſt to carry away the military enſigns and ſtandards, and engage all the troops to follow them without the privity of their officers (L). This deſign

went up to the capitol, and there erected two ſtandards, one red for the foot, and the other blue for the horſe. After this, he pronounced theſe words: "Let thoſe who love the ſafety of "the republic, make haſte and follow me." A third way of inrolling men was this: the conſuls committed into the care of perſons appointed for that purpoſe the raiſing of troops in different places, as the republic had occaſion for them; and this was called evocatio. The military oath was ſo eſſential in liſting men, that no Roman could ſerve in the army, even as a voluntier, or kill an enemy, till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn promiſe to obey his general. In conſequence of this cuſtom, which was authorized by law, Tully tells us (5), that Cato wrote to Pompilius to inform him, that his ſon could not continue in the army without taking the military oath again, the time of his former engagement being expired.

(L) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus gives us the reaſon why the legions ſo readily followed their enſigns. The Romans, ſays he, when they are in the field, reſpect nothing more than their enſigns and ſtandards. They ſwear by their military enſigns, and pay them a ſort of religious worſhip. On certain feſtivals they crown them with flowers and perfume them. Animated by this ſuperſtitious prejudice, they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers, and deſpiſed death itſelf to ſecure thoſe precious pledges, and prevent their being taken by the enemy. Thoſe, to whoſe care they were committed, were either put to death, or whipped, if they ſuffered the enemy to take them. The Romans, in the times of their firſt ſimplicity, had no other enſigns or colours, but a bundle of hay or graſs faſtened to the top

5) Cic. de off. l. i.

The ſoldiers deſert their generals and retire.

deſign was executed under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinnius Bellutus. The troops marched away, and encamped beyond the Anio, three miles from Rome, on a hill called afterwards the ſacred mount, as their retreat was ſtiled the ſeceſſion [r].

The firſt thing the rebellious army did was, to chuſe themſelves a general, and Sicinnius was the man they pitched upon. Then they ſecured themſelves within ſtrong intrenchments, where they lay quiet without committing any hoſtilities. The conſuls and officers, ſeeing themſelves thus deſerted by their troops, diſpatched a meſſenger to Sicinnius, exhorting him to return to the camp and bring back the troops to their duty. But he returned ſuch an anſwer, as ſhewed that he was determined to keep no meaſures with the patricians. A deſertion ſo general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneaſineſs to the ſenate, and occaſioned a general conſternation in the city. The patricians were forced to guard the gates themſelves, in order to prevent the citizens from going out to join the malecontents. But notwithſtanding this precaution, thoſe who were burdened with debts, and ſuch as loved novelty, eſcaped and flocked to the camp of Sicinnius. In this general confuſion the ſenate met daily, and, after warm debates, in which they mutually accuſed each other of indulgence and ſeverity, they at length agreed to ſend a deputation to the malecontents, offering them a general pardon, and exhorting them to return to the city. But this ſtep only ſerved to encreaſe the inſolence of the ſoldiers. The deputies were therefore ſent back contemptuouſly, with no other anſwer, but that the patricians ſhould quickly find what enemies they had to deal with. This anſwer occaſioned new alarms in the city. In the mean time, the two conſuls, whoſe magiſtracy was expiring, aſſembled the centuries, which were left in Rome, for the election of their ſuc-

The ſenate diſpatch two deputations to the malecontents.

[r] Dion. Hal. p. 375. Liv. l. ii. c. 30.

top of a long pole, as we have obſerved above. In ſucceeding ages they made uſe of the figures of monſters and animals, viz. of eagles, dragons, boars, wolfs, &c. Each manipulus had its own enſign. The horſe made uſe of a ſtandard, called vexillum, which was made of a piece of rich ſtuff, about a foot ſquare. It was faſtened to a croſs piece of wood, which was fixed to the top of a pike. But the form of the enſigns and ſtandards varied according to the times and the temper of the Romans, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

ſucceſſors, and as no body at ſo dangerous a conjuncture ſtood candidate for that dignity, they obliged Poſthumius Cominius and Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus, both conſular men and equally agreeable to the plebeians and patricians, to accept the conſulſhip. Their firſt care was, to convene the ſenate to deliberate upon the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy methods of reſtoring peace and union. Menenius Agrippa, a man of great integrity, and who ſtood neuter in the diviſions of the people and ſenate, being the firſt called upon to give his opinion, declared warmly for a reconciliation with the people, and propoſed the ſending of ſuch deputies, as were agreeable to them, with full power to make up matters, upon whatever conditions they ſhould think neceſſary for the good of the republic. M. Valerius, the late dictator, being deſired next to give his opinion, upbraided the ſenate with neglecting his former counſels; accuſed their indiſcretion in not offering the people an abolition of their debts by the firſt deputation, foretold, that the mutineers would, beſides their firſt demands, inſiſt upon laſting ſecurities for their future preſervation from oppreſſion; laſtly, he declared for the opinion of Menenius, adviſing the ſenate not to delay one moment giving the people ſatisfaction, let their demands be what they would. Appius, when it was his turn to ſpeak, oppoſed, in a very plauſible harangue, the opinion of Menenius and Valerius, and declared entirely againſt treating with the rebels, till they had laid down their arms; but on that condition was for ſhewing them mercy and indulgence. Hereupon the ſenate was divided; the old men were for Menenius Agrippa and Valerius; the young ſenators, jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, declared all for Appius, and the uproar was ſo great, that they almoſt came to blows. The two conſuls, who were diſpoſed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give time to thoſe hot ſpirits to cool, and with that view put off the deciſion of this great affair to another day. But before the aſſembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young ſenators, who had behaved in a very audacious manner, they threatened to exclude them from the ſenate, by fixing the age (M) neceſſary for a ſenator, unleſs they brought a more peaceable diſpoſition of mind along

Warm debates in the ſenate.

(M) It is manifeſt from hence, that the laws had not yet determined at what age one might be admitted into the ſenate; and yet that there was a fixed age afterwards required is very certain;

along with them. Some days after, the ſenate met anew, when every thing was tranſacted with great tranquillity, Menenius, being deſired again to declare his ſentiments, ſtill continued to think it neceſſary, that plenipotentiaries ſhould be ſent to the malecontents, with full power to grant them whatever they ſhould think conſiſtent with the good of the republic. All the ſenators, who had been conſuls, agreed with Menenius, except Appius, who, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, continued to proteſt againſt treating with rebels, till they had laid down their arms, and prayed Jupiter and the tutelar gods of Rome, that he might be deceived in his apprehenſions of the evil conſequences of ſuch a ſtep.

HOWEVER, the ſenate, determined by all means to divert the preſent evil, continued in their former reſolution of ſending commiſſioners to treat with the malecontents, and accordingly ten were named, and among them T. Lartius, Menenius Agrippa, and M. Valerius, all three in great eſteem, and of whom two had governed the republic, and commanded her armies in quality of dictators. Theſe with their colleagues ſet out for the camp, where they were received with all the reſpect due to their character. The preſence of the deputies had been ſufficient to bring back the mutineers to their duty, had not ſome turbulent ſpirits taken care to keep up the fire of diſcord. Theſe were Sicinnius Bellutus and another plebeian much of the ſame character, named Lucius Junius, like the founder of the republic; nay, he affected the certain; for Tully, in ſpeaking of Pompey (6), ſays, that he commanded armies before he had attained to the age that was required in a ſenator; the ſame is affirmed by Plutarch; and no expreſſion is more frequently made uſe of by the antient hiſtorians in the lives of great men, than that of ætas ſenatoria. But what age the laws fixed is uncertain. Dio Caſſius limits it to five and twenty, which was the age required for the quæſtorſhip, the firſt office of any conſiderable note. However, we read of many perſons promoted to this dignity without any regard had to their years. Pompey eſtabliſhed among the Bithynians a law, by which no one could become a member of their ſenate till he was thirty complete. It is probable, he followed the cuſtom of the Roman republic in this regulation; and the more ſo, becauſe Pliny the younger, in one of his letters to the emperor Trajan, ſays, that the Bithynians made the Romans their patterns, eſpecially in what related to their magiſtracy and ſenate.

(6) Cic. pro lege Manil.

the ſurname of Brutus, thinking himſelf deſtined to deliver the people from the tyranny of the ſenate, as the famous Brutus had freed Rome from the oppreſſion of the kings. Theſe two, being appointed by the malecontents to treat with the deputies from the ſenate, effaced with their crafty and artful ſpeeches the impreſſion, which the preſence of the deputies and their harangues had made on the minds of the multitude. But Menenius Agrippa, after having aſſured them, that the ſenate had, with unanimous conſent, determined to annul all bonds and obligations at preſent ſubſiſting, ſo ſoftened the populace by this promiſe and the famous apology of a conſpiracy of all the members of the human body againſt the ſtomach, which he applied to the people and the ſenate, that they all cried out, that they were ſatisfied, and that he might lead them back to Rome. This ſudden motion alarmed the pretended Brutus, who repreſented to the people, that they ought, indeed, to be very thankful for the favour ſhewed them at preſent in the abolition of their debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know, that he was very apprehenſive about the future, and therefore was of opinion, that means ſhould be found to ſecure the liberties of the people againſt the attempts of the ambitious patricians. What other ſecurity can you aſk, replied Menenius, beſides what our laws and the conſtitution of the republic already afford? Give us leave, anſwered Brutus, to chuſe annually out of the body of the plebeians a certain number of magiſtrates, who, without having any other authority in Rome but that of protecting them, may oppoſe or diſannul any edicts or judgments which ſhall be burdenſome to the people. If you come hither with a ſincere intention of peace, you cannot reject ſo equitable a propoſal. The deputies, greatly ſurpriſed at ſuch a demand, told them, that they aſked a very extraordinary thing, which abſolutely exceeded the bounds of their inſtructions and powers; but that M. Valerius and ſome others of the deputies would go and make their report of it to the ſenate, and return with an anſwer. Accordingly, they repaired with all ſpeed to Rome, where M. Valerius gave his opinion in favour of the people, while Appius, burning with indignation, exclaimed againſt the dreadful conſequences which would attend Valerius's condeſcenſion. But his remonſtrances were neglected, and the other ſide prevailed, moſt of the ſenators being weary of theſe diviſions, and deſirous to have peace at any rate; ſo that, with almoſt an uni-

The artful management of Junius Brutus, one of the heads of the ſedition.

univerſal conſent, a ſenatus-conſultum or decree of the ſenate was paſſed, permitting the creation of theſe new magiſtrates, who were called Tribunes of the people. This decree which included alſo the abolition of debts, was carried by the deputies of the ſenate to the camp as a ſeal of peace. The people were now for returning to Rome, but the leaders of the ſedition would not allow them to ſeparate, before they had elected the new magiſtrates. The aſſembly was held in the very camp, and, the auſpices being taken, the ſuffrages were gathered by curiæ, when L. Junius Brutus and C. Sicinnius Bellutus were, according to Dionyſius, choſen for the firſt tribunes. Theſe immediately named the two Licinii, Publius and Caius, with Sp. Icilius Ruga to be their collegues. Livy ſays, that C. Licinius and Lucius Albinus were the firſt tribunes, and that they afterwards choſe themſelves three collegues, among whom was Sicinnius Bellutus. Before they left the camp a law was paſſed, whereby the perſons of the tribunes were made ſacred. The words of the law were, "Let the tribune of the people be exempt from all the ſervile offices impoſed on the citizens. Let none of theſe offices be laid upon him, but by his own conſent. Let no one ſtrike him or cauſe another to ſtrike him. If any offend in this, let him be execrable, and his goods appropriated to the worſhip of Ceres. If any one kills him, any perſon may kill the murderer with impunity." To make this law perpetual, all the Romans were obliged to ſwear, for themſelves and their poſterity, that they would inviolably obſerve it. After theſe regulations the people erected an altar to Jupiter the terrible on the top of the hill where they had encamped, and, having conſecrated the place of their retreat, which from this time was called the ſacred mount, they followed the deputies of the ſenate and returned to the city [s].

Tribunes of the people created. Year of the flood, 2511. Before Chriſt 488. Of Rome, 260.

The people return to Rome.

THE tribunes were at firſt five in number, but a few years after five more were added. They were always choſen by the plebeians, and out of their body. Their ſole function was, to defend the liberties of the plebeians, and to interpoſe in all grievances offered them by their ſuperiors. This interpoſing, in matters determined by the ſenate or other magiſtrates, was called interceſſio, and was performed by ſtanding up, and pronouncing only one word, Veto, I forbid it. They had their ſeats placed at the door of the ſenate, and were ne-

ver

[s] Dio. Hal. p. 386—410. Liv. l. iii. c. 30—33.

ver admitted into it, but when the conſuls called them to aſk their opinion upon ſome affair that concerned the intereſts of the people. As for the enſigns of their office, they had no toga prætexta, lictors, or curule chair; but were habited like private men, and attended only by one ſervant, called Viator. Their power was confined within the walls of Rome, or extended at moſt to a mile round the city. They were not allowed to be abſent from the city a day, Dion ſays an hour, except in the feriæ Latinæ. To ſhew their readineſs to protect the people, they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day. Their authority was very great; for, though at firſt they pretended only to prevent oppreſſion, yet afterwards they uſurped the power of doing almoſt whatever they pleaſed, having the populace to back them. They aſſembled the people, enacted laws, made decrees, and executed them upon the magiſtrates themſelves, commanding ſometimes the very conſuls to be carried to priſon. In ſhort, they occaſioned far greater diſturbances in the ſtate, than thoſe which they were firſt created to appeaſe, whence they are ſtyled by ſome of the antients, The bane of the public tranquillity.

The tribunes enlarge their authority.

ONE of the firſt ſteps of the tribunes towards an encreaſe of power was, to aſk permiſſion of the ſenate to chuſe two aſſiſtants in the execution of their office. This new demand was alſo complied with, and two men were choſen out of the plebeians to be the tribunes aſſiſtants, or agents. Theſe afterwards had the cognizance of a great many affairs, which before belonged to the conſuls, and the inſpection of all buildings both public and private; from which laſt branch of their office they took the name of Ædiles, with the epithet of Plebeian, to diſtinguiſh them from the Ædiles curules, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The Volſci and Antiates defeated.

ROME being now in a profound peace at home, troops were eaſily raiſed to march againſt the Volſci, whom the conſul Cominius defeated in a pitched battle, and took from them Longula and Poluſca. He marched next to beſige Corioli, the metropolis of the Volſci and ſtrongly fortified, which he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of, and gained a victory over the Antiates the ſame day. But Caius Marcius, a young patrician, had all the glory of both actions; for the beſieged having made a victorious ſally, and driven the Romans back quite to their intrenchments, Marcius, by his words and example, rallied the fugitives, brought them back to the charge,

The gallant behaviour of Caius Marcius Coriolanus.

charge, and having obliged the enemy to retire into the city, followed them ſo cloſe, that he went in with them, and made himſelf maſter of the place. He then haſtened, without ſuffering his ſoldiers to ſtay for plunder, to join the conſul's army, which was upon the point of engaging with the Antiates, who were come to aſſiſt their allies. In the engagement which enſued, he behaved with equal bravery, and was attended with equal ſucceſs, the victory, which was gained, being entirely owing to his courage and prudent conduct. The next day, the conſul, having cauſed his tribunal to be erected before his tent, and called his ſoldiers together, made an harangue to them, which was little more than a panegyric on the brave Marcius. He put a crown of gold upon his head, aſſigned him a tenth part of all the ſpoil, gave him a fine horſe with ſtately furniture in the name of the republic, allotted him as much money as he could carry away, and, laſtly, allowed him to chuſe out any ten of the priſoners. But of all theſe preſents the young hero accepted only the horſe, and demanded but one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, with a deſign to give him his liberty. This generous and diſintereſted conduct ſilenced even jealouſy itſelf. All reſpected an hero, whoſe ſentiments were as noble as his valour deſigned. But the conſul, to add to the glory of the brave warrior, beſtowed on him the ſurname of Coriolanus, transferring thereby from himſelf to Marius all the honour of the conqueſt of Corioli [t].

THE enemies of Rome, being terrified by the reduction of the Volſci, kept quiet at home; ſo that the conſul diſbanded his army, and war was ſucceeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The antient alliance was renewed with the Latins, and a third day added to the feriæ Latinæ. In the mean time, Menenius Agrippa died in as great poverty at Poplicola. His relations reſolved to bury him without ceremony; but the people, at the motion of their new tribunes, agreed to pay a ſextans, or two ounces of braſs, a head, towards the expences of a magnificent funeral. Upon this, the ſenate, thinking it would reflect no ſmall diſhonour upon them to ſuffer an illuſtrious patrician to be buried at the expence of the people, allotted a ſum out of the public treaſury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the quæſtors. Nevertheleſs the people refuſed to receive back their money, ordering it to be

[t] Dio. Hal. p. 412—414. Liv. l. ii. Plut. in Coriol.

be given to the children of the deceaſed Menenius [u]. This memorable conſulſhip ended with a cenſus and luſtrum, and there appeared to be but an hundred thouſand men in Rome fit to bear arms.

Rome ſuffers greatly by a famine.

UNDER the new adminiſtration of T. Geganius and P. Minucius, Rome ſuffered greatly by a famine, and this calamity revived the civil diſſenſions. The ſenate, to diſburden the city ſent away great numbers of the people to plant colonies at Velitræ and Norba, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the tribunes. In the mean time, the Antiates, taking advantage of the famine, with which Rome was afflicted, and of the diſcord between the people and the ſenate, made incurſions to the very gates of the city. Coriolanus could not bear this inſult, and therefore, as the tribunes ſtill oppoſed any regular levies being made, he put himſelf at the head of a band of voluntiers, advanced into the enemy's country, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and returned loaded with a rich booty, conſiſting of corn, cattle, and ſlaves. At this the patricians triumphed, and the plebeians, who had remained behind, complained of their tribunes for having diverted them from following ſo ſucceſsful a leader. On the other hand, the tribunes, whoſe credit ſubſiſted only by the miſunderſtanding they fomented between the two orders in the commonwealth, endeavoured to ſtir up the populace to a general revolt, openly accuſing the patricians of being the cauſe of the ſcarcity, while their own families, they ſaid, were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. The ſenate, alarmed at the ſtorm that threatened them, met daily to deliberate on the means to avert it. Some of the ſenators were for employing ſoft words and fair promiſes to gain over the moſt mutinous. But the opinion of Appius prevailed, which was, that the tribunes ſhould be threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhments, as diſturbers of the public peace, if they did not amend their behaviour. But when the conſuls came to declare to the curiæ the reſolution of the ſenate, the tribunes interrupted them, and even diſputed with them the right of ſpeaking in the comitia, contending, that their province was confined to the ſenate. The conteſt growing very warm and the hotteſt in each party being ready to come to blows, Brutus, who was now but ædile, deſired leave of the conſuls to ſpeak to the people, promiſing to quiet the diſpute. Geganius and Minucius,

The civil diſſenſions revived.

[u] Dio. Hal. p. 415. Liv. ubi ſupra.

pleaſed with the deference paid them, readily conſented to let him ſay what he thought fit. But he, inſtead of addreſſing himſelf either to the tribunes, or the people, turned to the conſul Geganius, who had been one of the commiſſioners ſent to the malecontents on the ſacred mount, and aſked him, whether he remembered, that one of the articles of the late reconciliation was, that no patrician ſhould interrupt thoſe who were appointed to take care of the intereſts of the people? "I remember it very well," replied the conſul. "Why then, added Brutus, do you now come hither "to diſturb the conference between the people and their tri-"bunes?" "Becauſe ſaid Geganius," "this aſſembly was "ſummoned by us, and not by you." The conſul added too raſhly, "that if the tribunes had convened the aſſembly, "he would not even have come to hear what they ſaid." At theſe words Brutus cried aloud, "that's enough; you "grant us all we aſk; ſpeak to day as much as you pleaſe; "to morrow I will tell you, how far our power extends, "and how far yours." The next morning, before it was light, the tribunes and ædiles went to the temple of Vulcan, which ſtood near the comitium, and there aſſembled the people, complaining to them of the attempt that had been made the day before, to impoſe ſilence upon them in the aſſembly of the people, whom it was their duty to defend. They then propoſed to the curiæ the following law, empowering the tribunes to harangue the people. "Let no "man preſume to interrupt a tribune who is ſpeaking in "the aſſembly of the Roman people. If any one break "this law, he ſhall preſently give bail to pay the fine, to "which he ſhall be condemned: if he refuſes to give this "ſecurity, he ſhall be put to death and his goods confiſ-"cated: the difficulties, which may ariſe about theſe ſecu-"rities, ſhall be referred to the people, and determined by "them." This law was confirmed by the ſuffrages of the people, before the conſuls could make any oppoſition to it. The ſenate indeed refuſed to confirm it; but then the people in their turn would not accept the decrees of the ſenate. Thus theſe two tribunals were ever oppoſing one another; but the people always gained their point by their numbers and the unanimity of their leaders [w].

A law is paſſed, making it penal to interrupt the tribunes, when they are ſpeaking to the people.

Freſh diſputes about the diviſion of corn.

THE people, ſatisfied with having inlarged the power of their tribunes, bore the famine patiently, and continued quiet,

[w] Dio, Hal. Liv. Plut. ibid.

et, till plenty of corn arriving from Sicily furniſhed the tribunes with a new occaſion of rekindling ſedition. The ſenators, who favoured the people, were for diſtributing gratis among the poor the corn, which had been bought with the public money. But the oppoſite faction was for holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in dependence and ſubjection. The famous Coriolanus, at the head of the ſevere party, ſpoke loudly againſt ſhewing any indulgence to the people, propoſed the aboliſhing of the tribuneſhip, and taking vengeance of the mad rabble for their paſt inſolence. The ſenators were divided in their opinions, but the major part were for re-eſtabliſhing the government upon its antient foundations, and annulling the treaty concluded on the ſacred mount. Theſe proccedings enraged the tribunes, who left the aſſembly in the greateſt fury, calling out aloud on the gods, the avengers of perjury, to witneſs the ſolemn oaths by which the ſenate had authoriſed the eſtabliſhment of their dignity. The people fired by their factious tribunes, were ready to break into the ſenate, and there ſacrifice Coriolanus to their hatred and revenge. But the tribunes, that their proceedings might be regular, ſtopt them, and, having aſſembled the curiæ, ſummoned Coriolanus to appear before them. But he deſpiſed a ſummons brought him from a tribunal, which he did not acknowledge. Hereupon the tribunes, with a gang of the moſt mutinous among the plebeians, waited for him at the door of the ſenate, with a deſign to ſeize him when he came out. But, as he had a ſtronger guard with him than they, compoſed of young ſenators, who had a great reſpect for his perſon, the tribunes and their officers were beat back. Upon this the uproar was encreaſed, on the one hand, by the crouds of people, who flocked together from all parts of the city, and, on the other, by the patricians, who haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Coriolanus. But, in the mean time, the conſuls coming up diſperſed the croud, and, partly by entreaties, partly by their authority, prevailed upon the people to retire. The next day the tribunes, having aſſembled the people early in the morning, inveighed, as uſual, againſt the whole order of the patricians, but in particular againſt Coriolanus, repeating the very words he had uttered in the ſenate relating to the diſtribution of corn. Then they exaggerated the violence he had uſed againſt them the day before, the ill uſage their officers had met with from him and his company, the great number of men he had al-

Coriolanus ſummoned to appear before the tribunes.

ways about him, whom they called the tyrant's guards, &c. After they had with long and bitter invectives made Coriolanus odious to the people, they added, that if there was any patrician, who would undertake his defence, he might mount the tribunal and ſpeak to the people. Then Minucius, the eldeſt conſul, preſenting himſelf, in a long ſpeech cleared the ſenate from being the cauſe of the famine, excuſed the imprudent warmth of Coriolanus, deſired them to remember his virtues as well as his faults, and entreated them, in the name of the ſenate, to forgive him. The gentle words of Minucius, joined with promiſes of ſudden plenty, ſoftened and calmed the people. But the artful Sicinnius, now tribune of the people a ſecond time, effaced all impreſſions made on their minds in favour of Coriolanus. After having thanked the conſuls and patricians for their favourable diſpoſition, he exhorted Coriolanus to have recourſe to the clemency of the people, and to make an apology for his conduct. The tribune well knew, that Coriolanus was a man of too lofty a ſpirit to ſtoop to ſupplications, and therefore did not doubt, but he would provoke the people afreſh with the haughtineſs of his anſwers. Accordingly, the young patrician, inſtead of appearing as a criminal, aſſumed the air of a judge, and by an ill-timed reſoluteneſs deſtroyed the effect of the conſul's ſpeech. For he not only owned what he had ſaid in the ſenate, but gloried in it, and refuſed to ſubmit to any tribunal but that of the conſuls, proteſting, with a loud voice and a threatening look, that he would not have vouchſafed to appear in a tumultuous aſſembly of ſeditious men, had it not been to reproach them with their crimes, and put ſome check to their boundleſs deſires. Laſtly, he declared his hatred to the tribunes, whom he called the bane of the public happineſs.

Coriolanus provokes the people with the haughtineſs of his anſwers.

It is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch a ſpeech muſt greatly offend the plebeians. Some of them were for maſſacring him on the ſpot. But Sicinnius, thinking it neceſſary to obſerve, at leaſt, ſome appearance of juſtice, put a ſtop to the fury of the enraged multitude, and, having conſulted apart with his collegue, without ſo much as giving himſelf the trouble to collect the voices of the aſſembly, pronounced ſentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down headlong from the top of the Tarpeian rock, a puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as were enemies to their country. The ædiles inſtantly advanced with their officers to put the ſentence into execution. But the ſenate and all the patri-

Coriolanus condemned to death by the tribunes, but is reſcued by the patricians.

cians

cians in the aſſembly, haſtening to his aſſiſtance, placed him in the midſt of them, determined to oppoſe force with force. And now the people, either thinking their tribunes had carried their animoſity too far, or awed by the preſence of the conſuls, refuſed to give aſſiſtance to their ædiles; Sicinnius therefore, by the advice of Brutus, reſolve to proſecute Coriolanus in a legal way, and to convene the people by tribes for his trial. Of this reſolution he gave Coriolanus notice with the following words: "We cite thee, Coriolanus, "to appear before the people in ſeven and twenty-days". He then added, "as for the diſtribution of corn, if the ſe-"nate does not take due care of that matter, the tribunes "will give directions about it themſelves". Having thus ſpoke, he adjourned the aſſembly. In the mean time, the ſenate, in order to ſooth the people, fixed the price of corn at the loweſt rate it ever had been at even before the ſedition. The conſuls likewiſe, fearing leſt the proſecution of Coriolanus ſhould deter others from ſpeaking their mind freely in the ſenate, did all that lay in their power to appeaſe the tribunes. Minucius repreſented to them, that, by an immemorial cuſtom, all proceedings in capital caſes were to begin in the ſenate, and that it belonged to the ſenators to declare, whether it was proper to refer them to the people; he added, that the kings themſelves had paid this deference to ſo auguſt a body, and that he hoped the tribunes would not violate the antient rules of the government, but apply to the ſenate, if they had any grievances to lay to the charge of Coriolanus; he concluded by aſſuring them, that, according to the nature of the crime and the ſolidity of the proofs, the ſenate would refer the whole matter to the judgment of the people. Sicinnius exclaimed againſt this propoſal, pretending, that the affair naturally devolved upon the people, as the ſupreme court of judicature. But the other tribunes, plainly perceiving that they ſhould make themſelves odious even to the plebeians, if they ſo manifeſtly deviated from the uſual forms of juſtice, agreed to let the ſenate decide, as uſual, whether the people ſhould take cognizance of the matter depending. However, they inſiſted upon two conditions, which were; 1ſt, that the tribunes might be heard in the ſenate, with relation to the grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the perſon accuſed; 2dly, that the ſenators, after having been ſworn, ſhould deliver their opinions regularly, and the conſuls pronounce ſentence according to the plura-

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lity of voices. Theſe preliminaries being agreed on, the tribunes were introduced into the ſenate. Decius, the youngeſt of them, but a man of great eloquence, undertook to ſhew, that it belonged to the people to hear and determine the preſent cauſe. He cited a law of Poplicola, by which the plebeians, when ill treated by the patricians, were allowed to bring their complaints before the aſſembly of the people; he urged, that Coriolanus, having been guilty of a notorious inſult on the authority of the people and the dignity of their tribunes, the people were therefore his legal judges; he exaggerated the heinouſneſs of Coriolanus's offence, and adviſed the ſenate to withdraw their protection from ſo proud and inſolent a patrician [x].

When the tribune had ended his ſpeech, the conſuls aſked the opinion of the aſſembly, beginning with the oldeſt and moſt venerable ſenators; for in thoſe days, ſays Dionyſius, the young ſenators were not ſo preſumptuous as to make ſpeeches, or to think themſelves capable of inſtructing their elders. They only gave their opinion by ſome ſign, or by walking over to that ſide which they thought to be moſt in the right; whence they were called Senatores Pedarii, from the Latin word "pes, a foot". Appius Claudius, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, appeared to be ſtill the ſame man, an irreconcileable enemy to the people; he enumerated with great warmth all the encroachments of the plebeians. At firſt, ſaid he, they pleaded poverty, and only demanded an abolition of debts. In the beginning of their ſeditious ſeparation, they ſeemed to be content with impunity and leave to return home. After this they thought fit to demand a college of tribunes to protect them againſt our decrees. The authority of theſe officers they would have to be ſacred, and their perſons inviolable. Then, by the help of theſe new magiſtrates, they made laws without our privity, deſpiſed the authority of the ſenate and conſuls, and diſannulled our decrees. And now, by an unheard-of uſurpation, they ſummon a moſt illuſtrious patrician to appear at their tribunal, where he is to be tried as a criminal, only for delivering his opinion freely. After this he exclaimed againſt ſubmitting Coriolanus to be tried by the people, or making any conceſſions to them, and exhorted the ſenators not to fear a civil war, telling them, that both gods and men would join in their defence. But the popular Valerius was of a contrary opinion. He exaggerated the horrible conſequences of a civil war, and endeavoured to ſhew, that their paying ſome

[x] Dio. Hal. p. 447. Plut. ibid.

ſome deference to the people and their tribunes was the only means to quiet their fury, both againſt their threatened country and the offender. His opinion prevailed, and it was carried by a majority, that Coriolanus ſhould be tried by the people. When the decree was ready to be drawn up, Coriolanus, finding the ſenate was deſerting him, deſired to know what crime in particular he was to be accuſed of; the tribunes anſwered, that they would confine their whole accuſation to the ſingle crime of uſurping tyrannical power. 'Upon that foot,' replied Coriolanus, 'I have 'nothing to object to the decree of the ſenate; let it be put 'in writing; I will appear before the people, and anſwer 'that frivolous charge.' Thus, with the conſent of all parties, the decree was drawn up, and put in the hands of the tribunes, who immediately aſſembled the people, read it to them, and exhorted all the citizens of the republic, as well thoſe who dwelt in the country, as the inhabitants of Rome, to be in the forum on the day appointed for the deciſion of this affair. The decree of the ſenate allowed the accuſed ſeven and twenty days to prepare his defence; during which time, the tribunes frequently conferred among themſelves and with the leading men among the plebeians, as if the preſervation of the republic had depended on the deſtruction of Coriolanus.

The ſenate conſent that Coriolanus ſhall be tried by the people.

When the appointed day came, new diſputes aroſe about the form of the comitia, by which the accuſed was to be tried. The tribunes had ſeparated the people by tribes before the ſenators came; whereas from the reign of Servius Tullius the voices had always been gathered by centuries. The conſuls were for keeping up the antient cuſtom, being well appriſed, that they could ſave Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the patricians themſelves and the richeſt citizens made the majority. But the artful tribunes, alledging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote ſhould have its due weight, would not by any means conſent to let the voices be collected otherwiſe than by tribes. The people being aſſembled, Minucius the conſul ſpoke firſt, and endeavoured to perſuade the people to be ſatisfied with Coriolanus's ſubmiſſion in being brought to a trial before them, and not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that ſo illuſtrious a citizen underwent the forms of juſtice like a criminal. But, if you perſiſt, ſaid he, and are determined to vote, remember, that the whole ſenate is come hither to ſue for his pardon. Will you refuſe it to

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three hundred of the moſt venerable men in the republic? No; the moſt bitter enemy can never hold out againſt ſuch powerful interceſſors. Sicinnius anſwered with a haughty air, that he was not ſo cowardly as to betray the intereſts of the people, and that the aſſembly ſhould not be diſmiſſed till the affair was determined by a majority of voices. Well then, replied Minucius, ſince you obſtinately inſiſt, that Coriolanus ſhall be tried by this aſſembly, notwithſtanding our entreaties, I demand, that, purſuant to your agreement with the ſenate, you confine your accuſation to the ſingle article of tyranny, and bring proofs and witneſſes of this crime. Sicinnius then began the accuſation, and running over the whole life of Coriolanus, repreſented him as aiming, in every part of it, at regal power.

Coriolanus is tried in an aſſembly of the people by tribes.

As ſoon as the tribune had done ſpeaking, Coriolanus preſented himſelf in the aſſembly, and anſwered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct by a bare recital of his ſervices. He firſt enumerated the many campaigns he had made in the ſervice of the republic. Then he expoſed to the view of the people many crowns, with which he had been rewarded by the Roman generals; and every time he ſhewed the people any of thoſe proofs of his valour, he called upon the commanders, who had honoured him with them, to teſtify the truth of what he ſaid. He likewiſe named the many citizens he had ſaved in battle, and deſired them to ſtand up and witneſs what he advanced. Theſe men immediately appeared in the midſt of the aſſembly, and, ſtretching out their hands as ſuppliants, conjured the aſſembly not to deſtroy a man, to whom they were indebted for their lives: they offered to take the place of the accuſed, and to ſecure his life at the expence of their own. As theſe were moſtly plebeians, their ſighs and preſſing ſolicitations made ſuch an impreſſion on the multitude, that they could not refrain from tears. Then Coriolanus, tearing away his robe, ſhewed his breaſt all covered with the ſcars of many wounds he had received, and at the ſame time, with an air of confidence mixed with modeſty, "It was to ſave theſe worthy men, ſaid he, that "I have received the wounds you ſee; let the tribunes ſhew, "if they can, how ſuch actions are conſiſtent with the treacherous deſigns they lay to my charge. Is it eaſy to believe, that a man, who has done nothing to gain the favour of the people, but hazard his life for them, could have a deſign of uſurping the throne?" He had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when the moſt worthy men among the plebeians

beians cried out, that ſo good a citizen ought to be acquitted, and that a man of his birth and merit ought not to have been brought to a trial upon ſuch ſlight preſumptions. Even the moſt mutinous thought, that the accuſers had not given ſufficient proofs of the crime laid to his charge. So that the aſſembly was juſt ready to break up much to the reputation of Coriolanus, when the tribune Decius, alarmed at this change, brought in a new charge againſt him, viz. that, contrary to the Roman laws, he had diſpoſed of the ſpoils taken from the Antiates in his late expedition, during the famine, among the ſoldiers, inſtead of delivering them to the quæſtor. This, ſaid Decius, is a plain proof of his evil deſigns: with the publick money he ſecured to himſelf creatures, and guards, and ſupporters of his intended uſurpation. Let him make it appear, that he had power to diſpoſe of the booty without violating the laws: let him anſwer directly to this one article, without dazzling us with the ſplendid ſhew of his crowns and ſcars, or uſing any other arts to blind the aſſembly. Neither Coriolanus nor his friends were prepared for this chicane; ſo that the tribunes, taking advantage of their ſurprize, exaggerated this breach of the law: Sicinnius inſolently aſked him, whether he was king of Rome, and by what authority he had diſpoſed of what belonged to the republic and the Roman people? All Coriolanus could ſay was, that thoſe of the people, who had attended him in that expedition, had received the whole benefit of that pillage. But the tribunes, urging he had by that diſtribution violated a law which was as antient as Rome itſelf, rekindled the former animoſity of the people againſt him, eſpecially of thoſe who had not been ſharers in the booty. Of this animoſity they laid hold, as the moſt favourable opportunity to collect the ſuffrages, and get Coriolanus condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Of the twenty-one tribes, but nine voted for him, and the reſt againſt him. The joy of the people upon this great event is not to be imagined: they never expreſſed more, even after the greateſt victories. And indeed not without reaſon; for, by the advantage they had gained over the ſenate and the nobility, the form of government was abſolutely changed, and the plebeians, who had been hitherto dependent on the patricians, were become their judges, and poſſeſſed of a right to call before their tribunal the greateſt men in the commonwealth, and to decide their fate. As the aſſembly was diſperſing, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh the patri-

Coriolanus is condemned to baniſhment.

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cians from the plebeians, by the ſorrow or joy which appeared in their countenances. Coriolanus was the only perſon among the former, who ſeemed unconcerned. He neither ſaid nor did any thing unworthy of his uſual magnanimity. He repaired immediately to his own houſe, where he found his mother Veturia and Volumnia his wife, drowned in tears and in the firſt tranſports of their grief. He exhorted them, in a few words, to behave with conſtancy and fortitude under the various events of life; and having recommended to them the care of his children, who were yet but infants, he took his leave, not ſuffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the ſenators and other patricians attended him to the gate of the city; but he, juſtly offended at the weakneſs of their conduct, ſaid not one word to them by the way, and parted from them with the ſame reproachful ſilence [y].

THE illuſtrious exile ſpent the firſt days of his baniſhment at a country ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood of Rome. There being left wholly to himſelf, he could not reſiſt the ſtrong motions of his reſentment, but reſolved to revenge the affront which the ſenate had ſuffered the people to put upon him. Having taken this reſolution, he caſt his eyes upon the ſeveral nations that were neighbours and enemies to Rome, and finding none more exaſperated againſt the Romans, or in a better condition to undertake a war, than the Volſci, he determined to ſeek a retreat among them, not doubting, but he ſhould prevail upon them to eſpouſe his quarrel, and join with him in purſuing their common revenge. The Volſci were at that time a republic, conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall cantons, united by a league and governed by an aſſembly of deputies from each of them. One Attius Tullus, or, as Plutarch calls him, Tullus Amphidius, a man of great experience in war, and who had a conſiderable intereſt throughout the whole nation, was then their general. In the late wars between the Romans and the Volſci, he had been often encountered, and always conquered in battle, by Coriolanus. However, the Roman thought he could diſcloſe his reſentments and entruſt his life with no-body more ſafely than with a brave man, who perhaps might entertain as great an eſteem for him as he had for Attius. He therefore came to a reſolution to apply himſelf directly to him. Accordingly, he left his retreat in diſguiſe, and in the evening enter-

[y] Dio. Hal. l. vii. 463. Liv. l. ii. Plut. in Coriol.

entering Antium, one of the chief cities of the Volſci, where Tullus reſided, he went ſtrait to his houſe with his face covered, and ſat down by the hearth of the domeſtic gods, a place ſacred in all the houſes of the antient Pagans. He retires to Antium, the chief city of the Volſci.

Attius was at ſupper in an inner apartment, when news was brought him, that a ſtranger, of a very majeſtic air, was, without ſpeaking to any body, come into his houſe, and had placed himſelf by the hearth of his lares. Attius immediately came out, and aſked him who he was, and what he required? Coriolanus then diſcovered his face; but the other not recollecting him, he told him his name, acquainted him with his caſe, and offered to aſſiſt the Volſci againſt Rome, with his counſels and all his experience in war. Attius immediately gave him his hand, received him with great kindneſs, and aſſured him of the friendſhip of the Volſci. He then led him into his apartment, where they ſpent the following days in private conferences, about the means of puniſhing Rome, for the miſchiefs ſhe had done to the Volſci and the hard uſage Coriolanus had received from her. But the great point was, how to bring the whole nation to a declaration of war with Rome. The Volſci had ſuffered greatly in the laſt war, and had, by yielding ſome of their towns and part of their territory, obtained of the republic a truce for two years. As this truce was not yet expired, Tullus, though he had a great intereſt in the diets of the cantons of his country, could not promiſe, that he ſhould be able to perſuade the whole nation to take up arms. However, the two generals found means at laſt to compaſs what they deſired. The Romans were making great preparations for public ſports, which drew crouds of ſtrangers from all parts. The Volſci eſpecially went thither in great numbers, which gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the conſuls, whoſe apprehenſions were encreaſed by an artifice which the two generals had concerted together. This was to ſuborn one of the Volſci to go to the conſuls, and pretend to make a diſcovery of a deſign his countrymen had to ſet fire to Rome, while the Romans were taken up with the games and public ſports in the circus. Livy ſeems to inſinuate, that this ſcheme was laid without the knowledge of Coriolanus; but Plutarch and Dionyſius tell us, that the whole was an artifice of his. The conſuls immediately made the report of the pretended plot to the ſenate, and the ſenate cauſed the ſame day a decree to be publiſhed throughout the city ordering all the Volſci to leave it before ſun-ſet on pain of death. The conſuls,

ſuls, being ordered to ſee this decree put in execution, cauſed all the gates of the city to be ſhut, except the gate Capena, through which all the Volſci were drove out with ſhame and ignominy. Tullus met them as by chance, and, hearing how they had been treated, exaggerated the affront they had received. "We alone", ſaid he, "of all the "different nations now in Rome are not thought worthy to "ſee the games. We alone, like the profaneſt wretches "and outlaws, are driven from a public feſtival. Go and "tell in all your cities and villages the diſtinguiſhing mark "the Romans have put upon us". He found no difficulty in exaſperating minds already prejudiced; a general diet was tumultuouſly aſſembled, when all the deputies were of opinion, that they were at liberty to begin the war, without waiting till the truce was expired. When Tullus, who conducted the affair, ſaw his countrymen ready to carry fire and ſword into the territory of Rome, he adviſed them, before he broke up, to ſend for Coriolanus into their aſſembly; telling them, that he now bore more enmity to the Romans than they themſelves, and was capable of doing them more hurt than they had received from them. The Romans was accordingly ſent for, and, being introduced into the aſſembly, he related his misfortunes, made a merit of chuſing a retreat among the Volſci, rather than among the Latins, Hetrurians, Sabines, &c. perſuaded them to demand back all the cities the Romans had taken from them; and laſtly, offered to aſſiſt their generals with his counſels and ſword, without aſpiring to any command in their armies. His ſpeech was received with great applauſe, and the embaſſadors were diſpatched to Rome, to demand the reſtoration of the lands and cities which had been taken in the late war. But the only anſwer they brought back was this, that the Romans would not give up what they had conquered, and that if the Volſci were the firſt to take arms, the Romans would be the laſt to lay them down. Upon this the Volſci unanimouſly appointed Tullus and Coriolanus to command their troops, and, to bind the latter more ſtrictly to them, conferred on him the dignity of ſenator. The two generals immediately raiſed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies; Tullus with one ſtaid in the country to cover it on the ſide of Latium, while Coriolanus with the other, conſiſting of the flower of the Volſcian troops, entered the territory of Rome, before the conſuls had taken any meaſures to oppoſe him, and there made himſelf maſter of Circæum, Corbio,

The Volſci reſolve upon a war with Rome.

Coriolanus appointed to command their troops.

Corbio, Vitellium, and Trebia: Toleria, Bola, Labicum, and Pedum, all in Latium or on the confines of that country, were taken ſword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and enraged: As this irruption was not expected, Coriolanus found many Roman citizens diſperſed about the country, and theſe he made ſlaves. He burnt their farms, carried away their cattle, broke in pieces all their inſtruments of huſbandry, and, in ſhort, carried fire and ſword into all parts. However, in that general devaſtation, either out of regard to his old friends, or to keep up a reciprocal animoſity between the two parties, he ſpared the houſes and lands of the patricians. This conduct had the deſired effect. The plebeians complained of the patricians, as if they had brought ſo formidable an enemy upon them. The patricians, on the other hand, upbraided the people, with having forced ſo great a captain to throw himſelf in deſpair into the party of the enemy. As mutual diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and hatred reigned in both parties, they were not ſo eager to repulſe the Volſci, as to decry and ruin each other: ſo that Coriolanus, finding no army in the field to oppoſe his deſigns, carried on his conqueſts, took Lavinium, and at length came and encamped at the Foſſa Cluilia within five miles of Rome. The conſternation in the city was then general. The people terrified at the approach of ſo formidable an enemy, haſtened into the forum, and there with loud cries demanded peace and the abolition of the decree of Coriolanus's baniſhment. But the ſenate, who had formerly protected the exile, now refuſed to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of maintaining a correſpondence with Coriolanus, or perhaps out of that ſpirit of magnanimity, which made the Romans averſe from peace, when they were attended with bad ſucceſs in war. However that be, the Roman general no ſooner underſtood the oppoſition the ſenate made to his return, but he advanced to Rome, and inveſted the place, as if he deſigned to beſiege it. As he continued there that evening and a good part of the next day, without making any motion, the Romans imagined he only waited for an opportunity of reconciling himſelf with his country. The ſenate therefore reſolved to ſend a deputation to him, conſiſting of five ſenators, who had been his moſt zealous friends. Theſe were M. Minucius, Poſthumus Cominius, Sp. Lartius, P. Pinarius,

Takes many cities from the Romans.

The people are for recalling him from baniſhment.

The ſenate ſend a deputation to him.

Pinarius, and Q. Sulpicius, who had all been conſuls. When Coriolanus underſtood, that the deputies were coming, he pleaſed himſelf with the thought of humbling thoſe proud republicans. He made them paſs through two ranks of ſoldiers ſtanding to their arms, and gave them audience, ſitting, and ſurrounded by the moſt conſiderable men among the Volſci. Minucius, who had been his chief advocate, put him in mind of the regard the patricians had always ſhewn him, and endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the people, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He expoſtulated with him for carrying his reſentment to ſuch an exceſs, reminded him of the inſtability of fortune, and, laſtly, invited him to throw himſelf into the arms of his native city, which ſtretched them out, like a tender mother, to receive him into her boſom.

His anſwer to the deputies.

Coriolanus anſwered with a haughty air, that as general of the Volſci he muſt adviſe them to apply to the nation he ſerved, and in a ſuppliant manner ſue to them for peace, which he engaged to procure for them, upon condition that Rome reſtored to the Volſci the country ſhe had taken from them, granted them the ſame rights of citizenſhip which ſhe had granted to the Latins, and recalled the Roman colonies from thoſe towns of which ſhe had got poſſeſſion unjuſtly. As to the liberty offered him of going back to Rome, he ſaid it was not worth his acceptance. ‘ Is a bare re-eſtabliſhment in Rome ’, ſaid he, “ a “ ſufficient ſatisfaction for the affronts I have received? Can “ there be any ſafety for me, while a Sicinnius or a Decius “ is able to arm the populace againſt my life? No; Rome is “ an unnatural mother, who has caſt off a ſon that was uſeful “ to her and zealous for her glory. She ſhall ſoon know “ by the effects of my reſentment, whoſe cauſe it is that “ the gods eſpouſe”. Having thus ſpoke in a haughty ſtrain what concerned the intereſts of the Volſci and his own injuries, he aſſumed a more gentle air towards the deputies, aſſured them, that he remembered with pleaſure his obligations to them, returned them thanks for the generous protection they granted to his wife and children, and told them, that, to ſhew his gratitude, he would even allow the Romans a truce for thirty days with reſpect to the proper territory of Rome; but that, after the expiration of that time, he ſhould expect from them a deciſive anſwer. [z]

Corio-

[z] Dio. Hal. l. viii. p. 492.—509. Liv. l. ii. c. 39. Plut. in Coriol.

CORIOLANUS employed the thirty days in making new conquests in Latium, and then returned and encamped before Rome with all his forces. The senate had spent the thirty days in deliberations, and the result of their debates may give us a true notion of the temper of those haughty republicans. They resolved never to receive law from their enemy, nor treat of peace with him, till he had laid down his arms, and retired from the territory of Rome and from those of her allies. Their pride did not abate, notwithstanding the present calamity. They chose ten new deputies to carry this message to Coriolanus, who returned them this short answer, that the Romans had no choice but compliance with the articles, or war; and that he allowed them three days more to come to a final determination. He even refused to hear their reply, threatening to treat them as spies, if they did not quit his camp immediately. The report of the deputies threw the city into the utmost consternation. All that could be done in this universal dejection was, to appoint every one his post, either on the ramparts, the capitol, or in the towers. The tribunes were not now so much as heard of; the consuls being at a loss what to do, assembled the senate; expedient upon expedient was proposed, and at last they all agreed to send a deputation to the enemy's camp, consisting of all the ministers of the gods, with which they thought Coriolanus could not but be affected. Accordingly, all the priests, augurs, sacrificers, and guardians of the sacred things, were ordered to march out of the city in their pompous habits, and to conjure Coriolanus, by the respect he owed to the gods, to grant peace to his country. But this deputation was as fruitless as the former. Coriolanus sent them back to the city with orders to acquaint the senate, that the attack would immediately begin if they did not submit to the conditions which he had proposed in the name of the Volscian nation.

Another deputies sent to him consisting of the priests, augurs, &c.

UPON the return of the priests, they all looked upon the republic as lost; the men ran in disorder to the walls, and the women in despair to the temples, especially to that of Jupiter in the capitol, where, with tears in their eyes, they implored of the tutelar gods of Rome the preservation of their country, then on the brink of ruin. Such was the face of affairs in the city, when a Roman matron, named Valeria, sister of the famous Valerius Poplicola, as if she had been moved by a kind of divine inspiration, turned to the other matrons, who were come in crouds to the temple of

Jupiter, and ſuggeſted to them a reſolution which ſaved Rome. "Let us not ſuffer ourſelves" ſaid ſhe to them, "to ſink under our preſent afflictions. What men could "not do, women may perhaps accompliſh. We may perhaps ſoften the heart of a conqueror hitherto inflexible. "Let us go in this mournful dreſs to the houſe of Veturia, "the mother of Coriolanus, and agree with her to repair "to the camp of her ſon. Coriolanus will never be able to "hold out againſt the tears of his mother, his wife, and his "children, when attended with all the women of diſtinc-"tion in Rome." The motion being approved of by all who were preſent, they went ſtrait to the houſe of Veturia, whom they found with Volumnia, her daughter-in-law, deploring her misfortunes and thoſe of Rome. Volumnia, ſurprized to ſee ſo many women of diſtinction croud to her, aſked what had brought them to a houſe overwhelmed with ſorrow? "You," replied Valeria, "are the only re-"fuge we have left in our misfortunes. We come to en-"treat you to preſerve our eſtates, our honour, and our "liberty from the Volſci. Repair then with us to the "camp of Coriolanus, and bring with you Volumnia and "theſe tender children, who may ſoften the heart of their "beloved father. Your preſence will perſuade him to pre-"fer the preſervation of his deſtitute family to the purſuit "of his reſentment, and the honours he may expect from "the Volſci. Nothing can be more glorious for you, Ve-"turia, than to recover your ſon, deliver your country, "and ſave the lives of your fellow-citizens. Make no de-"lay, ſince the danger is great and requires a ſpeedy re-"medy." At theſe words Veturia burſt out into tears, recollected herſelf a moment, and then replied; "Alas! my "intereſt in Coriolanus is but a poor refuge. What im-"preſſions can women make on a warrior ſpirited by re-"venge? I am not wanting in affection to my country; "but what am I now in my ſon's eyes more than other "Roman women, who ſhare the averſion he has for Rome? "This he ſufficiently ſhewed at his departure into baniſh-"ment." Coriolanus, ſaid he to us, is now loſt to you "for ever. I have no longer either mother, wife, or "children. I renounce all, even my domeſtic gods. Can "we then hope to ſoften ſo hard a heart? What ſhall we "perſuade him to do? To love a country, which has trea-"ted him ſo injuriouſly? To betray a nation, which has

The Roman matrons reſolve to intercede with him in behalf of their country.

"received

"received him in its bosom? shall we desire him to shew "compassion for a people, who had none for him? Let me "spend my days, Valeria, in grief and sorrow, and don't "force me to suffer the mortification of a refusal, which "will be equally dishonourable to Coriolanus and his mother."
But Valeria renewing her entreaties, and with her all the Roman matrons embracing her knees and conjuring her not to refuse her country this last assistance, Veturia, at length overcome, promised to comply with their request, if the senate agreed to it. Valeria immediately gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in a great many chariots, which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp. Coriolanus, being informed by his scouts, that his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women were coming to his camp, determined to receive them with the same respect that he had paid to the ministers of religion, but in the main to grant them nothing; for he was well apprised of the views the Romans had in so unheard-of a deputation. But notwithstanding his resolution, he no sooner saw his mother and wife at the head of this troop of women, than he began to relent. He walked out of his tent, and ordering his lictors to lower their fasces before persons so dear to him, he ran hastily to embrace them. They expressed their joy upon seeing each other again chiefly by tears; and when they had given some time to the first emotions of nature, Veturia began to enter upon the subject for which she came. Coriolanus, that he might not give any umbrage to the Volsci, called the chief officers of the army to be witnesses of what passed in this interview. They were no sooner come, than Vetruria told him, that the Roman matrons, who attended her, had omitted nothing, during his absence, that could comfort her and his wife Volumnia in their affliction; that they were come to beg peace of him once more, and to conjure him, by all that was dear to him, to turn his arms against other enemies, &c. Coriolanus replied, that he could not think of betraying the interests of a nation, that had trusted him with the command of their army, and honoured him with a place in their senate; that he had found more honours at Antium, than he had lost at Rome, and that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she and Volumnia would leave the ungrateful

The interview between Coriolanus and his mother.

city, and come and enjoy among the Volſci the honours which they would pay to the mother and wife of their general. The Volſcian officers ſeemed very much pleaſed with this anſwer; but Veturia, without entering into a compariſon between Rome and Antium, which would have offended them, told her ſon, that ſhe would never require any thing of him that might be a blemiſh upon his honour; but that, without being any ways wanting in what he owed to the Volſci, he might mediate a peace equally advantageous to both nations. Then, raiſing her voice, ſhe added; "And can you, my ſon, reject a propoſal ſo equitable? can "you prefer a cruel and obſtinate revenge to the tears and "entreaties of your mother? conſider, that your anſwer "is to decide the fate of my glory and of my life too. A "Roman woman knows how to die, when her honour "calls upon her ſo to do. If I cannot move you, know "I have reſolved to give myſelf death in your preſence. "You ſhall not march to Rome, without treading under "your feet the body of her to whom you owe your being." Veturia, perceiving her ſpeech made a deep impreſſion on his mind, continued her diſcourſe, conjuring him by the great Jupiter, who preſided in the capitol, and by the manes of his father and anceſtors, to withdraw his troops from before Rome, and allow the Romans for her ſake a truce for a year, that in this interval meaſures might be taken to procure a ſolid and laſting peace. "Grant, this, my ſon," ſaid ſhe, "and, if my tears and prayers are not able "to move you, behold your mother at your feet, implo-"ring of you the preſervation of her country." With theſe words, melting in tears, ſhe embraced his knees; his wife and children did the ſame, and all the Roman matrons, who were with them, begged for mercy by their cries and tears. Coriolanus, ſeeing his mother at his feet, could hold out no longer, but amidſt a ſtruggle with different paſſions cried out, "ah, my mother, you diſarm me," and, tenderly preſſing her hand in lifting her up, he added in a low voice, "Rome is ſaved; but your ſon is loſt;" well foreſeeing, that the Volſci would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay to her entreaties. He then retired into his tent with his mother, wife, and children, and there conferred with the two perſons that were moſt dear to him about the meaſures he ſhould take with reſpect to the Volſci and to the Romans. The articles agreed on were theſe; 1ſt, that Coriolanus ſhould decamp the next day, without com-

His mother prevails upon him to raiſe the ſiege of Rome.

committing any hoſtilities in the Roman territory; 2dly, that after he had aſſembled the chiefs of the Volſci, he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade them to conclude a peace with Rome upon reaſonable terms; 3dly, that if the Volſci would not hearken to an accommodation, he ſhould then lay down the command of their army, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. Veturia, after a conference ſo beneficial to her country, taking leave of her ſon, returned in the evening with the other Roman ladies to Rome, where they were received with the acclamations of the whole city. The ſenate, deſired them to aſk what reward they pleaſed for ſo important a ſervice. But Veturia, after having conſulted with the others, replied, that they aſked nothing but leave to build a temple at their own expence to The Fortune of women. The ſenate, applauding their diſintereſtedneſs, ordered both the temple and the ſtatue to be erected at the expence of the public, in the very place where Veturia had overcome the obſtinacy of her ſon. Valeria, who had propoſed ſo ſucceſsful a deputation, was the firſt prieſteſs of this ſanctuary, which was much frequented by the Roman women[a].

EARLY next morning, Coriolanus led back his troops into the country of the Volſci, and there divided all the ſpoil among his ſoldiers, without reſerving any thing for himſelf. This liberality encreaſed their affection to him, ſo that they made his apology where-ever they went. However, ſome murmured at the reſpect he had ſhewn for his mother and country. Among theſe was Attius Tullus, who, growing jealous of the eſteem and credit which his rival had gained with the ſoldiers, publicly gave out, that he had betrayed the intereſt of the Volſci. Hereupon Coriolanus deſired, he might be allowed to clear his conduct before the general council of the nation. An aſſembly was accordingly held; but while Coriolanus was beginning to anſwer the charge brought againſt him by his adverſaries, Tullus, who no leſs feared his eloquence than his valour, raiſed a tumult, by the advantage of which ſome of the oppoſite faction, ſuborned by Tullus, threw themſelves upon him and ſtabbed him. The ſoldiers, who had ſerved under him, greatly lamented his death, and the people of Antium performed his obſequies with great pomp, and erected a ſtately tomb to his memory. The Romans had their reaſons

He is aſſaſſinated by the Volſci.

[a] Dio. Hal. p. 511—526. Liv. l. ii. Plut. ib

ſons of ſtate for not decreeing him the ſame funeral honours. For he had born arms againſt his country, and was not yet reconciled to Rome by a regular treaty. However, the Roman ladies, upon their preſenting a petition to the ſenate, obtained leave to wear mourning for him ten months. Such was the end of the famous Marcius, ſirnamed Coriolanus, who, for his eminent virtues and great ſervices, deſerved a much better treatment both from the Romans and the Volſci. He was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious patrician families in Rome. He had an excellent underſtanding, was frugal, diſintereſted, of ſtrict probity, and inviolably attached to the obſervation of the laws. Theſe pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more heroic courage, or ſo great a capacity for the art of war. Rome never bred a more able general: he was always ſucceſsful, becauſe always equally brave, and prudent. But he was imperious, inexorably ſevere, and ſo far from affecting popularity, that he ran into the other extreme, which paſſed for pride. Tho' he was too haughty for a republican, his country has ever honoured him as one of her heroes, and hiſtory has done him the juſtice to ſay, that he could, at the head of a Roman army, have more enlarged the dominions of the republic, than all the generals who went before him. But unhappy factions hindered Rome from reaping any benefit from his virtues. But ſhe was at laſt ſenſible of the loſs ſhe had ſuffered by baniſhing him; and her own misfortunes taught her, how many calamities ſhe might have avoided, and how many conqueſts gained, if ſhe had not provoked a man of ſuch eminent parts.

Upon the news of Coriolanus's death, the conſuls ventured to take the field. Theſe were Sp. Nautius and Sextus Furius, men of no experience in war or courage. They encamped ſeparately on eminences at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy. But though the Æqui and Volſci, who had entered into a confederacy againſt Rome, quarrelled about the choice of a general, and even fought a bloody battle, the timorous conſuls did not venture to attack them in their retreat, but led their troops back to Rome, where they were received with the hiſſes of the people [b].

The people had of late placed ſuch perſons at their head as were pliable and ſubmiſſive, without regarding any other qualifications; but, having experienced the inconvenien-

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[b] Dio. Hal. p. 528.

ces of being governed by men of little merit, they resolved for the future to change their conduct; and therefore chose two consuls, who had given distinguishing proofs of their courage, and skill in war, Aquilius Tuscus and Sicinnius Sabinus. The former gained a complete victory over the Hernici, and latter over the Volsci, who had been so formidable under the command of Coriolanus: their army was entirely defeated, their camp taken, and the general Attius Tullus killed in the battle. This victory being of greater consequence than that of Aquilius, Sicinnius was decreed a triumph, and the other only an ovation. These consuls were succeeded by Sp. Cassius, who had been twice consul before and had obtained a triumph, and Proculus Virginius, a patrician of known courage. The latter marched against the Æqui, who, upon the approach of the Roman army, retired with all their effects into their cities. The consul therefore, who was not in a condition to undertake sieges, returned to Rome. It had fallen to Cassius's lot to make war with the Hernici; and accordingly he took the field, and entering their country, by the mere terror of his arms reduced them to submit, and sue for peace and an alliance with the republic. The consul, however, would not settle the conditions of the alliance, till they had first obtained a decree of the senate for it; which deference so obliged the fathers, that they impowered Cassius to draw up the articles of the treaty himself, promising to ratify whatever he should determine. This mark of distinction emboldened the consul to demand the honours of a triumph, which, though not due to him, for he had gained no victory, yet were granted. He was no sooner honoured with a second triumph, than he drew up the conditions of the treaty with the Hernici, which was only a copy of the treaty he had made with the Latins in his second consulship. This condescension gave no small umbrage to the senate; they could not bear, that a foreign nation, but just reconciled to Rome, should be raised at once to equal honours and privileges with the Latins, who were allied to them by blood, and had done them many important services. As Cassius was a man naturally vain and ostentatious, some penetrating republicans began to suspect, that, in thus favouring the Hernici, he had private views prejudicial to the state. And indeed he soon convinced them, that his views and interests were very different from those of the commonwealth. For the very next day after

The Romans gain two complete victories the one over the Hernici the other over the Volsci.

his

The conſul Sp. Caſſius courts the favour of the people.

his triumph, having, according to cuſtom, convened an aſſembly of the people, to give them an account of what he had done for the ſervice of the republic during the campaign, among other things he told them, that he propoſed, before the end of his magiſtracy, to render the condition of the plebeians ſo happy, that they ſhould no longer envy that of the patricians. The next day he aſſembled the ſenate, and there made a long ſpeech in praiſe of the plebeians, which he concluded by propoſing a new diviſion of the lands belonging to the public, ſaying, it was but reaſonable, that the lands, taken from the enemy, ſhould be divided among thoſe who had expoſed their lives to enlarge the bounds of the republic. He added, that he likewiſe thought it reaſonable that the poor citizens ſhould be reimburſed what money they had paid in the late famine for the corn, which Gelo, one of the princes of Sicily, had made a preſent of to the republic, and which ought to have been diſtributed gratis among the people. Both theſe propoſals were rejected by the ſenate with great indignation. Moſt of the ſenators, without any reſpect to the dignity of Caſſius, publicly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the deſire he betrayed of raiſing new troubles in the commonwealth. But Caſſius, flattering himſelf that the people would declare in his favour, convened a new aſſembly, and having there bitterly inveighed againſt the patricians, he exhorted the multitude to free themſelves at once from the indigence to which the avarice of the nobility had reduced them, by making a ſolemn law for the partition of the conquered lands in their own favour. He did not ſtop here; but adviſed them, by the ſame law, to admit the Latins and Hernici to ſhare with them in the diſtribution. To make the people reliſh this part of his propoſal, he inſinuated to them, that by this means thoſe two nations would be united with them in one common intereſt, and conſequently would not fail to ſupport them in caſe of any attempt made by the patricians to drive them from their poſſeſſions. This law, as it related to the diviſion of lands, was called the Agrarian law from the Latin word ager, ſignifying land. The people at firſt received the propoſal with great applauſe. But the tribunes, diſpleaſed to ſee a conſul author of a law, which favoured the people, oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power, and brought over to them great numbers of the people, who at firſt had been fond of Caſſius, and had blamed

The Agrarian law.

Why the tribunes oppoſed it.

blamed both tribunes and patricians as betraying their intereſt. "It is a ſhame, ſaid the tribunes, to ſuffer lands, "which you have acquired by your blood, to be profuſely "diſtributed among allies, who had no ſhare in your con-"queſts. Why are the Hernici to have one third of their "lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquered peo-"ple, to be entirely deprived of them? There is, without "all doubt, O Romans, a deſign upon your liberty. Your "ſlavery will be the conſequence of this fatal diviſion of "lands, which the artful conſul would make between you "and foreigners. By that extraordinary diſtribution of "lands between the conquerors and the conquered, he "deſigns to make the old enemies of Rome his creatures, "to the prejudice of the republic, and to plane himſelf a "way to ſovereign power." One day, when Caſſius and his collegue Virginius, who oppoſed this law, were diſputing before the people, Rabuleius, a cunning tribune, addreſſed them both thus. "Is not your diſpute, whether "the people of Rome ſhall themſelves take poſſeſſion of "all the conquered lands, or ſhare them with the Hernici "and Latins?" The conſuls agreed it was. Upon which the tribune, turning to the people, "Our conſuls agree," ſaid he, "as to the main point; neither of them is for "excluding you from the lands in diſpute. Loſe no time "therefore, Romans, in taking poſſeſſion of what is una-"nimouſly granted you. As for the other article, leave "it to be conſidered of hereafter." This advice pleaſed the people, who were for having the clauſe in favour of foreigners dropt. But Caſſius, who was fond of his own ſcheme, diſmiſſed the aſſembly before they came to any reſolution. As the people were then all inclined to favour Virginius, Caſſius did not appear for ſome days in public, pretending to be indiſpoſed, but in reality contriving new expedients to get his law paſſed. To this end he brought as many Latins to Rome as he could, for they had the privileges of Roman citizens. But Virginius, aware of his collegue's deſign, publiſhed a decree, commanding all thoſe, who were not inhabitants of Rome, to leave it immediately. Caſſius, on the other hand, made a contrary edict, declaring it lawful for any one, who was enrolled among the citizens of Rome, to remain there; ſo that a ſedition was like to enſue. The ſenate aſſembled to prevent the calamities which ſeemed to threaten the ſtate. Several opinions were offered: Appius Claudius, that intrepid de-

The artful conduct of the tribune Rabuleius.

fender

fender of the laws, ſpoke firſt, and oppoſed the Caſſian law in both its parts. He was againſt diſtributing the lands either to Romans or foreigners; inveighed againſt Virginius for ſhewing too much indulgence to the people and their tribunes; propoſed ſelling part both of the newly conquered lands, and of thoſe which ſome of the nobility had uſurped; and depoſiting the money ariſing from the ſale in the treaſury, for defraying the charges of the war; and laſtly, moved, that a college of ten ſenators, under the name of Decemviri, might be created to meaſure theſe lands, and determine the differences which might ariſe about their limits. A. Sempronius Atratinus, a man much reſpected by the ſenate, ſpoke next, and, after having highly approved of Appius's advice, obſerved, that there were two ſorts of lands to be diſpoſed of; ſome, which were formerly conquered by the Romans, without the aſſiſtance of their allies; and theſe he thought ought to be divided between the public and the indigent Romans only; others, that had been lately conquered from the Hernici, by the aſſiſtance of the Latins; and theſe he was for dividing between the public, the Romans, the Latins, and the Hernici, who were now become allies. As to the creation of the Decemvirs, he ſeconded that motion. Purſuant to the advice of theſe two ſenators, a ſenatus conſultum, or decree of the ſenate, was drawn up, by which it was enacted, that ten of the fathers, who had been conſuls, ſhould be appointed to divide the conquered lands between the treaſury, the Romans, and their allies; that for the future all the lands the Romans ſhould conquer, with the aſſiſtance of their allies, ſhould be divided between the public treaſury, the citizens of Rome, and thoſe allies; and laſtly, that the choice of the firſt decemvirs ſhould be left to the conſuls of the enſuing year. As the eſtates of the principal men in Rome lay wholly in thoſe conquered lands, they got this laſt article added to the decree, in order to put off the execution of it. Nay, the chief men in the ſenate reſolved among themſelves to impeach Caſſius, and proſecute him to the utmoſt, in order to deter others from ſtirring in this affair. Accordingly, the two new conſuls, Q. Fabius and Servius Cornelius, were no ſooner entered upon their office, but the quæſtors Cœſo Fabius, brother to the firſt conſul, and Valerius, nephew to the great Poplicola, having convened an aſſembly of the people, according to the power annexed to their office, accuſed Caſſius

The ſenate decree a partition of the conquered lands.

ſius of having introduced foreign troops into the city with a deſign to uſurp the ſovereignty. The charge being plainly proved by the depoſitions of the Latins and Hernici themſelves, Caſſius was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens, and thrown down headlong from the top of the Tarpeian rock [c]. Some writers tell us, that as ſoon as the two new conſuls had taken poſſeſſion of their dignity, Caſſius's own father accuſed him to the ſenate of having aſpired to the ſovereignty, and that, like another Brutus, having laid the proofs of his crime before the aſſembly of the people, he took him home to his own houſe, and there cauſed him to be put to death in the preſence of his whole family [d].

Sp. Caſſius is condemned and executed.

THE pride of the patricians and their contemptuous treatment of the people made the poorer citizens regret the loſs of Caſſius, who had been their zealous defender. The conſuls put off from day to day the nominating of the decemvirs for the diſtribution of the lands, notwithſtanding the ſolicitation of the tribunes to have the agrarian law put in execution. This provoked the people, who, being ſtirred up by the ſeditious harangues of their tribunes, began to hold private aſſemblies, and threatened both the conſuls and the ſenate. Every thing ſeemed to tend to a revolt, when the conſuls had recourſe to the old expedient of amuſing the people with a war. But, as they were well appriſed that the tribunes would oppoſe the neceſſary levies, they cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that they were going to create a dictator, and that Appius Claudius would be choſen. The very name of a man ſo ſevere, and ſo much dreaded by the multitude, made ſuch an impreſſion on the people, that they liſted themſelves without delay. Cornelius entered the country of the Veientes, and Q. Fabius that of the Volſci: both conſuls were attended with good ſucceſs. Fabius returned with a great booty in ſpoils, cattle, and ſlaves, but ſold the whole, and put the money into the hands of the quæſtors, without giving the leaſt part of it to his ſoldiers. And now this year being expired, Cæſo Fabius, the quæſtor, and Æmilius Mamercinus were choſen conſuls in the comitia by centuries. Æmilius marched againſt the Volſci, by whom he was defeated in the field; but

New troubles on account of the Agrarian law.

[c] Dio. Hal. p. 537—545. Liv. l. ii. c. 41. [d] Val. Max. l. v. c 8.

but the enemy having attacked his camp, after he had received a ſtrong reinforcement from his collegue, he ſallied out upon them, put them to flight, and laid waſte their country. During the abſence of the conſuls, the ſenate, to divert the people's minds from the Agrarian law, ordered the conſecration of the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, which had been vowed by Poſthumius at the battle of Regillus. In the mean while, the time for electing new conſuls being come, M. Fabius, brother to Quintus and Cæſo, and L. Valerius, who in his queſtorſhip had been inſtrumental in the deſtruction of Caſſius, were choſen. During their conſulſhip, the war with the Volſci breaking out anew, the tribune Mœnius proteſted againſt any levies for the ſervice, till the decemvirs were named for executing the Agrarian laws. The conſuls, to extricate themſelves from this perplexity, carried their tribunal out of Rome, beyond the juriſdiction of the tribunes, which was confined within the walls of the city. They then ſent a ſummons to the people; and if any one refuſed to appear, or give in his name, they ordered his houſe in the country to be demoliſhed, and his lands laid waſte. Thus, without having any conteſts with the tribunes, they brought the people to their duty, and ſoon formed two armies, one to march againſt the Veientes, the other againſt the Volſci. The conſuls diſtruſting their troops, which conſiſted of men ill affected to them and for the moſt part inliſted againſt their will, agreed to act only upon the defenſive. This agreement was obſerved by Fabius, who marched againſt the Veientes; but Valerius came to an engagement with the Volſci, which proved very bloody without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; for both armies, after having fought many hours with incredible fury, retired, as it were by common conſent, to their reſpective camps. The friends of Valerius at Rome gave out, that it was through want of affection in the ſoldiers to their general, that he had not gained a complete victory; but the ſoldiers in all their letters accuſed their general with incapacity in military affairs. The conſuls detained their ſoldiers in the field, as long as poſſible, to avoid new diſturbances; but the time for the election of new magiſtrates drawing near, they were obliged to return to Rome, and then diſcord raged again with more fury than ever. The patricians were for promoting

moting Appius Claudius, ſon of the famous Appius, who had ſo ſignally ſhewed his averſion to the people. But as often as the conſuls ordered the centuries to aſſemble, the tribunes at the head of the people made ſo much noiſe, and raiſed ſuch violent and bitter conteſts, that it was impoſſible to proceed to the election. The conſuls and the ſenate endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult but to no effect, the tribunes telling them, that unleſs they choſe men of unqueſtionable characters, they ſhould find means to prevent any election, and that they would not ſuffer tyrants to be impoſed upon them for magiſtrates. As theſe diſputes threatened a ſedition, the ſenate agreed to reduce the republic for ſome time to an inter-regnum, and commit the adminiſtration of affairs to ſome venerable old men, who ſhould govern by turns and take care to provide new conſuls. S. Atratinus was the firſt who took upon him the care of public affairs, according to this ſcheme; and from that time all other authority ceaſed in Rome. To him, a few days after, ſucceeded Sp. Lartius, a man of a pacific diſpoſition, who managed both parties ſo artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate ſomewhat of their demands. It was concluded, that the election ſhould be made as uſual, and by the votes of the centuries, and that the two parties ſhould agree beforehand upon the perſons who ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate. Union being re-eſtabliſhed upon theſe conditions, they proceeded only for form ſake to the election. The tribunes got the conſular dignity beſtowed upon C. Julius Julus, who was of the people's party. The patricians named for his collegue Q. Fabius Vibulanus, who, without having ever offended the people, had on all occaſions ſtood up for the rights of the ſenate. As for the promotion of Appius, the patricians, fearing the oppoſition of the tribunes might raiſe a fatal ſedition, thought it adviſeable to defer it to more peaceable times. The tribunes made ſome oppoſition to the new levies, in hopes of getting the decemvirs named and obtaining the partition of the lands. But Fabius, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, raiſed ſuch a number of troops, as enabled him to take the field, and ravage the country of the Veientes [e].

The republic falls into an inter-regnum.

Union re-eſtabliſhed.

THE

[e] Dio. Hal. p. 557—559. Liv. l. ii. c. 43.

The civil feuds break out afreſh.

THE civil feuds broke out afreſh upon the next election of the conſuls. The people inſiſted on chuſing patricians of their party, and the ſenate were for electing ſuch only as were in the intereſt of the nobility. Each party ſtood to its pretenſions with equal warmth; but at length the affair was accommodated, and they agreed to go by the ſame rule as in the laſt election. The ſenate, named Cæſo Fabius, who in his quæſtorſhip had deſtroyed Caſſius, and the people Sp. Furius. The Æqui and the Veientes having renewed their incurſions, the conſuls ordered the people to take arms. But Sp. Icilius, one of the tribunes, revived the old quarrel about the diviſion of lands, and declared, he would vigorouſly oppoſe all the decrees that ſhould be iſſued by the ſenate, let the matter be what it would, till the decemvirs were named. In the mean time, the Æqui and Veientes with fire and ſword laid waſte the territory of Rome, without the conſuls being able to take the field, through the obſtinacy of the tribunes, who, prevented their making great levies. In this perplexity Appius thought of an expedient, which proved very ſucceſsful. This was, to gain over ſome of the tribunes; for if the oppoſition of a ſingle tribune could ſuſpend the execution of a decree of the ſenate, he concluded, that it had the ſame force as to the reſolutions of his collegues. The ſenators therefore applied themſelves to gain the friendſhip of the tribunes, wherein they ſucceeded, four of that college declaring in a public aſſembly, that they could not bear, that the enemy ſhould thus lay waſte the country with impunity. The oppoſition of Icilius being therefore over-ruled, the people took arms. Furius, being beloved by his ſoldiers, had a ſucceſsful campaign, and gained very conſiderable advantages over the Æqui. But the troops of Fabius, who were to act againſt the Veientes, choſe rather to loſe their own glory, than gain any honour for their general. They refuſed to purſue the enemy, after they had put their troops to flight, leſt, by making the victory complete, they ſhould procure Fabius a triumph at his return to Rome. Neither did they ſtop here; but following, they ſtruck their tents without orders, and began their march towards the city. The conſul, finding it impoſſible to govern them, put the beſt face he could on the matter, ſounded a retreat and returned

The ſenate by a ſtratagem carry their point againſt Icilius, and make the neceſſary levies.

A

As it was now become cuſtomary in the republic to have one of the conſuls choſen according to the inclinations of the people, and the other according to thoſe of the ſenate, the patricians caſt their eyes again upon the Fabian family, and raiſed to the conſulate M. Fabius a ſecond time, notwithſtanding his brother Cæſo had been ſo diſagreeable to the army the year before; and the people promoted Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus. In their conſulſhip, the Hetrurians, encouraged by the diviſions in Rome, invaded the Roman territory with a numerous army. Pontificius, one of the tribunes, renewed the old diſpute; but the ſenate having gained ſome of their college, an army of twenty thouſand men was raiſed, and equally divided between the two conſuls, who taking the field, encamped near each other; but had ſo little dependence on the affection of their troops, that they kept within their intrenchments. In the mean time, lightning falling upon the tent of the conſul Manlius, the augurs declared, that his camp would be taken by the enemy; upon which prediction he quitted it the ſame night, and joined his army to that of Fabius. The Hetrurians, interpreting the omen to their advantage, ſeized the deſerted camp, and then inſulted the united armies in their entrenchments. Upon this, thoſe very ſoldiers, who a little before had agreed not to come to a battle, began to complain of their commanders for not leading them out againſt the enemy. The generals ſeemed to conſult together whether it were proper to engage the enemy; but their true deſign was to encreaſe the eagerneſs of the ſoldiers by further delays. Accordingly, they grew ſo impatient to fall upon the inſulting Hetrurians, that the conſuls were obliged to take away their arms, leſt they ſhould come to an engagement without orders. Then they crouded about the generals tents, making great clamours; and Fabius laid hold of that opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and to encreaſe their ardor by expreſſing a diffidence of their courage and honour. He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but they all cried out with one voice, 'Lead us on, and lay aſide your ſuſpici-'ons.' One Flavoleius, a centurion in great eſteem among the troops, hearing theſe words, got upon an eminence, and thus addreſſed himſelf to the conſuls: 'I 'plainly ſee you have not quite laid aſide your diſtruſt 'of

The Hetrurians with a numerous army invade the Roman territory.

'of us; and indeed you have reaſon to fear that we 'ſhall not act anſwerably to our promiſes. But for my 'part, at leaſt, I declare, I will behave in the battle 'like a true Roman. Fellow ſoldiers,' continued he, 'do you take the ſame oath that I am now going to take.' At which words he drew his ſword, and, lifting it up towards heaven, cried out, 'O great Jupiter, Mars, and 'thou god, whoſoever thou art, who puniſheſt breach 'of faith, I call you to witneſs, that I will never return 'to Rome till I have conquered.' The conſuls, inferior officers, and all the ſoldiers, took the ſame oath, and confirmed it by ſacrifices. Then the conſuls reſtored to the ſoldiers their arms, and marched them out of the camp in ſilence and good order to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, where they drew them up in battalia. On the other hand, the Hetrurians were ſurpriſed to ſee the cowardly Romans come out of their entrenchments and offer them battle. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the ſoldiers of the two camps together. However, either of their armies was conſiderably more numerous than that of the Romans; and beſides, it was confidently reported, that the Romans would betray their generals, and deſert them in the heat of the engagement. Full of theſe hopes, they ſounded the charge. The conſul Manlius commanded the right wing of the Roman army, Q. Fabius the left, and M. Fabius, the other conſul the main body. Both armies advanced with great ſhouts, and came to a cloſe engagement. The front of the right wing of the Hetrurians being more extended than that of the left wing of the Romans and more numerous, Fabius, with great difficulty, withſtood the multitude that faced him. However, he had broke into a great body of Veientes, and put them in diſorder, when an Hetrurian, of a gigantic ſtature, attacking him, plunged his lance into his breaſt. Fabius drew it out, but ſoon after fell from his horſe and died. Upon his death the left wing was ſurrounded, which the conſul Fabius hearing, he immediately quitted his poſt and flew to their aſſiſtance, with his brother Cœſo, and ſuch troops as he could confide in, and finding the Romans, diſheartened at the loſs of their leader, giving way, and ready to betake themſelves to a diſorderly flight, he cried out; 'Fellow ſoldiers, have you forgot your oaths? Will 'you ſhamefully fly back to the camp? Are you more a-

The two conſuls M. Fabius and Cn. Manlius engage the Hetrurians.

'fraid

'fraid of the Hetrurians than of Jupiter and Mars!' Having uttered theſe words, he threw himſelf with his brother Cœſo into the midſt of the enemy, and being ſeconded by the troops he brought with him, obliged the Hetrurians to retire with great ſlaughter. In the right wing, commanded by Manlius, the Romans fought with great courage and reſolution, till the brave conſul being wounded was carried out of the field. Then his abſence and the report of his death made a great alteration on that ſide. The Romans began to loſe ground, but the conſul Fabius and his brother appearing unexpectedly in the firſt ranks, and aſſuring the frighted Romans that the enemy's right wing and main body were put to flight, and that the conſul Manlius was ſtill alive, they returned to the charge, and would have gained a complete victory, if a new battle had not begun in another place. A body of Veientes in the heat of the action fell upon the Roman camp, which was guarded by a ſmall number of troops, and were ready to enter it, when Manlius, wounded as he was, hearing of their danger, cauſed himſelf to be carried thither. But while, forgetful of his wound, he was defending, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen horſe, one of the avenues to the camp, his ſtrength being quite exhauſted, he fell from his horſe, and being ſurrounded by the enemy, was killed on the ſpot. His death was followed by the taking of the camp, the Romans, who defended it, being overpowered with numbers. Hereupon the conſul Fabius, who was ſtill engaged in the plain, leaving his men, came unexpectedly upon the Hetrurians, retook the camp, and, then haſtening back to the field of battle, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to the defeat of the enemy, who retired into their entrenchments in diſorder. Thus the Romans gained the victory; but it coſt them dear, one of the conſuls, the ſurviving conſul's brother, and a greater number of perſons of diſtinction being killed than in any former action. The conſul was ſo affected with the death of his brother, that at his return to Rome he declined the honours of a triumph, which had been decreed him, while he was yet in the camp. He entered the city in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his collegue and brother, and, mounting the roſtra, made a panegyric on thoſe two heroes, without ſaying any thing of his own exploits. As he was now the ſole governor of the republic, he was afraid of countenancing the leaſt appearance

The Romans gain a ſignal victory, chiefly by the bravery of the Fabii.

of monarchy, and therefore he abdicated the conſulſhip, two months before it expired, and, leaving the government in an inter-regnum, retired to cure the wounds he had received in the action. This modeſt and generous behaviour in a perſon of ſo great merit gained him the hearts of the people; ſo that from this time the Fabii became popular [f].

The conſul Cæſo Fabius adviſes the ſenate to put the Agrarian law in execution.

THE Roman people aſſembling in the campus Martius choſe Cæſo Fabius the third time: ſo that now the three brothers had enjoyed that office for ſeven years ſucceſſively. The collegue, whom the centuries gave him, was T. Virginius. The new magiſtrates had no ſooner entered upon their office, but Fabius, actuated by his new affection for the people, laboured to reconcile them to the ſenate. The demands of the people, about the diſtribution of the conquered lands, and the refuſal of the patricians had been too long the ſource of diviſions in the republic. The conſul therefore, before the tribunes had preſented any petition on that head, which they did every year, exhorted the ſenators to prevent the complaints of the people, and put an end to the daily diſturbances, by making the diſtribution of thoſe lands themſelves. But Fabius was not heard; ſome rallied him on his new zeal for the intereſts of the people, others murmured, and ſome even accuſed him of ambition. He was attended with better ſucceſs in his military expeditions; for he diſperſed the Æqui, who had committed great ravages in the Latin territories, without the loſs of a ſingle man, and afterwards haſtened to the relief of his collegue, who being ſurrounded by the Veientes, without timely aſſiſtance, would have been obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Nor was this the only remarkable ſervice that Cæſo Fabius did the republic in his third conſulate. The two conſuls were ſcarce returned to Rome and their armies diſbanded, when the Hetrurians entered again the Roman territory, and made incurſions even to the foot of the hill Janiculum, carrying off the cattle, and laying the whole country waſte. The ſenate aſſembled to deliberate upon the means of putting a ſtop to theſe devaſtations, but, the people refuſing to take arms till the Agrarian Law was put in execution, the fathers were greatly at a loſs what to do. In this perplexity Fabius formed a project worthy of his affection for his country. He aſſembled all the men of his own name and family, and having communicated to them

[f] Dio. Hal. l. ix. p. 567—571. Liv. l. ii. c. 46—48.

them his deſign, which was, that the family of Fabii ſhould, alone, and at their own expence, take upon them to ſecure the frontiers againſt the Veientes; the Fabii readily conſented to the motion, and communicated their deſign to the fathers, by whom it was received with applauſe and unanimouſly approved. Early the next morning, thoſe illuſtrious patricians, being in all three hundred and ſix, appeared under arms at Cæſo Fabius's door, and from thence marched through the city in good order with about four thouſand men, partly their vaſſals and partly their clients, all under the command of M. Fabius, who had laſt year gained the battle of Veii, and was now cured of the wounds he had received on that occaſion. The whole city ran in crouds to ſee them, and made vows to heaven for their preſervation. They went out of the city at the gate Carmentalis; and marching to the banks of the Cremera, now the Baccano, a ſmall river which diſcharges itſelf into the Tiber, there built a fort in a ſteep place, ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain diſtances. When the works were finiſhed, they divided their men into four ſmall parties, one of which was left to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three ſeveral parts of the enemy's country, and pillaged it. Their firſt expeditions were attended with great ſucceſs; no huſbandmen durſt appear in the plains or bring out their cattle. In the mean time, new conſuls being choſen at Rome, viz. Lucius Æmilius, a ſecond time, and C. Servilius, Cæſo Fabius, the laſt year's conſul, obtained leave of the ſenate to join his family on the banks of the Cremera. But the conſcript fathers, to gain him the more reſpect, created for him a new office, declaring him a proconſul, a title which gave him the ſame power over the troops he commanded, as if he had been conſul; but no other authority (N).

The Fabian family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the Veientes.

(N) Livy does not mention the creation of a proconſul till the year of Rome 289, when he ſpeaks of T. Quinctius Barbatus, as commanding the army of the republic againſt the Æqui in that quality. This dignity, when it was, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, in its infancy, was confined to the command of the troops, when the preſence of the conſul was neceſſary at Rome, or when the republic, being attacked by ſeveral different nations at once, was obliged to ſend ſeveral armies into the field, and conſequently to encreaſe the number of her generals. When the expedition was ended, the proconſulate expired. But afterwards,

War with the Hetrurians, the Volſci, and the Æqui.

The new conſuls had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to Rome, that the Hetrurians were raiſing a formidable army in order to fall upon the Fabii, and that the Æqui and Volſci had already invaded the country of the Latins. Hereupon the conſuls divided their army into three bodies; Æmilius led one againſt the Veientes, Servilius another againſt the Volſci, and Sp. Furius the third, with the title of proconſul, againſt the Æqui. The Volſci being attacked by Servilius, repulſed him and obliged him to keep in his camp, without attempting any thing elſe that ſummer. The Æqui fled at the approach of Furius, who laid waſte their country. The Veientes, having received ſtrong reinforcements from the other Hetrurian leucumonies, came to an engagement with Æmilius, but were entirely defeated and forced to ſue for peace. The conſul out of reſpect to the ſenate referred their deputies to the conſcript fathers, and they in return gave him full power to conclude a treaty upon what conditions he ſhould think proper. Hereupon the conſul granted them a peace, without demanding hoſtages, or requiring any thing more than two months proviſions for his army, and money to defray the expences of the war for ſix months. This indulgence highly offended the ſenate, inſomuch, that they refuſed him a triumph. However, as he was an excellent commander, they promiſed to reward him, according to his merit, on condition he relieved his collegue, who was kept blocked up in his camp by the Volſci. But Æmilius, piqued at the refuſal he had met with, returned to Rome, and complained to the people of the proceedings of the ſenate, as if they were diſpleaſed with him for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had put too ſpeedy an end to the war with the Veientes. "The patricians", ſaid

wards, when Rome became miſtreſs of Italy, and gave law to diſtant nations, ſhe then appointed governors over the conquered provinces in quality of proconſuls and proprætors. Theſe offices had then great privileges annexed to them, as we ſhall obſerve in a more proper place. It is not plain from the Latin hiſtorians, whether the proconſulate was at firſt diſpoſed of by the ſenate or people, or whether they both joined in the election of a proconſul; but when the proconſulate became a common office in the republic, it is certain, that, the people aſſembled by tribes, ſometimes by curiæ, and more rarely by centuries, had their ſhare in the election; of which we ſhall find inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

ſaid he, "prolong the wars abroad, with no other view, "but to put off the execution of the Caſſian law, and "the diſtribution of the conquered lands". He did not ſtop here, but, to ſhew his reſentment, inſtead of marching to the aſſiſtance of Servilius, he diſbanded his army, and recalled Furius, who, as proconſul, was obliged to obey him [g].

NOTWITHSTANDING the peace concluded with the Veientes, the Fabii did not abandon their poſt, but continued on the frontiers to keep a people in awe, whoſe inconſtancy and inclination to break treaties were well known. In the following conſulſhip of C. Horatius and T. Menenius, the other Hetrurian leucumonies being offended at the ſeparate peace the Vejentes had made with Rome, ſummoned them to appear in the general diet of the nation, and there gave them to underſtand, that they muſt either break the treaty they had made with Rome, or ſuſtain a war with the other eleven leucumonies. The Veientes being reduced to this dilemma, choſe the former, and accordingly ſent to the Fabii, requiring them to demoliſh their fort and quit the frontiers. The Fabii rejected the propoſal with indignation; whereupon hoſtilities were immediately renewed, and all Hetruria eſpouſed the quarrel of their countrymen. The Fabii continued to ravage the country, and often engaged the Veientes in the open field with their uſual ſucceſs, till they were at laſt unfortunately ſurprized in an ambuſh. The Veientes lodged a whole army of Hetrurians in a neighbouring wood, and poſted centinels on all the eminences, to give them notice when they ſhould ſally out. Then they brought out all their cattle and horſes into a valley under a ſmall guard, as if they had no deſign but to feed them. The Fabii no ſooner ſaw them than they marched out in a great body, leaving no more men in the fort than were neceſſary to ſecure it from a ſurpriſe. They advanced in good order, and the herdſmen with their guard flying on their approach, ſome of the Fabii purſued the fugitives, while others ſeized the cattle, and a ſmall number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately the Hetrurians ſallied out of the wood, ſurrounded the Romans on all ſides, and cut in pieces thoſe who were in purſuit of the booty. Hereupon the Fabii, who had kept their ranks, drawing themſelves into a cloſe

[g] Dio. Hal. l. ix. p. 575. Liv. l. ii. c. 49.

cloſe compact body, which faced every way, quitted the plain, and gained an eminence, opening themſelves a way with their ſwords through the enemy's forces. When they had got half way up the aſcent, they fell into another ambuſh, and were quite encompaſſed anew by a freſh body of Hetrurian troops, which had been poſted in a wood near the hill. The Fabii, though quite ſpent and out of breath, renewed the fight with great vigour, made a dreadful ſlaughter of the Hetrurians, and at length, in ſpight of all oppoſition, gained the top of the hill. There they ſpent the night without any proviſions, being on all ſides beſet by an army of Hetrurians. The next day the Fabii, who were left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger of their relations, haſtened to their relief; but, being attacked in the plain by a numerous body of the enemy, they were all to a man cut off. Not long after, thoſe, who were on the top of the hill, being preſſed by hunger and thirſt, broke their way through the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. The Hetrurians, ſurpriſed at their courage and intrepidity in the heat of action, offered to let them retire unmoleſted, upon condition they would throw down their arms, and give their word that they would abandon the fort. But this the brave men looked upon as a diſhonourable propoſal, and therefore choſe rather to die with glory, than ſave their lives by an action, which they thought would reflect diſgrace on their family. They renewed the attack; upon which the Hetrurians, changing their way of fighting, avoided coming to a cloſe engagement; and keeping at a diſtance, ſhowered from all parts darts and ſtones on thoſe illuſtrious warriors. They held out ſome time againſt the unexpected ſtorm, and puſhed forwards againſt the enemy, who had not the courage to come near them. At length the Hetrurians, perceiving that the ſwords of the Romans were for the moſt part broke and their bucklers ſplit in pieces, ventured to attack them man to man. Then the Fabii, like men in deſpair, threw themſelves with incredible fury into the midſt of the Hetrurian battalions, and, ſnatching the arms of their enemies, fought them with their own weapons. Hereupon the Hetrurians were again obliged to have recourſe to javelins and ſtones, with which thoſe brave men were overwhelmed, and all killed on the ſpot. The Hetrurians cut off their heads, and, carrying them in triumph on the tops of their lances, ſhewed them to the Fabii, who had ſtaid in the fort. At this

The miſerable ſtate of the Fabii.

All the Fabii killed on the ſpot.

this fight they gave themſelves up to deſpair, and inſtead of defending the ramparts, ſallied out upon the the enemy without obſerving any order, aiming at nothing but to ſell their lives dear. Theſe were likewiſe cut to pieces; ſo that of the three hundred and ſix Fabii, not one eſcaped. Livy and thoſe who have copied after him tell us, that only one of the name was left in Rome, a youth not fourteen years of age, from whom the Fabii we find afterwards mentioned, were all deſcended. But Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus looks upon this as a mere fable, invented to give ſomething of a miraculous air to ſo tragical an event. And indeed we can hardly believe, that of all the Fabii, who periſhed at the Cremera, one only left a child behind him. However that be, Rome ſuffered a great loſs, and ſhewed all the concern gratitude could expreſs. The gate Carmentalis, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called "Porta Scelerata", or "The accurſed gate", and the day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days on which it was not lawful to begin any thing of conſequence [h](O). The conſul

[h] Dio. Hal. p. 571. Liv. l. ii. c. 50.

(O) We have followed Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus in our account of the unfortunate defeat of the Fabii. But other hiſtorians are ſaid by that writer to relate it in the following manner. The family of the Fabii, ſay they, being obliged to offer up a ſacrifice, and celebrate a family-feaſt together, they marched out of the fort on the Cremera, in order to diſcharge this religious duty, guarded by a ſmall number of their clients. They paſſed through the enemy's country without uſing the precaution of ſending out ſcouts to reconnoitre, or marching in order of battle, as if they had been at peace with the Hetrurian nation. But the Veientes, being informed of their departure, poſted part of their troops in an ambuſcade on the road the Romans were to take, while a ſmall body marched to meet the guard and attack it. The Fabii, who ſuſpected nothing of this nature, fell into the ſnares which had been laid for them. The troops, which lay concealed, ſallied out unexpectedly and attacked them with vigor, ſome in front, others in flank, while a troop of Veientes, who followed them cloſe, fell upon their rear. Being thus ſurrounded on all ſides and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut off. This account has not, according to Dionyſius, the leaſt appearance of truth. Is it credible, ſays he, that all the Fabii ſhould abandon ſo important a poſt without an expreſs order from the ſenate? As for the care of the ſacrifice, it might have been committed to ſuch of their family and name as were diſpenſed with by their age from bearing arms.

If

conſul Menenius, who had received orders to march againſt the Hetrurians, was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle, when the Fabii were cut in pieces. But it was believed, that he out of jealouſy gave them up to deſtruction, when he might have eaſily relieved them. He afterwards encamped diſadvantageouſly on the ſide of an hill, without ſecuring the top of it; ſo that the Hetrurians encamping above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an entire defeat, and made themſelves maſters of his camp. Puffed up with this victory, they advanced to the hill Janiculum, and poſted themſelves on the top of it, whence they could ſee all that paſſed in the city, and obſerve what preparations were made againſt a ſiege. This obliged the ſenate to recall the conſul Horatius, and the army which was appointed to act againſt the Volſci. The brave Horatius immediately came to a battle with the Hetrurians, near the

The conſul Menenius defeated by the Hetrurians.

If we ſuppoſe, that all the Fabii, not one excepted, were ſhut up in the fort, it would have been ſufficient for them to have diſpatched three or four of the family to diſcharge their obligations in the name of all the reſt. Beſides, it would have been highly imprudent in them to leave ſuch an important place defenceleſs and at the enemy's mercy, and to march through their country with as much confidence as in the moſt peaceable times.

Livy obſerves, that the Fabii marched out of the city at the gate Carmentalis, leaving the temple of Janus on their right hand. Ovid ſpeaks of the departure of the Fabii, of the curſe annexed to the gate Carmentalis, and of the temple of Janus in the following verſes:

Carmentis portæ dextra eſt via proxima Jano;
Ire per hanc noli, quiſquis es; omen habet.
Illa fama refert Fabios exîſſe trecentos.
Porta vacat culpa, ſed tamen omen habet (7).

The ſame poet tells us, that only one youth of the Fabian family, not yet fourteen years of age, was ſaved.

Una dies Fabios ad bellum miſerat omnes;
Ad bellum miſſos perdidit una dies.
Ut tamen Herculeæ ſupereſſent ſemina gentis
Credibile eſt ipſos conſuluiſſe deos.
Nam puer impubes, & adhuc non utilis armis
Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat (8).

(7) Ovid. Faſt. l. ii. (8) Idem ibid.

the gate Collina, the ſucceſs of which was pretty equal: but in a ſecond, near the temple of Hope, about a mile from Rome, he gained a victory, which revived the Roman courage, and ſecured the city. However, the enemy did not decamp from the Janiculum, nor quite lay aſide the deſign of beſieging Rome. At the ſame time a famine began to be felt in the city, occaſioned by the incurſions of the Hetrurians. The lands having been left unſown the laſt year for fear of their ravages, and moſt of the barns in the country burnt or plundered, there was a great ſcarcity of corn. The meaner ſort of the people got together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and their clamours and mutinies were fomented by the tribunes, who did not fail to throw all the blame on the conſcript fathers. On the other hand, the ſenators, to clear themſelves, did all that lay in their power to relieve the people. They ſent out merchants to buy corn, fixed the price of it at a low rate, and ordered, that none of the patricians ſhould keep more in their granaries than was neceſſary for the maintenance of their families. But theſe wiſe precautions were only ſerviceable for a time. The Romans found themſelves at laſt under a neceſſity either of ſtarving, or driving the enemy farther off. They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new conſuls, A. Virginius and P. Servilius, and engaging the Hetrurians, gained a complete victory over them. But when by the dead bodies, that were brought to Rome to be burnt, the ſenate ſaw how many Romans had periſhed in the engagement, they refuſed the conſuls the honour of a triumph [m].

The Hetrurians entirely defeated.

THE departure of the Hetrurians reſtored plenty to the city, proviſions being brought thither from all the neighbouring countries. But the people were no ſooner delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, than they renewed their complaints about the diſtribution of the conquered lands. As they could not bring about the execution of the Caſſian law, they laid the whole blame upon the conſuls, citing them, as ſoon as they were out of their office, before the aſſembly of the tribes. Thus Menenius, the ſon of the famous Menenius Agrippa, was accuſed by the tribunes of having connived at the deſtruction of the Fabii; and ſummoned to give an account of his conduct before a tribunal,

Menenius accuſed before the people, and fined.

where

[m] Dio. Hal. p. 584. Liv. l. ii. c. 52.

where his moſt inveterate enemies were his judges. The patricians uſed the ſame arts, they had formerly practiſed in the affair of Coriolanus, to prevent his being tried by the people; but to no purpoſe; for the tribunes continued obſtinate, and their obſtinacy prevailed. Menenius was tried, not by the curiæ, but by the tribes, and almoſt unanimouſly condemned to death. But the ſenate and all his friends ſoliciting earneſtly in his behalf, the tribunes changed the ſentence of death into a fine of two thouſand aſſes, that is, about five pounds of our money, a conſiderable ſum, when men of the firſt rank lived upon the product of their ſmall farms, which they often cultivated with their own hands. Nay, this fine was exceſſive, with reſpect to Menenius, whoſe father had left him no other patrimony, but his glory. His friends offered to pay it for him, but he rejected their generous offers, and, being ſenſibly affected with the injuſtice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, where he ſoon died of grief and hunger. This melancholy accident greatly incenſed the animoſity between the patricians and plebeians; the former, determining to keep no meaſures with the latter, openly declared, that they would never ſuffer the Caſſian law to be put in execution. On the other hand, the tribunes, more enraged than ever, omitted no opportunity of proſecuting the nobility. They took great pleaſure in humbling the patricians, and ſummoning the conſuls, as ſoon as they had laid down their office, to appear before the tribunal of the people. Servilius, as we have obſerved above, had loſt a great number of men in the engagement with the Hetrurians, when he drove them from the Janiculum. He had therefore ſcarce laid down the faſces, when a criminal proceſs was commenced againſt him for purſuing the enemy too far, and by that indiſcretion expoſing the lives of many citizens to unneceſſary dangers. But this was only a pretence for the proſecution. The real crime both of Servilius and Menenius was, their omitting to name the decemvirs for the partition of the lands. Servilius had too much confidence in the goodneſs of his cauſe to beg the ſenate to intercede for him. He faced the danger boldly, and, without changing either his habit or countenance, appeared before the aſſembly of the people, and made ſo judicious a defence, that he was unanimouſly acquitted. He ſoon after not only cleared his character from all blemiſh, but added a new luſtre to it. A remarkable victory, which the conſul

Servilius accuſed, but acquitted.

ful Valerius gained the ſame year over the Hetrurians, was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of Servilius, who ſerved in quality of the conſul's lieutenant. The following year, A. Manlius and L. Furius being choſen conſuls, the former marched againſt the Veientes, who, at his approach, ſhut themſelves up in Veii, where they were ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that they ſued for peace, and obtained of the ſenate a forty year's truce. The conſul Manlius, for this ſucceſsful and unbloody expedition, was honoured with an ovation.

The Veientes obtain a forty years truce. New diſpatches about the diſtribution of lands.

PEACE abroad was always followed by inteſtine broils at home. The old diſputes about the diſtribution of the lands were revived by the tribunes; but the conſuls, without being in the leaſt ſhaken by their clamours and menaces, finiſhed their year, and left affairs in the ſame ſituation they had found them. They had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to L. Æmilius, now the third time conſul, and Vopiſcus Junius, than Cn. Genucius, a daring enterpriſing tribune, cited them to appear before the people, accuſing them of having neglected to name the commiſſioners, with a deſign to debar the poor citizens and brave ſoldiers of the ſhare, they had ſo well deſerved, in the conquered lands. He exhorted the people to do themſelves juſtice, repreſenting to them, that if they inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on thoſe criminals, they might, by that means, oblige their ſucceſſors to put in execution the Caſſian law. Accordingly a day was appointed for their trial. Theſe violent proceedings greatly alarmed the ſenate, who now ſaw, with no leſs indignation than ſorrow, that the tribunes aimed equally at their lives and fortunes, and that they had formed a deſign of deſtroying all the ſenators one after another. They therefore had private meetings among themſelves, and reſolved to reſcue Furius and Manlius, if they were condemned, there not being wanting deſperate men, who offered to make the attempt. On the other hand, the people triumphed before-hand, inſolently boaſting, that, in ſpite of all the artifice of the ſenate, the Caſſian law ſhould paſs, and be ſealed with the blood of thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the very day before the trial of Manlius and Furius, the furious tribune Genucius was found dead in his bed, without any marks on his body either of violence or poiſon. He was carried into the forum, and being there expoſed to public view, the com-

The ſudden death of the tribune Genucius.

mon

mon people concluded, that the gods did not approve of his enterprize; but the wiſer ſort entertained violent ſuſpicions of the patricians. However, the religious notion having prevailed, the partition of lands was not ſo much as mentioned for ſome time after [n].

THE conſuls and ſenate, finding the tribunes greatly confounded at the unexpected death of their collegue, and more at the effect it had upon the ſuperſtitious minds of the people, began to act in a very arbitrary manner, imagining they ſhould now meet with no oppoſition, either from the people or their tribunes. As there was occaſion to raiſe an army, the conſuls held their tribunal, as uſual, in the forum, and there either fined or cauſed to be whipped thoſe citizens, who did not appear as ſoon as they were called to give in their names. Amongſt others they called one P. Volero to liſt himſelf as a common ſoldier. Volero, tho' by birth a plebeian, had been formerly an officer in the army; and therefore, as he had behaved on all occaſions with great valour, he expected to be promoted at leaſt to the poſt of a centurion. Not able therefore to ſtifle his reſentment, he complained of the injuſtice of the conſuls, and demanded to be reſtored to his former poſt, or to know for what fault he was degraded. The conſuls, in great anger, ſent a lictor to ſeize him, and, upon his making reſiſtance, ordered him to be beaten with rods. The lictor endeavoured to execute their ſentence; but Volero, ſtriking him a blow on the face, declared, that he had done nothing which deſerved that puniſhment, and at the ſame time implored the protection of the tribunes; but they, terrified at the death of Genucius, not daring to appear, he appealed from the conſuls to the people, crying out to the multitude, "Aſſiſt me, O Romans, "it is your protection I implore; ſince our tribunes had "rather ſee a citizen of Rome beaten with rods, than run "the hazard of dying in their beds by the treachery of "the conſuls, we have no remedy left us againſt the tyranny of the conſuls but force." At theſe words the mutinous populace fell upon the lictors broke their faſces, and drove them out of the forum. The conſuls themſelves, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the multitude who preſſed hard upon them, thought it adviſeable to withdraw, and retire to the ſenate-houſe as a place of refuge. Hereupon the

The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the conſuls.

[n] Idem, ibid. & Zonar. l. ii.

the tribunes, recovering their ſpirits, inſpired the people with new fury, which was no longer levelled at the patricians in general, but only at the conſuls. Thoſe magiſtrates, in this ſudden commotion, which put all the city in an uproar, aſſembled the ſenate, and complained of the outrages committed by the people, contrary to the reſpect due to their dignity. Some ſenators were for putting Volero to death, and ordering him immediately to be thrown down headlong from the Tarpeian rock; but the more moderate among them did not think proper to put it to a trial, whether the anger of the ſenate, or the fury of the people, ſhould prevail. The tribunes, on the other hand, demanded juſtice upon the conſuls, for commanding a Roman citizen to be whipped like a ſlave, after he had appealed to the people; which was a manifeſt and criminal tranſgreſſion of the Valerian law. While the people were thus complaining of the conſuls, and the conſuls of the people, Volero, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the fury of the patricians, engaged the people to confer upon him the office of tribune, vacant by the death of Genucius. He publicly boaſted, that, if he were inveſted with that dignity, he would take ſuch meaſures, as ſhould deliver the people from being ever more oppreſſed by the ſenate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their votes, and he entered on his office after the election of the new conſuls, L. Pinarius, and P. Furius. Every one expected, that he would immediately begin a proſecution againſt the laſt year's conſuls; but Volero ſoon diſcovered, that he had views far more extenſive and important to the intereſt of his party, than a mere perſonal revenge. Without dropping one diſreſpectful word againſt the late magiſtrates, he endeavoured to leſſen the authority of the patricians in general, by depriving them of the influence they had in the election of the tribunes. In a general aſſembly of the people he propoſed, that their magiſtrates and protectors might be choſen for the future in the comitia by tribes, and not by curiæ. In this the ſubtle tribune had two views, very prejudicial to the patricians. In the firſt place, the curiæ were never aſſembled for elections, till the ſenate had conſented to it by a decree. In the ſecond place, the patricians, who commanded the ſuffrages of their clients, often got ſuch

The tribune Volero propoſes a law for electing the tribunes in the comitia by tribes.

tribunes

tribunes elected, as were agreeable to themſelves; but neither of theſe inconveniencies attended the comitia aſſembled by tribes; for the tribunes had the power of aſſembling them, without the conſent of the ſenate; and the country-tribes, who were not ſo devoted to the patricians as thoſe in the city, had a right to vote in them, as well as the inhabitants of Rome. The plebeian faction was highly pleaſed with this propoſal, and warmly declared for paſſing it into a law: but the conſuls, the ſenate, and the whole order of the patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power; ſo that Volero's law became the common and only ſubject of diſpute between the two parties, the Agrarian law being for ſome time entirely dropped. A dreadful plague ſuſpended, for a few months, this furious conteſt; but it no ſooner ceaſed, than the tribunes reſumed the proſecution of Volero's law. In the mean time, Volero's tribuneſhip expiring, the people continued him in the ſame office for the following year, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the ſenate, and the whole patrician party °.

Appius Claudius ſet up by the patricians againſt Volero.

THE particians finding the people bent upon carrying their point, had but one expedient left; which was, to ſet up againſt Volero a man, who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude. With this view, they pitched upon Appius Claudius, and raiſed him to the conſulate. He was the ſon of the famous Appius Claudius, who had ſo often ſignalized his hatred to the plebeians, and no leſs zealous than his father for the intereſt of the ſenate, but more obſtinate and inflexible. As he thought himſelf but ill qualified to govern in a time of general commotions, he had abſented himſelf from the comitia; but the patricians, acquainted with his ſteadineſs and intrepidity, got him elected, tho' abſent, in the comitia by centuries, in which they had great intereſt. They joined with him T. Quinctius, a venerable ſenator, of a ſweet temper, who was beloved by the people, tho' looked upon as one of the chief leaders of the other party. The new conſuls having convened the ſenate to deliberate on the moſt proper methods to hinder the publication of Volero's law, Appius, following the dictates of his natural ſeverity, was for raiſing an army, and ſending the people to vent that martial courage abroad, which made them untractable at home.

° Dio. Hal. p. 537. Liv. l. ii. c. 56.

home. But Quinctius was of a contrary opinion; he thought it unjuſt to make war upon nations, that had given Rome no occaſion of complaint; and beſides, repreſenting to the ſenate, that the people themſelves would ſoon be appriſed of their deſign, and refuſe to take arms, which would turn to the diſhonour of the conſular authority, and produce a general flame. The opinion of Quinctius prevailed; but Appius, who could not bear the leaſt contradiction, lived upon ill terms with his collegue all the reſt of the year; which greatly encreaſed the affection the people had already for Quinctius [p].

THE diviſion of the conſuls and union of the tribunes made Volero believe, that he ſhould now get his law paſſed. He had even the confidence to add the two following articles to it, viz. that all affairs relating to the people ſhould no longer be brought before the curiæ, but before the tribes; and that the ædiles, as well as the tribunes, ſhould be choſen by them. There were but four tribes in the city, and ſeventeen in the country, which were not any-ways influenced by the nobility; ſo that in the comitia by tribes the patricians had but little intereſt. They therefore exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ward off a blow, which tended directly to deſtroy the authority of the ſenate, and to eſtabliſh that of the people upon its ruins. When the ſenate met to deliberate upon theſe extraordinary propoſals, Appius was for making a decree to invite all thoſe who loved their country to take arms, and declaring thoſe who refuſed to obey the ſummons enemies to their country; but Quinctius, who was afraid of ſeeing Rome become a field of battle, thought it adviſeable to try, whether the people could be brought to their duty by ways of gentleneſs and inſinuation. The advice of Claudius was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous, and the more moderate counſels of Quinctius prevailing, the tribunes were deſired to convene an aſſembly of the people, and to ſuffer the conſuls, peaceably and without interruption, to repreſent to the people the true intereſts of the common-wealth; after which they might, in concert, agree upon ſuch meaſures, as ſhould be moſt for the common good of the people and ſenate. The tribunes acquieſced to ſo reaſonable a propoſal; and Quinctius, when the time came, mounting the roſtra, made ſuch

[p] Dio. Hal. p. 599, 600.

ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, by his ſoft and inſinuating eloquence, that Volero's propoſal would have been rejected, if Appius, when it was his turn to ſpeak, had not, by his imperious behaviour, his threatenings, and his invectives againſt the people and their tribunes, effaced the impreſſions made by his colleague. Caius Lectorius, who was accounted one of the braveſt ſoldiers in the republic, and had, for that reaſon, been raiſed to the tribuneſhip, when the domeſtic broils were like to end in a civil war, roſe up to anſwer the conſuls; but, without taking any notice of Quinctius's arguments, inſiſted only on the invectives of Appius, which he retorted, and concluded thus: "But to what purpoſe do we "fight with words againſt a wild beaſt? The ſword is the "proper weapon to be uſed in ſuch engagements; the ſword "perhaps may make you ſenſible, that the Roman people "are not ſo deſpicable as you think them. In the mean time, "you ſhall experience the authority of thoſe tribunes, who "are the objects of your contempt, but whom the law has "made your judges." Upon this there was a profound ſilence; and Lectorius, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, ſwore by all that was moſt ſacred, that he would either get Volero's law paſſed, or periſh in the attempt. Then, after having kept the people ſome time in ſuſpenſe, turning to Appius, "I command you," ſaid he, "to leave the "aſſembly." Appius deſpiſed his order, and told him, that, tho' a tribune, he was but a private man, and that his whole power conſiſted in forming an oppoſition to ſuch decrees of the ſenate as were prejudicial to the plebeians. Then calling about him his friends, clients, and relations, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppoſe force with force. The tribune, having conferred haſtily with his collegues, commanded one of his officers to ſeize Appius and carry him to priſon. Hereupon a ſcuffle began between the conſuls lictors and the officers of the tribune. The ſenators, and patricians, and the clients who attended Appius, placed him in the midſt of them, and repulſed Lectorius, who advanced in perſon to aſſiſt his officers. Nothing was heard but confuſed cries, proceeding from mutual animoſity. From reproaches they quickly came to blows; but, as arms were forbidden in the city, little blood was ſpilt in the fray. Quinctius, attended by ſome venerable ſenators, threw himſelf into the midſt of the contending parties, and having found means to convey Appius out of the tumult, appeaſed the tribunes, and put an end to the ſcuffle.

The tribune Lectorius orders Appius to leave the aſſembly, and to be led to priſon.

A ſcuffle enſues.

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THE next morning, the people, ſpirited up by their tribunes, and eſpecially by Lectorius who had been wounded the day before, ſeized on the capitol, fortified themſelves there, and ſeemed reſolved to begin an open war. The ſenate being aſſembled to deliberate on ways to quiet the ſedition, Quinctius was for yielding ſomething in favour of the people; whereas Appius could by no means be brought to make them the leaſt conceſſion. During this diſagreement, which laſted ſeveral days, Quinctius, having often conferred with the tribunes, gained at length their conſent to refer both their private and public complaints to the ſenate, and to ſtand to the determination of the conſcript fathers. He convened the ſenators, and after having acquainted them with the good diſpoſition of the tribunes, got the following decree paſſed, viz. That as the ſcuffle, which had happened a few days before, was not premeditated, but the effect of a ſudden commotion, ariſing in both ſides from a pretended zeal for the republic, all injuries, committed and received on that occaſion, ſhould be buried in an eternal oblivion. As to the law in queſtion, ſince Appius would by no means ſuffer it to be propoſed to the aſſembly of the people, without a previous decree of the ſenate, it was agreed, that it ſhould be referred to the ſenate, and that a decree ſhould be made for that purpoſe. The affair was therefore diſputed with great warmth, Appius calling both gods and men to witneſs, that the republic was betrayed, and that the ſenate were ſubmitting to a law more detrimental to their authority, than thoſe which had been formed on the ſacred mount; but Quinctius brought the ſenate to yield to the people, and allow them to propoſe the law in their aſſembly, where it paſſed, and was unanimouſly received with great applauſe. From this time therefore the tribunes were made, and almoſt every thing relating to the people determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes [q].

Voleto's law paſſes.

NOT long after this law was paſſed, the conſuls were obliged to take the field. Quinctius marched againſt the Æqui, and Appius againſt the Volſci. The former was ſo much eſteemed and loved by his army, that the enemy, not caring to appear againſt troops ſo well affected to their general, ſhut themſelves up in their cities, or lay concealed in the foreſts. The conſul therefore, having laid waſte their country, returned with a great booty to Rome, where he was received with loud acclamations, and called The father of the ſoldiers, while

War with the Æqui and Volſci.

[q] Idem, p. 602. Liv. l. ii. c. 57.

Appius was ſtyled by his men, The tyrant of the army; and indeed never was any army governed with more ſeverity, or diſcipline exacted with more rigour. As his rage againſt the people was no longer under any reſtraint from the tribunes, he entirely gave way to it; the conſequence of which was, that the centurions and ſoldiers all murmured at their general's orders, and even entered into a conſpiracy, not againſt his life, but his glory; for they reſolved by agreement, not to oppoſe the enemy, leſt their general ſhould receive the honours of triumph. The Volſci, being informed of all that paſſed in the Roman camp, drew up their men in order of battle, and challenged the Romans to an engagement. Appius marched out againſt them; but he was no ſooner within reach of the enemy, than his men threw away their arms, and, with one conſent, returned to the camp. The Volſci took advantage of this confuſion, and, having cut to pieces thoſe who were in the rear, attacked the entrenchments; but the Romans, fearing the enemy might break into the camp, faced about, made a brave reſiſtance, and drove back the Volſci. The raſh conſul would have led them again to face the enemy the next day; but they loudly demanded of their officers to be led out of the enemy's country, and forced Appius to comply with their demand and break up his camp. As ſoon as the incenſed conſul entered the Roman territory, where he was out of the reach of the enemy, he ſummoned his ſoldiers to aſſemble; and, being ſeated in his tribunal, he firſt upbraided them with their diſobedience and treachery, and then, giving a looſe to his reſentment, he commanded the heads of the centurions and other officers, who had abandoned their poſts, to be ſtruck off in his preſence. Thoſe, who had borne the enſigns and delivered them to the enemy, he cauſed to be beaten to death with rods. As for the common ſoldiers, he decimated them, that is, put every tenth man to death. As the time of the comitia for the election of new conſuls drew near, he led back to Rome the remains of his army, where he was received with the hiſſes of the multitude [r].

Appius's troops refuſe to fight.

He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity.

The old diſpute of the Agrarian law revived.

THE conſuls choſen to ſucceed Quinctius and Appius, were L. Valerius, a ſecond time, and Tib. Æmilius. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the tribunes revived the old diſpute concerning the partition of lands. Both the conſuls were diſpoſed to favour the people; Æmilius

[r] Dion. Hal. p. 606. Liv. ibid.

lius out of revenge againſt the ſenate, for having refuſed his father the honours of a triumph, when he returned from a ſucceſsful war againſt the Æqui; and Valerius, to gain the good-will of the people, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by proſecuting Caſſius during his quæſtorſhip. As the conſuls, by a decree of the ſenate paſſed in the conſulate of Virginius and Caſſius, were impowered to nominate the decemvirs, in order to make a new diſtribution of the conquered lands, the tribunes, being ſecure of the preſent conſuls, brought the affair before the ſenate, where it occaſioned long debates. Æmilius, the conſul's father, who ſpoke firſt, was for having the decemvirs named by the conſuls, in order to proceed to the diviſion of the conquered lands; which ſaid he, being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all. But Appius, that ſworn enemy of the people, oppoſed the opinion of Æmilius with ſo much warmth and ſtrength of reaſon, that the ſenate rejected the propoſal of the tribunes, tho' ſupported by both the conſuls. Hereupon the tribunes, enraged at their diſappointment, reſolved to deſtroy ſo violent an adverſary, and with that view cited him before the people, as a declared enemy to the public liberty. Appius, without changing his habit, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, or even ſuffering his friends to ſolicit the multitude in his behalf, on the day of the aſſembly, appeared in the midſt of his accuſers with the ſame dignity as if he had been their judge. His accuſation was reduced to theſe four heads. 1. That he had ſpirited up the ſenate againſt the people. 2. That he had raiſed ſeditions in the republic. 3. That he had cauſed a tribune to be ſtruck, tho' the laws declared his perſon ſacred and inviolable. 4. That he had ſunk the courage of his ſoldiers by his ſeverity, and ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the Volſci. But he anſwered theſe ſeveral articles with ſo much ſtrength, that the people durſt not condemn him. The tribunes, who were bent upon his deſtruction, fearing he would be acquitted, put off giving ſentence to another day, under pretence, that they ſhould not have time before night to collect the ſuffrages. But Appius, plainly foreſeeing that he ſhould fall a victim to the implacable hatred of thoſe magiſtrates, prevented the diſgrace of a condemnation, by laying violent hands on himſelf. The tribunes endeavoured in vain to deprive him of ſuch funeral honours as his merit and rank in the republic deſerved.

Appius cited before the people.

He kills himſelf.

deſerved. His ſon obtained leave of the conſuls to aſſemble the people, and make, according to cuſtom, his funeral oration; which the people heard with pleaſure, ſhewing him more regard after his death, than they had done in his life-time.

Upon the death of Appius, the tribunes reſumed the buſineſs of the Agrarian law, which his proſecution had only ſuſpended; but not being able to prevail upon the preſent conſuls to name the decemvirs, the people at their inſtigation, refuſed to appear at the election of the conſuls for the next year, as if they intended to ſeparate themſelves once more from the body of the republic. However, the patricians, with their clients, raiſed to the conſulate T. Quinctius, a ſecond time, and Q. Servilius, who, to prevent the breach from growing wider, buſied the people all that year with foreign wars. Servilius had great ſucceſs againſt the Sabines; and Quinctius gained a complete victory over the united forces of the Æqui and Volſci, which was followed by the ſiege and ſurrender of the city of Antium. Quinctius, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, and attended both by the ſenate and people in his proceſſion to the capitol. The domeſtic diſſenſions began afreſh in the following conſulate of T. Æmilius, a ſecond time, and Q. Fabius, ſon of one of the three famous brothers, who periſhed in the battle of Cremera. Æmilius, who had favoured the people in his firſt conſulate, renewed his endeavours to get the Caſſian law put in execution; whereupon great diſturbances enſuing, Fabius found out an expedient to appeaſe both the people and patricians. He propoſed to ſend a colony to people that pleaſant and fruitful canton of the Volſci, which Quinctus had juſt conquered. His motion was received with great applauſe by the meaner ſort of people, and three ſenators, viz. T. Quinctius the conſul, A. Virginius, and P. Furius, were immediately appointed to make the diſtribution of the lands; but when the plebeians were to give in their names to thoſe triumvirs, few of them appeared; nay, they began to change their ſtyle and complain of the ſenate, who, they ſaid, were ſending brave men out of their country, becauſe they oppoſed their oppreſſions; the greater part therefore choſe rather to ſtay at Rome, than leave it to take poſſeſſion of the lands, for which they had raiſed ſo many diſturbances. The games, the ſhews, the publick aſſemblies, the hurry of buſineſs,

The Sabines, the Æqui and the Volſci defeated.

Fabius finds out an expedient to ſtop the complaints of the people.

buſineſs, and the ſhare they had in the government, contributed to tie them to their old abode, and, notwithſtanding their poverty, made them look upon a colony as an honourable baniſhment. The triumvirs finding the people unwilling to quit Rome, were forced to admit of ſtrangers to make up the number appointed for the colony. However, one advantage accrued from the refuſal of the people, which was, that thoſe, who would not give in their names, were ever after aſhamed to meddle in the affair of the partition of the lands [s].

The Æqui ſubdued.

ROME enjoying now a profound tranquillity, Fabius took the field againſt the Æqui, and obliged them to ſue for a peace; which was granted them, on condition of their being ſubject to the republic. However, in the following conſulate of Sp. Poſthumius and Q. Servilius, now a ſecond time conſul, they began to ſtir again; and the next year, when T. Quinctius, a third time, and Q. Fabius, a ſecond time, were conſuls, they renewed the war, and continued it under the conſuls A. Poſthumius and Sp. Furius. The latter, who was but a very indifferent commander, having engaged raſhly with the enemy, was defeated, and ſo cloſely beſieged in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at Rome of his danger. However, the ſenate had advice of it, and, in ſo great a diſtreſs, reſolved upon an expedient never uſed but in great extremity; which was to give up the government abſolutely into the conſuls hands, by theſe words, Videat conſul, ne quid reſpublica detrimenti capiat, Let the conſul take care that the republic ſuffer no detriment. Poſthumius, who received this commiſſion, made all take arms who were able, and gave T. Quinctius the command of the army, with the title of proconſul. As ſoon as Quinctius came within ſight of the inveſted camp, the Æqui retired; but Furius had before made a ſally, in which his brother L. Furius and two cohorts had been ſurrounded by the enemy and cut in pieces. The conſul now acted upon the offenſive, and obliged the enemy to withdraw into their own country. Poſthumius attacked a great body of their freebooters, loaded with ſpoil, and made a great ſlaughter of them. By theſe ſucceſſes Rome was reſtored to its former tranquillity. In the following conſulate of P. Servilius Priſcus and Æbutius Elva, a dreadful plague broke out in Rome, and ſwept away almoſt all the flower

But revolt, and defeat the conſul Sp. Furius.

Quinctius obliges them to retire into their own country.

of

[s] Dio. Hal. p. 611. Liv. l. ii. c. 62.

of the youth who were able to bear arms, the fourth part of the ſenators, the greateſt part of the tribunes, and both the conſuls. Upon the news of ſo general a mortality among the Romans, the Æqui and Volſci renewed their old deſign of deſtroying the haughty republic. They began the campaign with committing hoſtilities in the territories of the Latins and Hernici, who immediately applied to the Roman ſenate for ſuccours; but all the Romans could do was, to give leave to their allies to arm and defend themſelves, and to promiſe them aſſiſtance in better times. Hereupon the Latins ſhut themſelves up in their cities, leaving their country open to the ravages of the enemy. The Hernici took the field, and even ventured an engagement, in which they loſt a great many men, and were, on that account, tho' the ſucceſs of the battle was pretty equal, forced to confine themſelves to their cities; ſo that the Æqui and Volſci, having now no enemy to oppoſe them in the field, entered the Roman territory, and appeared unexpectedly before Rome.

The Æqui and Volſci appear before Rome.

The two conſuls being dead, and the few tribunes who were ſtill alive unable on account of their bad ſtate of health, to aſſiſt the republic either with their hands or their advice, the ædiles took upon them to repreſent the dignity, and perform the functions, of the conſuls. Notwithſtanding ſo many calamities, the Romans ſeemed to have loſt nothing of their antient ſteadineſs. They crept to the ramparts, and put the beſt face they could on their affairs. The ſenators themſelves mounted the guard and ſtood centinels; and, the city being well fortified on all ſides, the Æqui and Volſci, more expert at plundering than carrying on a ſiege, laid aſide all thoughts of making themſelves maſters of Rome, and marched their forces towards Tuſculum. In the mean time, the plague continued to rage in the city. The two augurs, Virginius and Valerius, died of it, as well as Sulpicius the chief of the curiones, that is, the prieſts of each curia. The dead wers ſo numerous, that they were thrown into the tiber without burial; ſo that the calamity becoming now greater than ever, the people turned their thoughts entirely to divine aſſiſtance; all made their vows upon the altars, and the matrons ſwept the temples with their hair, and continued proſtrate in the preſence of the gods, till at length a more wholeſome ſeaſon put an end to the diſtemper, and delivered Rome from a calamity which threatened her with utter deſtruction. Several patricians had governed

one

one after another during the inter-regnum, which had lasted from the death of the consuls; and now Valerius Poplicola, being inter-rex, assembled the centuries for the election of new ones, when Lucretius Tricipitinus and T. Verturius Geminus were chosen. In the beginning of their consulate, the tribunes, forgetting the miseries the city had suffered, undertook to renew the old quarrel about the division of the lands; but the people, without hearkening to them, turned all their thoughts upon revenging the insults Rome had received from the Æqui and Volsci the year before. Even those citizens, whom the laws exempted from going to war, inlisted themselves for the service; so that two consular armies were immediately raised. It fell to Lucretius's lot to march against the Æqui and Volsci, who had united their forces; but were overthrown in a pitched battle, with the loss of both their generals and of thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty men, the most dreadful defeat they had ever received. So memorable an action made Rome forget the misfortunes she had suffered the last year [t].

the Æqui and Volsci entirely defeated.

WHILE the two consuls were thus employed in the field, a tribune of the people, named C. Terentius Arsa, took the opportunity of their absence to weaken the consular authority, exclaiming in a full assembly of the people against the exorbitant power of the consuls, and demanding, that bounds might be set to it with regard to public affairs, and that invariable laws might be established, for the consuls to be governed by in deciding the contests that arose between man and man. We must observe here, that the people referred all their differences to the judgment of the consuls, who regulated their sentences, either by the principles of natural equity, or by antient usages, or by the laws of Romulus and his successors, some remains of which were still to be found in the sacred books that were lodged with the pontifices, who, together with the patricians, made a mystery to the people of those first elements of their science of law. Terentius therefore, or, as Livy calls him, Terentillus, represented to the people, that the patrician magistrates were absolute masters of each man's fortune, and that the consuls, having no rule to go by in deciding causes, but their caprice, or laws unknown to the plebeians, might strip them, when they pleased, of all their effects, and at the

The tribune Terentius Arsa proposes the establishment of fixed laws.

[t] Dio, Hal. p. 625. Liv. l. iii. c. 8.

the ſame time make them believe, that they acted therein agreeable to the laws. To prevent this inconvenience, inſupportable in a free city, he moved for an immediate eſtabliſhment of laws, known by every body, to ſerve for a rule to the magiſtrates in their ſentences, and to the litigants for proofs of the juſtice or injuſtice of their cauſe. He urged at the ſame time with great vehemence, that the conſuls had all the deſpotic power of kings, and only wanted the name; and therefore demanded, that a choice ſhould be made of five of the beſt men in the republic, who ſhould be authoriſed to reſtrain within due bounds a power ſo exceſſive; ſo that the conſuls for the future might have no other authority over their fellow-citizens, but what thoſe very citizens ſhould think fit to intruſt them with. The ſenators were all ſurprized at ſuch bold propoſals. Q. Fabius, who then governed the city in the abſence of the conſuls, immediately diſpatched meſſengers to them, acquainting them with what had happened, and conjuring them to haſten back to Rome. He then convened the ſenate, and, after having enumerated the fatal conſequences of ſuch an innovation, prevailed upon the tribunes to deſiſt from ſeconding Terentius in his firſt demand, concerning the limitation of the conſular power; but as for the ſecond, they ſtill perſiſted in demanding a choice to be made from among the ſenators and plebeians, of proper perſons, to form a body of laws for determining ſuits among the citizens; however, overcome by the entreaties of Fabius, they conſented to ſuſpend the proſecution of this affair till the arrival of the conſuls. Thus the city continued ſome time quiet; for the tribunes did not ſo much as mention the Terentian law, till the new conſuls, P. Volumnius and S. Sulpicius, were choſen; and then the whole college renewed their efforts to get the law paſſed. The people were often aſſembled to hear the harangues of the tribunes on this ſubject; and the ſenate as often to concert meaſures to oppoſe their deſigns. The factions and blind zeal on both ſides encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that there was juſt reaſon to apprehend a civil war. The alarms, which theſe diſſenſions gave, were encreaſed by the dread which ſome pretended prodigies occaſioned in the city. At the ſame time, the Hernici, who were in alliance with Rome, gave notice to the ſenate, that the Æqui and Volſci were ſecretly arming, and that the new colony of Antium was entered into that confederacy. This news authorized the

Great conteſts on this head.

the conſuls to raiſe an army of citizens as uſual, whoſe abſence would leſſen the ſtrength of the tribunes; but theſe magiſtrates of the people, pretending that this war was nothing but a trick of the ſenate to get the citizens out of Rome, oppoſed the levies, and revived the demand of Terentius for the compiling a body of laws. The conteſt ran high, and occaſioned great diſturbances. Every thing was carried by mere violence. The conſuls having cauſed a plebeian to be arreſted, becauſe he refuſed to give in his name, the tribunes reſcued him out of the lictor's hands and ſet him at liberty. On the other hand, the young patricians made great diſturbances in the comitia, diſperſed the people by violence, and, with their clamours, hindered the reading of the law, which was drawn up in theſe words: "Let the people, in lawful comitia, elect ten men of a "mature age, conſummate wiſdom, and unſpotted reputati-"on, to draw up a body of laws, as well for the public "adminiſtration, as for the determination of public affairs; "let theſe laws be fixed up in the forum; and let the an-"nual magiſtrate, as well as other judges, be obliged to "conform to them in their deciſions of the controverſies, "which may ariſe in Rome." At length the tribunes gained their point of having this law propoſed to the people; but when the day came for the comitia by tribes to determine the affair, the young ſenators and patricians, having Quinctius Cæſo, the ſon of Quinctius Cincinnatus, at their head, ruſhed into the crowd, knocked down all who ſtood in their way, and diſperſed the aſſembly, in ſpite of all that the tribunes could do to keep them together. Cæſo was a young man, tall, well-ſhaped, of an extraordinary ſtrength of body, and had ſignalized himſelf by actions of uncommon bravery in ſeveral battles. His eloquence was not inferior to his ſtrength and valour; for no patrician was heard with greater applauſe, or ſpoke with more dignity. He was always the firſt to anſwer the ſeditious harangues of the tribunes with great freedom. Theſe magiſtrates therefore, enraged to meet with ſo much oppoſition from one ſingle man, conſpired his ruin; and, having agreed among themſelves upon articles of impeachment, Virginius, the moſt zealous of the tribunes, cauſed him to be ſummoned before the aſſembly of the people. This made Cæſo more violent in his oppoſition to the Terentian law; he reviled the plebeians, and inveighed with great bitterneſs againſt the tribunes.

The contending parties come to blows.

Quinctius Cæſo cited before the people.

tribunes. In the mean times, Virginius ſtill went on propoſing the law, not ſo much out of any hopes that it would meet with a ready acceptance, as purely to encreaſe the fury of Cæſo, and render him, by his violent and raſh behaviour, more odious to the multitude. Accordingly the inconſiderate youth, being ſupported by the ſenate, who flattered his vanity with their applauſes, gave the tribunes new matter of complaint, and made, we may ſay, open war with them and their party. At length the day came, which was appointed for his trial; and then his courage all on a ſudden failed him. He did not imitate the conſtancy of Coriolanus, but condeſcended to mean entreaties, and endeavoured to ſave his life by low and unworthy ſolicitations. He put on mourning, and, with a countenance full of ſorrow and humiliation, went about, begging the favour of the meaneſt plebeians. The tribune Virginius opened his accuſation, and, in his diſcourſe, enumerated the ſeveral violences of the young patrician, and produced thoſe to be witneſſes againſt him, who had been themſelves ill-uſed by him; but the chief crime laid to his charge was, his having hindered by violence the meeting of ſome judicial aſſemblies legally called. When the accuſation was ended, the accuſed was called upon to plead; but Cæſo refuſed to own the juriſdiction of the aſſembly, offering at the ſame time to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the conſuls, his only lawful judges. This ſet the people yet more againſt him; ſo that his father, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a man highly eſteemed and reſpected of the republic, was obliged to undertake his defence. He denied the capital points of the charge; and, as to haſty words or blows, he excuſed them as the indiſcretions of youth, which rather deſerved pity, than reſentment. Then T. Quinctius Capitolinus, who had been thrice conſul, Sp. Furius, and Lucretius, all appeared to witneſs his bravery in ſeveral engagements, and his other good qualities. "Neither the Quinctian fa-
"mily, ſaid Quinctius Capitolinus, nor the city of Rome,
"ever produced a young patrician of greater expectation.
"He made his firſt campaign under me, and I was wit-
"neſs of his glorious exploits." Nor did Sp. Furius give a leſs advantageous teſtimony to young Cæſo; The conſul Quinctius, ſaid he, often ſent him to my relief, when I was in great danger; and no-body contributed more than he to the advantages we gained over the enemy. Lucretius likewiſe, who had been honoured with a triumph the year before, did juſtice to the valour of the accuſed: "On
"this

His mean behaviour.

His father, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, undertakes his defence.

" this occaſion, ſaid he, I think myſelf obliged to ſhare my " glory with the brave Cæſo. No-body ſignalized himſelf " more, both in ſingle combats, and the general action, in " which I was conqueror. What city is there, to which " this gallant youth will not be an ornament, if we drive him " from ours? As to the natural impetuoſity he is reproached " with, age and prudence will by degrees correct it; and " when his virtue is arrived at its maturity, his defects " will be worn away. How great a man will Cæſo be, " when years ſhall have tempered the ardour, which now " tranſports him?" The ſuffrages of ſo many illuſtrious men, and the entreaties of the father, made a ſenſible impreſſion on the multitude; but Virginius, who was bent upon Cæſo's deſtruction, fruſtrated the hopes of the patricians. He roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to Quinctius Cincinnatus, " The public, ſaid he, does juſtice to your vir- " tues and the affection you have for the people; but alas! " how different is your ſon from you! his proud temper " and tyrannical conduct make him unworthy of pardon. " The education he has received, under the eye of a modeſt " and popular father, has not been able to abate his pride. " Romans, what have you to expect from him for the fu- " ture? What a pernicious example has he given to the " youth, who follow and admire him? If you, Quinctius, " were ignorant of it before, yet being to day informed of " it, you ought to join your indignation to ours. If you " was acquainted with his conduct and did not correct him, " you are not worthy of the favour you aſk. But what " am I ſaying? your ſon's tranſports were certainly concea- " led from you; nor have you had any ſhare in his at- " tempts upon the authority of the Roman people: No, " Quinctius, you are not to be blamed for any thing, but " being a better father, than a commonwealth's man; but " in order to efface in your heart thoſe remains of tender- " neſs which the people ſhare with you, I beg, that my " collegue, M. Volſcius, may be heard in what he has to " offer, by way of private complaint againſt your ſon. I " hope the people will not leave unrevenged one of their " own magiſtrates, who has been ſo great a ſufferer by him."

Then Volſcius aſcending the roſtra, to act the part that had been concerted between them, directed his ſpeech to the people thus: " As I was returning one night with my bro- " ther, from a friend's houſe where we had ſupped, we met, " hard-

Cæſo falſly accuſed of murder.

" hard-by the public ſtews, Cæſo, accompanied, accord-
" ing to his cuſtom, by ſeveral young patricians of the
" ſame character with himſelf, who, I ſuppoſe, had been
" making a debauch together in thoſe infamous houſes.
" They at firſt attacked us with abuſive language, which
" I indeed was for taking no notice of; but my brother,
" leſs patient than myſelf, returned injuries for injuries.
" Then Cæſo, full of anger and reſentment, fell upon
" him, and, notwithſtanding my prayers and entreaties,
" ſo beat and bruiſed him, that he expired upon the ſpot.
" This happened the year the plague made ſuch havock a-
" mong us. I deſigned to carry my complaints to the con-
" ſuls; but death took them from us ſoon after. L. Lu-
" cretius and T. Veturius, their ſucceſſors, took the field
" in a hurry, and Cæſo followed them. At their return
" I prepared to bring my action; but Cæſo, hearing of
" my deſign, waited for me one night in a by-place, and
" falling upon me, repeated his blows ſo thick, that, to
" avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promiſe never
" to mention what had befallen either of us.

THE people were ſo exaſperated at this ſtory, that, without examining into the truth of the facts, they were ready to tear young Cæſo in pieces; but Virginius, to give ſome appearance of juſtice to his villainous proſecution, interpoſed, and moved, that Cæſo ſhould be ſecured and impriſoned, till his crime could be fully proved, ſince Volſcius had not his witneſſes at hand. This occaſioned great debates; T. Quinctius repreſenting to the aſſembly, that it was a thing unheard-of in the republic, that, upon a bare accuſation, a citizen ſhould be arreſted and carried to jail. On the other hand, Virginius maintained, that ſuch a precaution was neceſſary to prevent ſuch an offender from eſcaping the juſtice of the people. After the queſtion had been long debated, with great warmth and liberty of ſpeech on both ſides, the tribunes took a middle way between Virginius's pretenſions and thoſe of the contrary party, which was, that Cæſo ſhould be ſet at liberty, provided he gave ſecurity for his appearance before the people on the day appointed. This raiſed a new debate about the ſum, in which the ſecurities were to be bound; but the ſenate at laſt fixed the ſum to three thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about nine pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine pence of our money; and left it to the tribunes to declare how many

citizens

citizens ſhould be ſecurity for it, in caſe of his eſcape. They were content with ten ſecurities, who bound themſelves to produce Cæſo on the day he was to be tried, or to pay the fine. And this is the firſt time we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital caſes. Cæſo was no ſooner at liberty than he left Rome, and retired into Hetruria; but the tribunes knew nothing of his eſcape, till he was again cited to appear, when his friends endeavoured to prove to the people, that he had executed juſtice on himſelf, and anticipated their ſentence of baniſhment, by baniſhing himſelf; but the tribunes, ſeeing plainly that this was only an evaſion to avoid the payment of the fine, exacted it with more rigor; ſo that Quinctius, the father of Cæſo, having ſold the beſt part of his eſtate on that account, was forced to retire to a poor cottage on the other ſide the Tiber, where he cultivated with his own hands, five or ſix acres of land, which were all he had to live upon [a].

Cæſo retires into baniſhment.

THE tribunes, believing that the baniſhment of Cæſo would keep the young patricians in awe, called an aſſembly of the people, in order to propoſe the Terentian law, and get it approved by the tribes; but it was no ſooner mentioned, than there ſprung up as it were a thouſand Cæſos, all oppoſing it with the ſame intrepidity. Hereupon the tribunes ordered all the patricians to be driven away from the aſſembly; but the nobility, uniting themſelves more cloſely together after the proſecution of Cæſo, oppoſed force by force; and being attended by a great number of their clients, made the tribunes feel the evil conſequences of the ſedition they had begun. The people were diſperſed anew, and the tribunes obliged to ſave themſelves, by taking refuge in their own houſes. Thus the law was hindered from paſſing this year. The following year, the ſenate and patricians in conjunction raiſed to the conſulate Caius Claudius, brother to Appius Claudius, who killed himſelf, and P. Valerius, a ſecond time. The tribunes, ſeeing the whole body of the nobility united againſt them, and deſpairing to carry their point by a fair open conteſt, combined together to deſtroy at one ſtroke the better part of the ſenate, and ſuch of the patricians as were obnoxious to them. In order to put in execution ſo deteſtable a project, in the firſt place, by many falſe reports ſpread abroad

The patricians continue ready in their oppoſition to the Terentian law.

[a] Dio. Hal. l. x. p. 627,—632. Liv. l. iii. c. 11,—13.

broad among the people, they filled the whole city with inquietude and diſtruſt, as if ſome great deſign was ſecretly hatching againſt the public liberty. Then, to give the people ſtrong ſuſpicions of the whole body of the nobility, they cauſed a letter to be delivered to themſelves in public. While they were ſitting in their tribunal, a ſtranger came, and having, in the ſight of all the people, put into their hands a letter, diſappeared in an inſtant, and was never afterwards ſeen. The tribunes read the letter to themſelves, and, in reading it, put on an air of terror and ſurprize, in order to excite the curioſity of the people and make them more uneaſy. Then, riſing from their ſeats and cauſing ſilence to be proclaimed by the crier, Virginius, with looks full of conſternation, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, ſpoke thus: 'Romans, you are threatened with the greateſt dangers. If the gods, who are the protectors of innocence, had not diſcovered the wicked deſigns of your enemies, you had been all loſt. But you muſt give us leave to acquaint the ſenate with the affair before it be divulged.' Virginius having thus ſpoke, the tribunes went all in a body to the conſuls houſes, and the ſenate being immediately aſſembled, the tribunes were admitted into it. In the mean time, the emiſſaries of the tribunes ſpread a thouſand falſe reports among the people about the contents of the letter. Some ſaid, that Cæſo was advancing towards Rome, where he had correſpondents, at the head of an army of Volſci; others, that the patricians had conſpired to call him back, and with his aſſiſtance, to deſtroy the tribunate; others confined the enterprize to the young patricians, and maintained that Cæſo was ſtill in Rome, and would ſoon appear at the head of a numerous body, compoſed of patricians and their clients, &c. Thus the people's prejudices were kept up, and their hatred to the patricians encreaſed.

THE tribunes being admitted into the ſenate, Virginius addreſſed himſelf to the conſuls and ſenators in the following words: "Our diſcretion, conſcript fathers, made us keep "ſilence, while the misfortunes, with which we are now "threatened, were yet uncertain. To act upon bare con"jectures againſt ſeditious men not yet diſcovered, is often only giving an handle to factious ſpirits to raiſe inſur"rections; however, we have not been unactive upon "our firſt ſuſpicions, and our private enquiries have been

"effectual-

" effectual. We have been faithfully ſerved by thoſe fo-
" reigners, with whom we live in hoſpitality and friend-
" ſhip. Their letters will convince you, that the gods
" watch over the republic for its preſervation. The ſymp-
" toms we find at home, agree with the accounts, we re-
" ceive from abroad. Rome is betrayed. Some of the
" moſt illuſtrious families in this city, and ſome even of
" the ſenate itſelf, are turned conſpirators, and have ſworn
" her deſtruction. Among the Roman knights there are
" aſſaſſins, who are ready to murder us. They wait on-
" ly for the opportunity of a dark night to break into our
" houſes, and maſſacre us, and all thoſe among the people,
" who ſhew any zeal for the public liberty. They take
" it for granted, that, after this barbarous execution, they
" ſhall eaſily obtain of you the abolition of the tribunate.
" Cæſo, that Cæſo, whom they reſcued from his juſt
" puniſhment, is the inſtrument of their fury. He is to
" appear within the walls, attended by numerous troops of
" Æqui and Volſci, who are to be brought hither, pri-
" vately and in ſmall parties. The tribunes are to fall the
" firſt victims to his reſentment; and ſuch of the people
" as ſhall dare to make any reſiſtance, are to be ſacrificed
" without mercy. Theſe are our dangers; this is the
" crime of your patricians. What then is now to be
" done? O! ye immortal gods, who unite us in the
" ſame religious worſhip, inſpire the ſenate with ſenti-
" ments of equity; efface out of their minds all regard
" to rank, birth, and party-intereſt. We conjure you,
" conſcript fathers, not to give us up to the rage of theſe
" aſſaſſins. In order to prevent their evil deſigns, we hope
" you will not refuſe us a decree, impowering us to make
" further enquiries into this conſpiracy, and to ſecure the
" chief authors of it. Thoſe who are moſt in danger,
" are moſt nearly concerned to avoid it, and will be moſt
" active in making diſcoveries. Time preſſes us, and our
" aſſaſſins are at the gates. The leaſt delay were danger-
" ous; who knows, but this very night may be pitched
" upon for the execution of the bloody deſign? They muſt
" be conſpirators themſelves, who are againſt enquiring
" into the conſpiracy."

The demand of the tribunes much embaraſſed the ſenate. The more timorous were apprehenſive, that a refuſal would irritate the people and raiſe a ſedition; but thoſe who

who had more firmneſs of mind repreſented, how dangerous it was to give the tribunes an unbounded power in an affair of a capital nature. But the conſul Claudius, addreſſing himſelf to the tribunes, replied thus: "I take "upon me to anſwer you, tribunes, becauſe none of you "can have the confidence to ſay, that I am concerned in "the conſpiracy, with which you charge the patricians. "My conduct puts me out of your reach. However, my "deſign in ſpeaking is not to diſſuade the ſenators from "ſuffering informations to be taken of ſuch a cruel attempt, "or to hinder them from giving you this commiſſion. "Were the accuſation true, too much precaution could "not be uſed to ſecure your lives and the public liberty; "but let us ſearch the matter to the bottom. The tribunes "laſt year could not get their law paſſed: hence their air of "conſternation; hence their continual deliberations, their "aſſemblies, and their conferences. And what reſolutions "have they taken in them? No doubt, to invent the chime-"rical conſpiracy they now bring to light. Let us accuſe "the patricians, ſaid they, of having conſpired againſt our "lives; and then demand of the ſenate a power to take "cognizance of the conſpiracy. If they refuſe it, we "ſhall then inſpire the populace with new rage againſt "them. If they grant it, we will give then full ſcope to "our reſentment, and intimidate the oppoſers of the Te-"rentian law. This is the tribunes ſcheme; theſe are "the ſnares they have laid for us. Speak, Virginius, tell "us, whence came theſe letters, which have ſo much a-"larmed you? Who are theſe gueſts, and theſe faithful "allies? How came they acquainted with the misfortunes "which threaten you? Where is the bearer of this foul "accuſation? Why has he diſappeared? Let us know "who are the ſenators and knights named in the letter "you produce? Surely we have time enough to hear the "names of thoſe great criminals. Shall we wait till you "are made maſters of our lives by a decree of the ſenate, "and have it in your power to convict us of treaſon by "falſe evidence? You ſay, the ſymptoms at home agree "with the informations from abroad; why don't you then "ſhew us theſe ſymptoms? Why don't you produce the "accuſers? Could you poſſibly imagine, that the ſenate "would deliver up our moſt illuſtrious citizens to your "fury, upon a bare accuſation by letter, without any kind

"of

" of proof? To you, conſcript fathers, to your indul-
" gence the bold attempts of the tribunes are to be aſcribed.
" You were too eaſy in delivering up the brave Cæſo to
" the rage of his perſecutors. The tribunes ſucceſs a-
" gainſt him encourages them to attempt every thing a-
" gainſt us. To conclude my opinion is, that, if the
" ſtate be in any danger, it is only from theſe ſeducers
" of the people, who, while they ſet up for the defenders
" of the public liberty, are indeed its greateſt enemies."
This ſpeech quite ſtunned the tribunes. They withdrew with no leſs ſhame than fury; and repairing to the aſſembly of the people, who waited for them, began there to inveigh moſt bitterly againſt both ſenate and conſuls; but Appius following them, aſcended the roſtra, and ſpoke to the people with ſo much ſtrength and eloquence, that the better ſort were fully convinced, that the pretended conſpiracy was only an artifice of the tribunes to have it in their power to deſtroy their enemies; but the undiſtinguiſhing rabble continued in their firſt perſuaſion; and the tribunes took great care to maintain the belief of an error, which gave them an opportunity of raiſing new diſturbances in the ſtate [w].

Herdonius, a Sabine, attempts the reduction of Rome.

THE inteſtine broils of the republic encouraged a private man in Sabinia, named Appius Herdonius, to attempt the reduction of Rome. He was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and, having a great number of ſlaves and clients, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, with their aſſiſtance, to reduce the Roman republic under his obedience; and make himſelf king of Rome. This bold deſign he imparted to his friends, repreſenting to them, that it was not impracticable to ſurprize the city during the diviſion between the people and the ſenate. Some of his friends, no leſs enterpriſing than himſelf, approving his undertaking, ſoon got together about four thouſand men, conſiſting partly of their own clients, but chiefly of ſlaves, outlaws, and men of deſperate fortunes. This was indeed a ſmall number for ſo great an enterprize; but Herdonius took it for granted, that a great number of Roman exiles, the Roman populace, who were greedy of plunder, ſuch citizens as were enemies to the patricians, the ſlaves, and alſo the Æqui and Volſci, would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance, upon the firſt news of his attempt. With theſe

[w] Dio. Hal. ibid. p. 635,—637. Liv. ibid. c. 15.

hopes he embarqued his troops on the Tiber by night, brought them down the river, and landed them before break of day by the ſide of the capitol. He got up the hill without being perceived, and, under cover of the darkneſs poſſeſſed himſelf of the temple of Jupiter and the fortreſs adjoining to it. Thence he threw himſelf into the neighbouring houſes, and put all thoſe to the ſword, who refuſed to join him. Some, who had the good luck to ſave themſelves before the Sabines entered their houſes, raiſed with their noiſe an alarm in all the quarters of the city. Nothing was heard but confuſed voices of people, crying out, "To arms, the enemy is in the heart of the city." The conſuls, awakened by the noiſe, knew not whether this tumult aroſe from a domeſtic faction, or foreign enemy, and were therefore equally afraid to arm the people, or leave them diſarmed. They therefore contented themſelves with giving arms to ſome, on whom they could depend, and placing them in the forum and at the gates of the city. The night was ſpent in doubts and uneaſineſs, neither the conſuls nor the people knowing how many, or what, enemies they were to contend with. At length the return of light diſcovered who was at the head of ſo daring an enterprize. The conſuls immediately repaired to the forum, and ſummoned all the citizens to take arms and follow them; but the tribunes, mounting their tribunal, with their unſeaſonable harangues, cooled the ardor of the people. We don't pretend, ſaid they, to obſtruct the public good; but after all, Romans, this is the time for turning the ſervice you are going to do your country to your own advantage. Before you take arms, inſiſt upon the conſuls not oppoſing the Terentian law; and don't expoſe your lives to evident dangers, till they have promiſed upon oath, that as ſoon as you have re-taken the capitol, they will ſuffer the Terentian law to paſs. Why ſhould you venture your lives, when you can draw no advantage from your bravery? Theſe words made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the multitude, that neither the commands of the conſuls, nor the danger with which they were threatened, could prevail upon them to take arms. The conſul Claudius, full of indignation, was for having the patricians attack the citadel themſelves. The people, ſaid he, would ſell you their ſervices too dear. The patricians, attended by their clients, and a few voluntiers, are ſufficient to drive away the raſh Herdonius; beſides, we may

borrow

borrow ſuccours of the Latins and Hernici: our ſlaves, if we ſet them at liberty, will lend us their aſſiſtance. In ſhort, any ſoldiers are better than refractory citizens, who refuſe to relieve their country in its utmoſt danger. But Valerius, who was more moderate and popular than his collegue, was of opinion, that, in the preſent circumſtances, the ſenate ought not to refuſe the multitude any thing, that could induce them to take up arms immediately. The beſt part of the ſenators being of his mind, he advanced into the midſt of the people, and promiſed them, that, as ſoon as the capitol was re-taken, he would not hinder the tribunes from propoſing the law. The people, charmed with this promiſe, took arms, and ſolemnly ſwore never to lay them down without the conſuls leave. Then the conſuls drew lots for the conduct of the attack, which fell to Valerius. Claudius was appointed to cover the city, and prevent any ſuccours from joining Herdonius. Valerius, having drawn up his men in the forum, marched to the attack with them and a legion of Tuſculans, which L. Mamilius, the ſupreme magiſtrate of Tuſculum, had ſent of his own accord to the aſſiſtance of the Romans. Herdonius ſuſtained the aſſault with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the day was far ſpent before the Romans had gained any advantage over him. The conſul Valerius, encouraging his men by his example to advance boldly, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts which were inceſſantly diſcharged upon them, was ſlain at the head of the legionaries. P. Volumnius, who ſaw him fall, ordered his body to be covered, in order to conceal his death. He then took his place, and led on the Romans with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that they carried the place before they miſſed their commander. Herdonius fought like a man in deſpair, who was reſolved to ſell his life very dear. As he was a man of a tall ſtature and great ſtrength, he made a terrible ſlaughter of the Romans, diſputing the ground inch by inch, till he was at length ſlain, after having loſt the greateſt part of his followers. Thoſe, who outlived the loſs of their general, either ſtabbed themſelves, or threw themſelves headlong from the top of the capitol. And thus ended this raſh enterprize, in the deſtruction of Herdonius and all thoſe who were concerned in it [x].

Valerius prevails upon the people to take arms in defence of their country.

The conſul Valerius is killed, and the Sabines driven from the capitol.

THE city was no ſooner recovered from its fright, but the tribunes called upon Claudius, the ſurviving conſul, to

[x] Dio. Hal. p. 642, Liv. ibid. c. 18.

perform his collegue's promiſe; but he put it off, under various pretences, and at length refuſed to do any thing in the affair, till a new conſul was elected in the room of Valerius. The day for the election being appointed, the ſenate and the whole body of patricians reſolved to chuſe ſome ſenator of great merit, who ſhould be capable of defeating the tribunes deſign, and keeping the people in awe with his authority. They caſt their eyes upon Quinctius Cincinnatus, the father of Cæſo, who was accordingly elected by the firſt claſs, conſiſting of eighteen centuries of cavalry and fourſcore of infantry; ſo that there was no occaſion for the inferior claſſes to give their ſuffrages. When the deputies, ſent by the ſenate to acquaint Quinctius with his promotion, preſented him with the decree of his election, the venerable old man, wholly free from ambition, was in ſome doubt what reſolution to take. He had retired, after his ſon's diſgrace, into the country, and was ſo taken with the ſweets of a rural life, that he preferred them to all the pomp of the conſular dignity. However, the love of his country getting the better of his private ſatisfaction, he left the plough, which he was driving when the deputies arrived, and conſented to go with them to the city; but he firſt took leave of his wife, and recommending to her the care of his domeſtic affairs, I fear, ſaid he, my dear Racilia, that our fields will be but ill manured this year. He no ſooner entered upon his office, but he turned his thoughts upon reforming the ſenate, and reſtraining the inſolence of the people and their tribunes. In the firſt ſpeech he made, he reprimanded both the ſenate and people with equal ſeverity, without declaring himſelf for either party. He reproached the ſenate for feeding, with their continual compliance, the rebellious ſpirit of the people; and the tribunes for raiſing continual diſturbances, and promoting an unbridled licentiouſneſs among the populace. Some ſeditious men, ſaid he, reign in Rome, with more inſolence and tyranny than ever did the Tarquins; but I ſhall take care to carry the people out of the way of thoſe ſeducers. Know then, ye Roman people, that my collegue and I have reſolved to make war upon the Æqui and Volſci. We declare too, that our intention is to paſs the winter in the field, without ever returning, during our conſulate, into a city ſo full of ſedition. We command all thoſe, who have taken the military oath, to appear to-

Quinctius Cincinnatus conſul.

morrow

morrow with their arms at the lake Regillus. The tribunes anſwered, that they would not ſuffer any levies to be made; and that if Quinctius was determined to take the field, he might chance to go to war only with his collegue. The brave conſul replied, That there was no occaſion for new levies, ſince the oaths the people had taken to Valerius, whoſe place he ſupplied, were ſtill binding. The tribunes, to elude that engagement, cried out, That by the oath the people had taken to Valerius, they had not laid themſelves under any obligation to Quinctius, who was then but a private man. But the anſwers of the tribunes ſeeming, even to thoſe who were moſt nearly concerned, more ſubtle than ſolid, every one began to take arms, tho' very unwillingly. What ſtill encreaſed their uneaſineſs was, a report ſpread abroad that the conſuls deſigned to hold a general aſſembly on the banks of the lake Regillus, and there to annul whatever had been done in former aſſemblies for the advan-
° tage of the people, the authority of the tribunes being confined to the city. Quinctius further gave out, that, on his return, he would name a dictator, whoſe authority could not be curbed by the oppoſition of the tribunes. Theſe reports, artfully ſpread abroad, ſtruck both the people and the tribunes with terror. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in the ſenate to intercede for them with Quinctius, and to prevail upon him to ſuffer their huſbands and fathers to return to their homes at the end of the campaign. Quinctius ſeemed inflexible; and the people, ſtruck with conſternation at the very mention of ſpending the winter in the camp, became very ſubmiſſive. At length a kind of treaty was made between Quinctius and the tribunes: the former promiſed not to force the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city; and the latter, on their parts, bound themſelves to make no propoſal to the people of new laws. To theſe two articles was added a third, viz. that, for the future, neither conſuls nor tribunes ſhould be continued in their offices beyond the year. Quinctius, having thus reſtored tranquillity to the city, applied himſelf to hear and determine private cauſes, and pronounced ſuch equitable judgments, that the people, charmed with his conduct, ſeemed to

Quinctius makes the tribunes deſiſt from their proſecution of the Terentian law.

have forgot there were any ſuch officers as tribunes in the republic [y].

NOTWITHSTANDING the late agreement between Quinctius and the tribunes, the latter got themſelves continued in their employments. Hereupon the patricians were for continuing Quinctius in the conſulſhip; but he warmly oppoſed it, upbraiding the ſenators with their contemptible levity in being ſo ready to violate their own laws, and thereby countenancing the breach of them in the people. Before he retired to his farm, he preſided at the comitia, when Fabius Vibulanus, a third time, and L. Cornelius Maluginenſis were named conſuls for the enſuing year. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to Rome, that Antium had revolted to the Volſci, who, together with the Æqui, had taken the field. It fell to Fabius's lot to march againſt the Volſci; and he gained conſiderable advantages over them, while his collegue was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the Æqui, who, after having been defeated in the field with great ſlaughter, ſhut themſelves up in the city of Antium. Cornelius laid cloſe ſiege to the place, took it by ſtorm, and ordered the chief authors of the revolt to be firſt whipped in the market-place, and then beheaded. The Æqui, being diſheartened at their repeated loſſes, had recourſe to the clemency of the ſenate, who granted them peace, upon the ſame conditions on which it had been formerly granted to the Latins. They were to continue in poſſeſſion of their cities, lands, and laws, but under the dominion of Rome.

The Æqui and Volſci defeated.

WHILE the conſuls were thus employed in the field, A. Cornelius and Q. Servilius, both quæſtors this year, being men of great probity, began a proſecution againſt M. Volſcius, for having bore falſe witneſs againſt Cœſo. In virtue of the power annexed to their office, they convened an aſſembly of the people, and produced their evidences, of whom ſome depoſed, that they had ſeen Cœſo in the army, on the very day when Volſcius pretended he killed his brother at Rome. Others gave teſtimony, that Volſcius's brother died of a languiſhing diſtemper; and that he never ſtirred out of his houſe after he

Volſcius proſecuted.

[y] Dio. Hal. p. 645. Liv. l. iii. c. 21.

he was ſeized with it. Theſe facts, and many others, were atteſted by ſo many perſons of unqueſtionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of Volſcius's malice; but the tribunes, who had ſuborned Volſcius, put a ſtop to this proſecution, declaring, that they would not ſuffer the ſuffrages of the people to be gathered upon any affair whatſoever, before the Terentian law was determined. The ſenate, in their turn, made uſe of the like pretence, declaring, that they would not ſuffer the Terentian law to be propoſed, till the buſineſs of Volſcius was determined. Theſe conteſts were ſpun out till the return of the conſuls, who entered Rome in triumph, and ſoon after reſigned the faſces to C. Nautius and L. Minucius, who were obliged to take the field in the very beginning of their year againſt the Volſci, who had revolted from the Romans, and the Sabines, who, with a numerous army, committed great devaſtations in the Roman territory. The latter were routed by the conſul Nautius, and forced to ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrong-holds. But Minucius, by a ſtratagem of Cluilius commander of the Æqui, being led into a valley, was there hemmed in on all ſides, and in danger of being ſtarved into a ſurrender at diſcretion. Some horſe-men, having found means to make their eſcape in the dead of the night, carried the news to Rome. Whereupon Quintus Fabius, governor of the city, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the other conſul, to inform him of the danger his collegue was in. Nautius repaired to Rome in all haſte; and having aſſembled the ſenate, all the fathers were for having recourſe to the remedy made uſe of in their greateſt calamities, which was, to create a dictator. Accordingly the conſul named Quinctius Cincinnatus for that high ſtation, and immediately returned to put himſelf at the head of his army. The governor of Rome ſent the conſul's decree to Quinctius, who was found, as before, cultivating his ſmall inheritance with his own hands. When he ſaw the deputies with a numerous train of attendants, and twenty-four lictors with their faſces advancing to him, he put on his robe, and going to meet them, What tidings, ſaid he, do you bring from Rome? Your country, replied the deputies, being in great danger, ſtands in need of a dictator, and has pitched upon you; you are the only refuge Rome has in her diſtreſs. At theſe words he ſighed, and tho' ſorry to quit his beloved ſolitude, yet obeyed the orders of the ſenate,

The conſul Minucius, and his whole army in great danger.

Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator.

and,

and, having put on the habit of his new dignity, ſet out for Rome. The ſenate, having notice that he drew near, ſent him a boat, in which he croſſed the Tiber, his three ſons, his friends, and the chief men of the ſenate, receiving him at his landing, and conducting him in triumph to his houſe, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people. The next day the dictator named for general of the horſe L. Tarquitius. He was a patrician of uncommon valour, but not having wherewithal to keep a horſe, had till then ſerved in the infantry; but the dictator, who had obſerved his gallantry and conduct in the campaign he had made under him, did juſtice to his merit; and, notwithſtanding his poverty, raiſed him to that high ſtation. The firſt order Quinctius made was, that all the ſhops and tribunals ſhould be ſhut up. Then he commanded all the youth in the city and country to be before ſun-ſet in the campus Martius, each with twelve ſtakes and proviſions for five days. He then put himſelf at the head of theſe troops, and, before break of day, arriving at the enemy's camp, viewed their intrenchments, as well as the obſcurity of the night would allow him. He made his ſoldiers, by ſeveral loud ſhouts, give the conſul notice of the arrival of ſuccours. Upon this, the conſular army expreſſing as much joy as the Æqui did terror, without waiting for day-light, ran to arms, and fell upon the enemy with another ſhout, which was heard by the dictator's army. The Æqui firſt turned their arms againſt Quinctius, in order to prevent him from ſurrounding them; but being called back to repulſe the conſul, Quinctius laid hold of that opportunity to fortify his entrenchments with a palliſado made of the ſtakes his men had brought from Rome. Theſe entrenchments ſerved at the ſame time to ſhut up the enemy's camp, ſo that the general of the Æqui, named Gracchus Duilius, found himſelf at day-light in the ſame ſituation to which he had reduced the conſul. Early in the morning the dictator and conſul attacked the enemy's camp at the ſame time with ſuch vigour, that Duilius, fearing his camp would be won ſword in hand, had recourſe to negotiation. He ſent deputies to the conſul, who, refuſing to hear them, referred them to the dictator. Quinctius having heard their propoſals, which were, to quit their camp and retire without baggage, arms, or cloaths, replied ſternly, That he did not think their death would be of any ſervice to his republic, and therefore was willing to grant them their lives, but

Relieves the conſul, and makes the Æqui paſs under the yoke.

but upon condition that they delivered up to him their general and chief officers, and ſubmitted to paſs every man of them under the yoke, to imprint it deeply in their minds, that the Æqui were a nation conquered by the Romans. If they refuſed to comply with theſe conditions, he threatened to cut them all in pieces. The Æqui, being ſurrounded on all ſides and unable to ſuſtain two attacks at the ſame time, ſubmitted to what conditions the victorious enemy was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. Two javelins were therefore fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them; and under this ſort of gate all the ſoldiers paſſed, naked and unarmed. At the ſame time, they delivered up to the Romans their general and chief officers, who were reſerved to adorn the dictator's triumph. Quinctius would not allow the troops of the conſul Minucius to have any ſhare of the ſpoil. Cowardly troops, ſaid he to the conſular army, you were almoſt become a prey to the enemy; it is not therefore juſt you ſhould have any ſhare of their riches. As for you, Minucius, added he, you muſt learn the art of war in an inferior rank, before you pretend again to command in chief. He then obliged him to lay down his office; which the modeſt conſul was ſo far from reſenting, that he and his troops preſented the dictator with a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having ſaved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. Quinctius, after this victory, returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph, being attended both by his own and Minucius's army, with garlands of flowers on their heads. Before his chariot were led the enemy's general and a great number of officers in chains, who were the chief ornament of that proceſſion. The dictator, having finiſhed his expedition in leſs than a fortnight's time, was for laying down immediately his office, and retiring to his beloved ſolitude; but his friends prevailed upon him to continue in the dictatorſhip, till Volſcius, the accuſer of his ſon Cæſo, was brought to his trial. Accordingly he aſſembled the curiæ; and the informer, being convicted of calumny and falſe teſtimony, was according to the law of retaliation, condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and Cæſo recalled home. this done, Quinctius abdicated the dictatorſhip, the ſixteenth day after his advancement to it, though he might have held that dignity ſix months [z].

He degrades the conſul Minucius.

THE

[z] Dio. Hal. p. 651, 652. Liv. l. ii. c. 28, 29. Flor. l. i. c. 11. Oroſ. l. ii. c. 12.

THE abdication of the dictator was followed by new diſturbances. Virginius was continued a fifth year in the tribuneſhip; Volſcius was recalled from baniſhment, and reinſtated in his office; the tribunes revived the diſpute about the Terentian law; and at the ſame time the Æqui, tho' lately ſubdued, together with the Sabines, began to make their uſual inroads and lay waſte the Roman territory. The two new conſuls, C. Horatius and Q. Minucius, were ordered by the ſenate to raiſe troops, and march without delay againſt the enemy; but the tribunes, after their old way, proteſted, that they would not ſuffer one plebeian to give in his name, till the commiſſioners for making a body of laws, according to Terentius's propoſal, were named. An extraordinary aſſembly of the ſenate was therefore ſummoned, to deliberate on the preſent troubles, and Quinctius Cincinnatus recalled to make head againſt the tribunes. He was of opinion, that the whole ſenate and body of the patricians, with their friends and clients, ſhould take up arms and haſten into the field. His advice was received with applauſe. Even the oldeſt ſenators repaired immediately to their houſes, took arms, and, attended by their clients and friends, appeared in the forum. The people who flocked thither from all parts, being moved at this new ſight, the conſul Horatius exhorted all good citizens to join thoſe illuſtrious ſenators, who choſe rather to expoſe their lives to the utmoſt dangers, than to ſee Rome inſulted by her enemies. Virginius, in the name of his collegues and people, anſwered, That the plebeians would not ſerve, till the Terentian law was accepted. Hereupon Horatius made a reproachful ſpeech to the curiæ, ſhewing them the diſmal effects, which the ſeditious practices of their tribunes muſt at laſt unavoidably produce. His harangue made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the multitude; which Virginius perceiving, thought it adviſeable to conform to the preſent conjuncture. Aſſuming therefore a milder behaviour he told the conſul, That he was ready to give over oppoſing the levies, nay, that he would exhort the people to take arms, provided the ſenate would grant them one favour, which would be of great ſervice to them, and no ways detrimental to the authority of the conſcript fathers. The conſul deſired him to ſpeak his mind freely, aſſuring him, that he would find the ſenate ready to comply with any reaſonable requeſt in behalf of the people. Then Virginius, having firſt conferred with his collegues, replied, All that the people requeſt of you is, that you will ſuffer the number of the tribunes to

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be encreaſed from five to ten. If you give us a refuſal in an affair of ſo ſmall importance, accuſe yourſelves only of the misfortunes the republic may ſuffer. This unexpected requeſt divided the ſenate. Caius Claudius oppoſed it with great warmth, being governed by his hereditary maxim, as we may call it, that all the requeſts of the tribunes ought to be ſuſpected. But Quinctius Cincinnatus, conſidering this affair in another light, was for granting the tribunes their requeſt. He thought, that the more numerous the tribunes were, the more eaſy it would be to ſow diviſions among them. The opinion of this great man prevailed, and the ſenate paſſed a decree, giving the people leave to chuſe ten tribunes annually, provided they did not continue the ſame man in office above a year. Purſuant to this decree, the tribes were immediately aſſembled, and two tribunes choſen out of each of the firſt five claſſes. The tribunes being ſatisfied, two armies were raiſed without oppoſition. Minucius marched againſt the Sabines, who fled before him and retired into their own country. Horatius led his troops againſt the Æqui, retook Corbio and Ortona, which they had ſeized; and then both conſuls returned to Rome, to preſide in the comitia at the election of their ſucceſſors [a].

The tribunes of the people encreaſed to ten.

Year of the flood, 2547. Before Chriſt 452. Of Rome, 296.

In the following conſulate of M. Valerius Lactucinus and Sp. Virginius Tricoſtus, the tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their number, propoſed, that mount Aventine, or at leaſt ſuch parts of it as lay uncultivated, or were not poſſeſſed by lawful owners, might be yielded to the people, who being now very numerous, began to want habitations. The conſuls looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the Agrarian law, and therefore deferring to convene the ſenate to debate it, Icilius, one of the tribunes, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before. He ſent an officer to them, commanding them to aſſemble the ſenate forthwith, and to repair to it themſelves. The meſſenger was, by the conſuls order, ſoundly beat, and ignominiouſly driven away by one of their lictors. Hereupon the tribunes cauſed the lictor to be ſeized, and ſome of them were for putting him immediately to death, for violating the ſacred privileges of the tribuneſhip in the perſon of their officer. The ſenate to ſave him, had recourſe to entreaties, but without ſucceſs. They were obliged to come to a compoſition with the tribunes. The lictor was ſet at liberty; but

A bold attempt of the tribunes.

[a] Dio. Hal p. 653,—657.

but mount Aventine was by a decree of the ſenate, yielded to the people. The ſenate ſoon found, that their compliance with the laſt demands of the people ſerved only to put them upon new pretenſions. Icilius, the moſt enterpriſing of the tribunes, formed a deſign to bring the conſuls themſelves under ſubjection. In the conſulate of T. Romilius and C. Veturius, the tribunes made more noiſe than ever about the Terentian law; and the conſuls, knowing the republic would never be quiet at home, till ſhe was engaged in a war abroad, reſolved to revenge the inroads, which the Sabines and Æqui had made the year before; but, in raiſing levies, they uſed ſo much ſeverity, that the people appealed to their tribunes, who, taking the part of the complainants, endeavoured to reſcue out of the hands of the lictors thoſe, whom the conſuls had ordered to be ſeized, for refuſing to anſwer when called upon. The conſuls advanced to ſupport the execution of their orders; but the tribunes, ſupported by the populace, not only repulſed them, but ordered their ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſovereign magiſtrates and carry them to priſon. So daring an attempt provoked the patricians to ſuch a degree, that they fell upon the tribunes, beat them ſoundly, and forced them to fly, with thoſe who ſtood up for them. The next day the tribunes aſſembled the people anew, and ſummoned the conſuls to appear before the tribunal, and there anſwer for what had happened the day before. The conſuls ſcornfully refuſing to obey the ſummons, the tribunes brought their complaints to the ſenate, and threatened to aſſemble the tribes, in order to judge the conſuls, in caſe they did not appear to juſtify their conduct. The conſul Romilius haughtily anſwered, That the tribunes had been the aggreſſors and the ſole authors of the tumult; and proteſted, that if they were ſo daring as to proceed a ſtep further in this affair, he would arm the whole body of patricians againſt them. The ſenate, thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the conſuls or the tribunes, broke up, without coming to any reſolution. Icilius, finding that nothing was to be expected from the ſenate, convened an aſſembly of the people, in order to ſtir them up to ſome vigorous reſolution. Some of the plebeians were for taking arms, and retiring again to the ſacred mount; others for proceeding againſt the conſuls, and inſiſting upon their appearing before the people, or condemning them to death or baniſhment, in caſe they did not appear; but the moſt moderate adviſed the people to defer all proceedings againſt the conſuls, till their conſulate was expired

The conſuls cited before the tribunal of the tribunes.

pired, and, in the mean time, to proſecute, with the utmoſt rigor, thoſe patricians, who had aſſiſted them in the inſult they had committed on the perſons of the tribunes. Of theſe three different opinions the tribunes choſe to follow the ſecond; and accordingly ſummoned the conſuls to appear the third market-day. This project, however, came to nothing; for Icilius declared in the aſſembly of the people, that the college of tribunes, at the entreaties of the ſenate, forgave the conſuls the perſonal injuries they had received from them; but could not neglect the intereſts of the people, and would therefore propoſe both the Agrarian and Terentian laws to their conſideration. This ſaid, he fixed a day for a new aſſembly to deliberate upon thoſe matters.

The tribunes renew their purſuit of the Agrarian law.

THE time appointed being come, and the people aſſembled, Icilius made a long harangue on the reaſonableneſs of the Agrarian law, and then declared, that any plebeian might ſpeak his mind freely. Upon this, many plebeians pleaded the right their ſervices gave them to ſhare of the conquered lands, and made loud complaints of the patricians, who uſurped what the plebeians had gained with their blood. This was the common complaint of the plebeians; but none repreſented it in ſtronger terms than one Sicinius, or, as Livy calls him, Siccius Dentatus. He was a plebeian about threeſcore years of age; but yet in his full ſtrength and vigor, of a handſome ſhape and mein, and not uneloquent for a man of his profeſſion. He enumerated his exploits in war during forty years ſervice; told the multitude, that he had been in an hundred and twenty engagements, that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before, twelve of them in that ſingle action againſt Herdonius the Sabine; that for the thirty laſt years he had been always in ſome command or other; that fourteen civic crowns had been given him for ſaving the lives of ſo many citizens, three mural crowns for having been the firſt who mounted the breach in towns taken by ſtorm, eight other crowns for different exploits, eighty-three golden collars, ſixty golden bracelets, eighteen lances, twenty-five ſets of furniture for horſes, nine of which he had won from ſo many enemies conquered in ſingle combats. And theſe military toys, added he, are the only rewards I have hitherto received. No lands, no ſhare of the conquered countries. Uſurpers, without any title but that of a patrician extraction, poſſeſs them. Is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy the fruits of our conqueſts: the purchaſe of our

Sicinius Dentatus pleads for it.

blood?

blood? No plebeians, let us delay no longer to do ourſelves juſtice. Let us this very day paſs the law propoſed by Icilius. If the young patricians oppoſe it, let our tribunes make them feel what is the extent of their authority. Icilius beſtowed the higheſt elogiums on Dentatus, but affecting to appear a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, he told him, that he could not with juſtice propoſe the law, till he had heard what the patricians alledged againſt it. Accordingly, he adjourned the aſſembly to the next day. In the mean time, the conſuls, having ſpent great part of the night in conſulting with the chief men of the ſenate, about the proper means to fruſtrate the deſigns of the tribunes, came to the following reſolution, viz. to employ the whole art of eloquence to win over the people; but if they continued obſtinately bent upon the publication of the law, in that caſe to hinder by main force the collecting of the votes. This reſolution being imparted to the patricians, they all repaired early in the morning to the forum, and diſperſed themſelves among the multitude in ſmall parties. The conſuls being come, the tribunes cauſed proclamation to be made by a herald, that whoever had any ſolid reaſons to offer againſt the publication of the Agrarian law, might lay them before the people. Several ſenators preſented themſelves one after another; but they no ſooner began to ſpeak, than the populace ſet up ſuch a clamour, that it was impoſſible to hear what they ſaid. The conſuls proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done in ſo tumultuous an aſſembly; but the tribunes, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the people, in order to vote.

The patricians oppoſe by force the paſſing of the law.

Hereupon the young patricians ſtarting up, ſnatched away the urns, and ſcattered about the tablets, on which the votes were written, and throwing themſelves at the head of their clients and friends into the croud, by blows and main force hindered the people from dividing into their reſpective tribes. The tribunes having attempted in vain to oppoſe the patricians, and keep the people together, were at length obliged to retire, and defer the promulgation of the law to another day. Early next morning, the tribunes aſſembled the people, and having demanded and obtained permiſſion of the aſſembly to enquire after the authors of the late diſorder, they reſolved to turn the whole accuſation againſt the youth of the Poſthumian, Sempronian, and Clelian familes, who had been the moſt active

active in the fray. It was then cuſtomary in Rome to determine what puniſhment the accuſed deſerved, in caſe he was convicted, before his crime was reported to the people. The tribunes therefore having aſſembled a certain number of the moſt conſiderable citizens, to determine the puniſhment they ſhould inflict upon the ring-leaders of the tumult, ſome voted for death, others for baniſhment; but Sicinius was for the leaſt puniſhment the laws enjoined, viz. the confiſcation of their effects; and his opinion prevailed. The chief men of the ſenate, having conſulted together on this occaſion, thought it adviſeable not to oppoſe the proſecution, hoping that the multitude, ſatisfied with this revenge, would drop the more important affair of the law. As for the loſs of the ſufferers, they reſolved to repair it at their private charges. Accordingly, when the day came for the trial, the perſons accuſed, not appearing, were condemned in a fine for default, and their goods publicly ſold to pay it. But the ſenate cauſed them to be bought up by private hands, and reſtored to the former proprietors [b].

The Æqui invade the territory of Tuſculum.

DURING theſe contentions, news was brought, that the Æqui had made an irruption into the territory of the Tuſculans, who were in alliance with Rome. The ſenate immediately decreed, that the conſuls ſhould take the field and march to the aſſiſtance of thoſe faithful allies. The tribunes did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances about the Agrarian law, proteſting, that they would not ſuffer the plebeians to take arms, till the law was paſſed. But herein they were not ſeconded by the people, who, remembering the aſſiſtance they had received from Tuſculum againſt Herdonius, readily gave in their names; ſo that two armies were immediately raiſed. Sicinius Dentatus was one of the firſt who joined the conſuls, at the head of eight hundred veterans as brave as himſelf, who had all ſerved the time preſcribed by law, but yet were willing to make one campaign more under the command of ſo famous a leader. The conſuls marched out of Rome in great ſtate; but the Æqui, on the news of their approach, retired to their own frontiers, and encamped on a ſteep rock. The Romans pitched

[b] Dio. Hal. p. 662—668. Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

ed their camp not far from the enemy, and kept cloſe within it to conceal their ſtrength, and by that means encourage the enemy to offer them battle. Accordingly, the Æqui, imagining the number of the Romans to be very ſmall, went down into the plain, and there challenged the Romans to an engagement. The conſul Romilius, who commanded that day in chief, ſeeing the enemy thus confirmed in their falſe confidence, reſolved to give them battle in the plain, and at the ſame time to attack their camp on the hill. With this view he ſent for Sicinius, and either out of eſteem for ſo valiant a commander, or, what is moſt likely, with a deſign to expoſe him and his veterans, who were all plebeians, to be cut in pieces, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp. Sicinius, being well appriſed of the danger of ſo deſperate an attempt, gave the conſul this reſpectful anſwer; I never yet declined any dangerous enterpriſe out of fear: but give me leave to repreſent to you, that the execution of what you command, is not ſo eaſy as you ſeem to imagine it. The rock we muſt climb up is very ſteep on all ſides, and not acceſſible, but by a narrow way, which an handful of men may defend againſt a whole army. If you will have me therefore to make this attack, enlarge my troop, and put us in a condition to ſhew our bravery without diſhonouring ourſelves by a raſh attempt. At theſe words, the conſul told him in great anger, that his buſineſs was to obey, and not to act the general; and then added, with a ſcornful ſmile, This then is the brave man who has ſignalized himſelf in an hundred and twenty battles, who has been forty years in the ſervice, and whoſe whole body is covered over with wounds! He draws back at the ſight of danger, and has no courage, but in word. Go, Sicinius, go to the comitia, and fight the patricians with your tongue. What you refuſe to undertake, others ſhall put in execution for you. The brave plebeian, enraged at the general's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was reſolved either to deſtroy an old ſoldier, or to ſhame him; that he had been always ready to ſacrifice his life for his honour, and therefore would now march up to the enemy's camp, and either win it, or fall in the attempt, with all the veterans under his command. Then turning to them, my dear fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, let us go whitherſoever ho-

The gallant behaviour of Sicinius Dentatus.

nour

nour and the command of our general call us. You will bear me witneſs after my death, that I was deſtroyed only for having defended with zeal the public liberty. His veterans took their leave of the reſt of the ſoldiers, who looked upon them as men ſent to ſlaughter. But Sicinius, who underſtood the art of war better than the conſul, inſtead of following the narrow path, which he had pointed out to him, led his men round about, and at length entered a great wood, that ſeemed to ſtretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. There he met with a peaſant, who conducted him to an eminence, which overlooked the enemy's camp, and was not far from it. From thence he had a ſight of the two armies, which were already engaged, and at the ſame time obſerved, that the ſoldiers, who were left to guard the enemy's camp, were all gone to that ſide, which were next the plain, to ſee from thence the battle. In this juncture Sicinius, with his veterans, entering the intrenchments without oppoſition, ordered his men to give a loud ſhout, and at the ſame time falling upon the Æqui, whoſe eyes were turned another way, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion to the main body of their army. Sicinius purſued them cloſe, made a great ſlaughter of them by the way, and then falling upon the rear of the main body, which was engaged with the Romans, quickly put an end to the conflict. The Æqui betook themſelves to flight, and the conſuls, following them, killed above ſeven thouſand men in the purſuit. Sicinius, as ſoon as it was dark, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy, and having there put to the ſword all the priſoners, killed the horſes, and ſet fire to the tents, arms, and baggage, marched with all poſſible expedition to Rome, with his victorious cohort, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had paſſed, begging, that the honours of a triumph might not be allowed to generals who had abuſed their authority to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. The people, full of indignation, promiſed they would never conſent, that the conſuls ſhould have a triumph, and accordingly, when the generals returned from the campaign, the multitude refuſed to let them enter the city with the uſual pomp on ſuch occaſions. The ſenate, fearing ſome new commotions, did not think proper to eſpouſe the conſuls cauſe, ſo that they returned without honour, and loaded with freſh odium.

The Æqui are routed by the Romans

THE two conſuls had no ſooner reſigned the faſces to their ſucceſſors, Sp. Tarpeius and A. Æternius, but they were cited before the aſſembly of the people. Sicinius, whom the people had raiſed to the tribuneſhip, took upon him the management of the proſecution againſt his enemy Romilius, whilſt Allienus, one of the ædiles, accuſed Veturius. On the day appointed for their trial, they both appeared, depending on the promiſes the patricians had made them, which were not to ſuffer the ſuffrages of the people to be gathered. But Sicinius took ſuch meaſures to prevent the young patricians from raiſing any diſturbances, that they were both regularly tried for having offered violence to the tribunes, and diſturbed them in the execution of their office, and beſides, for abuſing their authority in the army, in order to deſtroy Sicinius and the eight hundred veterans of his cohort. The people fined them both, Romilius in ten thouſand aſſes, and Veturius in fifteen thouſand. Hiſtory has not told us, why the people made this difference in their fines; Veturius ſeems to have been leſs guilty than his collegue, and yet his fine was one third larger. Perhaps Sicinius, ſatisfied with humbling his adverſary, did not care to reduce him to poverty.

The laſt year's conſuls tried by the people, and fined.

UNDER this year's conſuls, a law was made, with the conſent of all orders in the ſtate, impowering any magiſtrate to lay a fine upon ſuch as ſhould be wanting in reſpect to his dignity; a prerogative reſerved before to the conſuls only. This new regulation raiſed the authority of the tribunes, and put them almoſt upon a level with the conſuls. However, to prevent any particular magiſtrate from abuſing his authority in this point, it was provided by the ſame law, that the higheſt fine for ſuch crimes ſhould never exceed the value of two oxen and thirty ſheep [c].

The tribunes reſume the purſuit of the Terentian law.

THE tribunes, finding they could not by any means bring the conſuls to hear of the Agrarian law, returned to the purſuit of the Terentian. The ſenate, to put an end to the continual conteſts between them and the people, which they foreſaw would at length make Rome become a prey to her enemies, began to hearken to the tribunes propoſal, and declared, that they would not oppoſe the drawing up a body of laws, which ſhould be a guide to the magiſtrates, provided

[c] Idem, p. 674. Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

vided all the legiſlators were choſen out of the nobility. On the other hand, the tribunes were for having them choſen partly out of the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. On this occaſion, Romilius, to the great ſurpriſe of both parties, declared with great warmth for the eſtabliſhment of fixed laws, and at the ſame time propoſed the ſending of deputies to Athens, to tranſcribe the laws of Solon and of the other law-givers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of Roman laws, which ſhould be the rule for magiſtrates in all the parts of their adminiſtration. The opinion of Romilius was followed by the two conſuls and a great majority of the ſenators. But before the decree paſſed, the tribune Sicinius roſe up and beſtowed great encomiums on Romilius, proteſting, that for the future he ſhould ever be his friend. Nay, he went further; and as Romilius had not yet paid the fine, the tribune declared, that he remitted it in the name of the people. But as fines, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, were always applied to religious uſes, Romilius rejected this favour, proteſting, that he would not defraud the gods of the money which belonged to them. A decree, conformable to Romilius's propoſal, being paſſed by the ſenate and confirmed by the people, Sp. Poſthumius, S. Sulpicius, and A. Manlius, were appointed to repair to Greece, and there collect the beſt laws and inſtitutions of the Greek cities, eſpecially of Athens. The quæſtors ordered ſome gallies to be fitted out and magnificently adorned, to give the Greeks an advantageous opinion of the Roman republic, with which they were yet entirely unacquainted. On board theſe gallies the deputies ſet out, leaving Rome in the enjoyment of a profound peace, which laſted all this year and the following, when P. Horatius and Sextus Quintilius were conſuls; but almoſt all Italy was afflicted with a plague, which ſwept away great numbers of citizens at Rome, amongſt others the conſul Quintilius, Sp. Furius, who had been named to ſucceed him, Servius Cornelius, the high-prieſt of Jupiter, the augur Horatius Pulvillus, four tribunes of the people, and the beſt part of the ſenators. The next year, P. Seſtius and T. Menenius being conſuls, the plague ceaſed, and the deputies, who had been ſent into Greece, returned home. Upon their return, the people preſſed the nomination of the ten commiſſioners or decemvirs for the great work of drawing up a body of laws. But the conſuls Seſtius and Menenius, being averſe to the

Which at length paſſes.

whole deſign, put off the election under various pretences. At firſt they alledged in excuſe of their delay, that their ſucceſſors, in whoſe conſulate this great affair was to be ſettled, ought to be previouſly elected. This haſtened the election of the new conſuls, and Appius Claudius and T. Genucius, were choſen before the uſual time. Appius was the ſon of that Appius who killed himſelf, and grandſon of the firſt Appius. All the patricians gave him their ſuffrages, hoping he would be no leſs zealous for the power of the ſenate than his anceſtors. After this election of magiſtrates for the next year, the tribunes applied themſelves anew to the preſent conſuls for the nomination of the decemvirs. But Menenius, pretending to be out of order, kept at home, and Seſtius declared, that he would not act in ſo great an affair without his collegue. Hereupon the tribunes applied themſelves to the conſuls elect. It then evidently appeared, that the Roman conſtancy, and zeal of the moſt rigid patricians, for the intereſts of their body, was nothing elſe but a refined ambition.

The conſul Appius Claudius joins the tribunes.

For Appius Claudius, who had hitherto valued himſelf on his immoveable attachment to the party of the nobility, and ſeemed to have derived it with his blood from his anceſtors, changed all at once, and joined with the tribunes, in order to get the decemvirs appointed. His collegue Genucius followed his example, but with more moderation. Appius publicly undertook the defence of the popular faction, and, at the inſtigation of the tribunes, made an harangue in their favour in a general aſſembly of the people. He there publicly declared, that the nomination of the decemvirs ought to be deferred no longer, and added, that if the election of himſelf and his collegue to the conſulate was thought to be of any hindrance to it, they were both ready to relinquiſh their pretenſions to that dignity. Appius had in this his private views; he expected, that, by the favour of the tribunes, he ſhould be placed at the head of the decemvirs, and by that means have a more abſolute authority, than if he had continued conſul. The next ſtep was to bring the affair before the ſenate. Menenius ſtill pretended ſickneſs and ſtayed at home; but Seſtius was at length prevailed upon by Appius and Genucius to aſſemble the conſcript fathers, and propoſe the nomination of thoſe new magiſtrates, which did not paſs without ſome oppoſition. The patricians did not find their account in eſtabliſhing theſe laws, the authority of the conſuls being much

greater,

greater, while they continued to determine cauſes in an arbitrary manner. Many therefore among the ſenators were for adhering to the antient cuſtoms, and rejecting all changes in the government of the ſtate. But Appius, who had a ſtrong party in the aſſembly, maintained on the contrary, that it was highly reaſonable that laws ſhould be eſtabliſhed, equally binding all citizens, and equally favourable to all; adding, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment would put an end to the domeſtic feuds, which had ſo long divided Rome, as it were, into two cities. The opinion of Appius prevailed, and it was reſolved, that ten men, venerable for their age and wiſdom, ſhould be choſen to compile a body of laws out of thoſe that had been brought from Greece. It was likewiſe decreed, that theſe commiſſioners ſhould for one whole year be inveſted with the ſovereign power; that the authority of conſuls, tribunes, ædiles, and quæſtors ſhould ceaſe; that there ſhould be no appeal from the decemvirs; and laſtly, that, during their adminiſtration, they ſhould be the ſole judges of peace and war, and of all matters of juſtice. This is the firſt inſtance of ſuſpending the tribuneſhip, which, as the tribunes were not properly magiſtrates, had hitherto been always preſerved even under the dictators. But when the ten commiſſioners came to be choſen, a new difficulty aroſe. The tribunes demanded, as they had done before, that ſome plebeians ſhould be let into the commiſſion; but the ſenate oppoſing with great unanimity this pretenſion, the tribunes yielded, for fear the nomination of the decemvirs ſhould be dropt entirely; but upon condition, that no alteration ſhould be made by the decemvirs in two laws favourable to the people, viz. the Icilian, which gave the people ground to build upon on the Aventine, and that of the Mons ſacer, by which the tribunes were appointed to defend and protect the people againſt the oppreſſions of the patricians. Theſe two articles being agreed upon, a ſolemn aſſembly was held of the whole Roman people convened by centuries, and the auſpices being taken, they proceeded to the election of the decemvirs. Appius Claudius and his collegue T. Genucius were the firſt named. To them were added Seſtius the conſul, who had laid this matter before the ſenate againſt his collegue's will; Sp. Poſthumius, S. Sulpicius, and A. Manlius, who had brought the laws from Greece; T. Romilius, the firſt who propoſed that deputation; C. Julius, T. Veturius, and P. Horatius, all conſulars and men of great diſtinction. This

Decemvirs created for for making new laws. Year after the flood 2553. Before Chriſt 446. Of Rome 302.

was almoſt as remarkable a revolution in the government of Rome, as that from kings to conſuls. Nothing could be more moderate and gentle than the beginning of this joint reign, as we may ſtyle it, of the decemvirs. They agreed among themſelves, that only one of them at a time ſhould have the faſces and the other conſular ornaments, aſſemble the ſenate, confirm decrees, &c. To this honour they were to ſucceed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then reſigning it to another. The reſt who were not actually exerciſing their authority, affected no diſtinction but that of guards, their habits differing very little from thoſe of the other ſenators. They repaired every morning, each in his turn to their tribunal in the forum, and there diſtributed juſtice with ſo muſt impartiality, that the people charmed with their conduct, ſeemed to have quite forgot their tribunes. Appius was the moſt popular of them all. He, who was formerly a ſevere and inflexible magiſtrate, was now all affability and complaiſance. He knew moſt of the citizens by their names, received them with reſpect, and ſaluted them with great marks of affection; inſomuch, that, from being the deteſtation, he became the idol of the people, and was looked upon as a ſecond Poplicola. Before the end of the year, each of the decemvirs preſented to the people that part of the laws which he had drawn up. They were aſſiſted by one Hermodorus, baniſhed from Epheſus, his native city, and then accidentally at Rome, in underſtanding the Greek tranſcripts brought from Athens. We are told, that Heraclitus, one of Hermodorus's friends wrote him a congratulatory letter on the pains he had taken in drawing up the Roman laws; adding, that in a dream he had ſeen all the nations of the earth bowing down before thoſe laws and worſhipping them after the Perſian manner [d]. When the whole work was completed, the decemvirs aſſembled the people, and harangued them with the following words; May the gods grant, that what we now preſent to you, Romans, may be equally agreeable to you, and advantageous to the republic, to you and your remoteſt poſterity! go, read the laws we have drawn up. We have uſed all the care and attention poſſible. But, after all, a whole nation muſt ſee further than any ten perſons. Examine our laws therefore in private, make them the ſubject of your public converſation; confer upon them among yourſelves, and conſult with one another what

The decemvirs propoſe the ten tables of laws

[d] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Strab. l. xiv.

what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up ſhall have the force of a law, till it is received with univerſal conſent. Be you, Romans, rather the authors, than barely the approvers, of laws, which are to eſtabliſh order and regularity, and to be the main foundation of the happineſs both of the ſenate and people. A diſcourſe ſo modeſt and candid was heard with great applauſe. Immediately the laws were cut in ten tables of oak, fixed up in the forum, and all, who came to ſtart any difficulties about them, well received and readily heard. When all neceſſary corrections and amendments had been made, the ten tables were carried before the ſenate, where they met with no oppoſition; ſo that a decree was paſſed for convening the centuries for their ratification. This aſſembly was ſoon after held, and the auſpices being ſolemnly taken, the laws were firſt confirmed by the unaminous voices of the whole Roman people, and then tranſcribed on pillars of braſs, and ranged in order in the forum, as the foundation of all judicial determinations, with regard both to public and private affairs [c].

As many eminent men in the republic were of opinion, that ſeveral regulations, which would fill two other tables, were neceſſary to be added to the ten already eſtabliſhed, the continuation of the decemviral government for one year more was propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, and approved of by the ſenate and people, with equal readineſs, but for different reaſons. The ſenators were glad at any rate to get rid of the tribunes; and the people extremely deſirous to keep back the reſtoration of the conſular dignity. Never was any office ſo much ſolicited by the graveſt and wiſeſt ſenators, as the decemvirate at this time. Thoſe patricians, who were formerly the moſt declared enemies of the people, and who ſcorned to canvaſs for public offices, were now wholly taken up in flattering and courting the meaneſt of the citizens. Appius, though a decemvir, forgetting his dignity, debaſed himſelf more than any of the candidates. He was perpetually ſeen in public places in company with thoſe who had been formerly tribunes, and whom he knew to be agreeable to the people. By their means he recommended himſelf to the multitude, for they were continually boaſting of him to the populace, as the author of the happineſs they enjoyed under the mild government of the decemvirs. But Appius himſelf, when aſked by the patricians, whether he deſired

The decemviral government continued for one year more

[c] Dio, Hal, p. 680—683. Liv. l. iii. c. 33, 34.

deſired to be continued in his office for the next year, affected to diſlike it, and was continually talking of the uneaſineſs that attends public employments. But his collegues ſaw into his deſigns, and wiſely formed their judgment of him by his actions, and not his words. They obſerved, that he abuſed the regard the people had for him to leſſen the moſt venerable ſenators in the eſteem of the people; that he excluded all men of known merit and ſteadineſs from ſtanding at the approaching election, by artfully defaming them among the multitude; that contrary to the pride of the Claudian family, he affected great affability and moderation, &c. All this gave great uneaſineſs to his competitors, and rendered him ſuſpicious to his collegues. Theſe latter therefore formed a deſign to diſappoint him. When the time of the comitia for the creation of the new decemvirs drew near, they appointed Appius to preſide in them; for the preſident in theſe aſſemblies propoſed to the people the perſons who ſtood for the office in queſtion, and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himſelf. But Appius, contrary to all the rules of decency, propoſed himſelf for the firſt decemvir; and the people who were now entirely devoted to him, readily gave him their ſuffrages. The other perſons he named were all men at his devotion, and ſuch as he favoured. The firſt of the number was Q. Fabius Vibulanus, who had been three times conſul, a patrician indeed of a character hitherto unblameable. After him were choſen five other patricians, viz. M. Cornelius, M. Sergius, L. Minucius. T. Antonius, and M. Rabuleius, all men little eſteemed in their own body, but in great favour with Appius. But what moſt ſurprized the ſenate was, that Appius out of complaiſance to the people, propoſed three plebeians for the decemviral dignity, viz. Q. Petilius, Cœſo Duilius, and Sp. Oppius. Theſe, though excluded by their birth, and by a late agreement between the patricians and plebeians from this ſupreme magiſtracy, were by a plurality of voices added to the number of the decemvirs. Several men of known probity and moderation had offered themſelves for candidates, only to exclude thoſe, whoſe behaviour gave them cauſe to ſuſpect them of ſome ill deſigns, namely Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quinctius Capitolinus, and Caius Claudius, uncle to Appius. But theſe Appius, who preſided at the election, did not ſo much as

The ambitious views of Appius.

Second decemvirate.

name

name, leſt the people who were well acquainted with their merit, ſhould prefer them to his creatures [f].

AND now Claudius, ſeeing himſelf once more at the head of the decemvirs, threw off the maſk, and turned his thoughts wholly on making his denomination perpetual. As he governed his collegues with abſolute ſway before they began to exerciſe their office, he inſpired them with his own ſentiments. They had private meetings every day to deliberate about the moſt proper means of perpetuating themſelves in that dignity. Above all things they thought it neceſſary, and agreed to keep up a good underſtanding with one another. Appius, at their head, directed all their proceedings, and told them what they were to do. From that time they appeared reſerved and myſterious, ſuffered few perſons to come near them, and had no intercourſe but with thoſe of their own body. This cloſe union and confederacy of ambitious men made the ſenate apprehenſive, that the decemvirs for the enſuing year would behave themſelves very differently from their predeceſſors. When the ides of May came, and the new decemvirs made their firſt appearance, the Romans were greatly ſurprized to ſee each decemvir appear in the forum, early in the morning, with twelve lictors bearing axes among their faſces, like thoſe that were antiently carried before the kings, and afterwards before the dictator; ſo that the forum was filled with an hundred and twenty lictors. This was a dreadful ſight to Rome, the people prognoſticating from thence, that this would be a year of tyranny and injuſtice. And they were ſoon made ſenſible, that their fears were not groundleſs. The decemvirs began to reign imperiouſly, and with a deſpotic power. They were always ſurrounded, not only by the numerous train of their lictors, but alſo by a crowd of deſperate men, loaded with debts and guilty of the blackeſt crimes. Many of the young patricians, preferring licentiouſneſs to liberty, made their court to them in the moſt abject manner, in order to ſcreen themſelves from juſtice, and eſcape by their favour the puniſhment due to their crimes. No man's life or property was any longer ſafe. The young patricians, ſupporters of the ten tyrants were not aſhamed upon the moſt frivolous pretences to take poſſeſſion of their neighbours eſtates; and when application was made to the decemvirs for redreſs, the complai-

The decemvirs reſolve to perpetuate themſelves in that government.

And reign imperiouſly.

[f] Idem ibid.

nants were treated with contempt, and their complaints rejected. An inconſiderate word, or an expreſſion of concern at the remembrance of their antient liberty, was a capital crime. Some of the chief citizens were beaten with rods for complaining of the preſent adminiſtration; others were baniſhed, and ſome even put to death, and their goods confiſcated. The new tyrants vented their fury chiefly upon the people, treating them more like ſlaves than Roman citizens. As for the patricians, moſt of them, dreading the tyranny of the decemvirs, gave way to the ſtorm, and retired into the country for the remaining part of the year. They hoped, that the tempeſt would ceaſe with the annual power of the decemvirs. In the mean time, the ides of May, the time fixed for holding the comitia, in order to elect new magiſtrates, drew near; but the decemvirs inſtead of aſſembling the people, propoſed two new tables of laws, the firſt relating to religion and the worſhip of the gods, the ſecond to marriages and the right of huſbands. Theſe made up the number of the twelve tables ſo much ſpoke of, which the Romans preſerved ever after as a ſacred depoſitum. Notwithſtanding the hatred the public bore to the decemvirs, they found little to object to their laws. The laſt only forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry, ſeemed an artful invention of the tyrants to keep the two parties always divided, that they might reign with more ſecurity. In the mean time, the ides of May paſſed, and not a word of any comitia for an election of new magiſtrates. The tyrants then ſhewed themſelves bare-faced, and, in ſpite both of the ſenate and people, retained their power, without any other title but poſſeſſion and violence. All who gave them the leaſt umbrage were proſcribed; and many worthy citizens, retiring voluntarily from their country, took refuge among the Latins and Hernici. The people, groaning under ſo cruel a tyranny, caſt their eyes upon the ſenate, as their only refuge. But the ſenators, inſtead of comforting them, took an ill-natured pleaſure in ſeeing them oppreſſed, and bearing a great ſhare in the misfortunes they had occaſioned. When any plebeian complained to them, they maliciouſly referred him to Claudius, that idol, whom they had ſet up, and preferred to ſo many illuſtrious defenders of their country. C. Claudius, greatly concerned to ſee his nephew become the tyrant of his country, went ſeveral times to his houſe, with an intention to reprove him, and

Two new tables of laws added to the ten.

The tyrannical government of the decemvirs.

pu

him in mind of the glorious examples left him by his anceſtors. But Appius, gueſſing at the errand he came upon, conſtantly eluded him, having ordered his attendants to admit none, but the ſupporters and partners of his tyranny.

In the mean time, the Sabines and Æqui, hearing of the weak condition of the republic, and diſdaining to live ſubject to a city which had loſt her own liberty, invaded the Roman territory, and advanced within a few miles of Rome. This unexpected invaſion alarmed the decemvirs. It was neceſſary to make head againſt the enemy; but the difficulty was how to raiſe an army, when the people were diſſatisfied with their governors. In this perplexity, the decemvirs reſolved to aſſemble the ſenate, and endeavour to prevail with the conſcript fathers to interpoſe their authority, and make a decree for legal levies. The people were ſurpriſed to hear a proclamation made in the forum for the ſenators to meet. We are indebted, ſaid they, to our enemies for the appearance of this ſingle ſpark of our antient liberty. But when the decemvirs repaired to the ſenate, they found no-body there but their own creatures. The others had retired to their country ſeats; and thither the decemvirs ſent meſſengers, ſummoning them to appear on a day appointed. Moſt of them obeyed the ſummons, and returned to Rome, but with views very different from thoſe of the uſurpers. Appius, in a ſtudied harangue, repreſented the danger which threatened the republic from the Sabines and the Æqui, and deſired a decree for levies without delay. He had ſcarce finiſhed, when L. Valerius Potitus roſe up to ſpeak, without waiting till it came to his turn. He was the grandſon of the famous Valerius Poplicola, and ſon of that Valerius, who was ſlain at the head of the Romans fighting againſt Herdonius the Sabine. Appius, apprehending he was going to propoſe ſomething contrary to the intereſt of the decemvirs, ſternly commanded him to ſit down and hold his peace, till ſenators, older than himſelf and more conſiderable in the republic, had declared their opinions. But the brave Valerius, deſpiſing his command, complained of his pride and inſolence, in preſuming to impoſe ſilence upon a ſenator ſtanding up for the liberty of the common-wealth, laid open the conſpiracy they had all formed againſt the republic; and laſtly, called upon Fabius, one of the decemvirs, as a man of juſtice and probity, to undertake the defence

They convene the ſenate to obtain a decree for the levying of troops.

L. Valerius oppoſes the decemvirs.

of

of his oppreſſed country, telling him, that on him chiefly the ſenate turned its eyes. Fabius, overwhelmed with ſhame and confuſion, did not anſwer. But Appius and the other decemvirs, ſtarting up from their ſeats in a great rage, ſurrounded Valerius, and obliged him to hold his peace. Such an extraordinary proceeding raiſed a tumult in the aſ-

And is ſeconded by M. Horatius Barbatus.

ſembly, moſt of the ſenators being highly provoked at the haughty behaviour of the decemvirs, but no body more than M. Horatius Barbatus, the grandſon of that Horatius who had been conſul with Poplicola. As he was an intimate friend of Valerius, and animated with the ſame zeal for liberty, he could no longer bear the inſolence of Appius and his collegues; but, ſtanding up, called them the Tarquins and tyrants of their country. What hinders us, ſaid he from immediately executing the ſame vengeance on the new Tarquins, which our anceſtors did on the former tyrants? To reſtore liberty to Rome is an hereditary honour in the families of the Valerii and Horatii. It is not the name of king that makes a tyrant, &c. He was going on, when the decemvirs, ſurrounding him, drowned his voice with their clamours, threatening to have him thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, if he did not inſtantly hold his peace. But when they perceived, that the ſenate in general expreſſed an uncommon reſentment at their tyrannical proceedings, they repented of having impoſed ſilence upon thoſe who had a mind to ſpeak. Appius their chief, as ſoon as the tumult was appeaſed, declared to the aſſembly, that it was not the intention of the decemvirs to hinder by any violence the conſcript fathers from delivering their opinions; but that it was neceſſary to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every one ſhould ſpeak in his turn, and confine himſelf to the matter in hand. He added, that whatever Horatius might imagine to the contrary, the commiſſion of the decemvirs was limited to no period but that of the eſtabliſhment of the laws; that they would not lay down their office till the twelve tables were ſettled in due form, and that then they would give an account of their adminiſtration. But, till that be done, continued he, we will ſteadily maintain and execute the offices of conſuls and tribunes, which are united in us. Then turning to his uncle C. Claudius, he deſired him to ſpeak his mind with freedom concerning the levies. But he, without confining himſelf to that ſubject, in a long harangue imputed all the misfortunes of the ſtate to the uſurpation

ſurpation and tyranny of the decemvirs, exhorted the ſenators to inſiſt on their being depoſed, and in a very pathetic ſtrain urged his nephew to abdicate an authority, which was become intolerable to a free people. Appius diſdained to give his uncle an anſwer; But M. Cornelius, one of his collegues, ſpoke for him, and applying himſelf directly to C. Claudius, We don't want your advice, ſaid he, to direct our conduct; if you want to give particular conſels to your nephew, go to his houſe: the only affair in queſtion here is the war with the Sabines and Æqui: tell us in plain terms your opinion concerning the levies. Claudius roſe up a ſecond time, and, turning to the ſenate, ſince my nephew, ſaid he, will not condeſcend to ſpeak to me, either in his own houſe or in full ſenate, and I am ſo unhappy as to ſee the tyrant of my country ariſe out of my own family, I declare, conſcript fathers, that I am reſolved to retire to Regillus. I baniſh myſelf from Rome, and make an oath never to enter it again, but with our liberty. However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion with relation to the preſent buſineſs, I am for coming to no determination concerning the levies, till conſuls are choſen to lead them. His opinion was followed by Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quinctius Capitolinus, and L. Lucretius, all conſular perſons, and by the chief men in the ſenate. When it came to L. Cornelius's turn to ſpeak, he, in a harangue, which he had concerted before-hand with his brother M. Cornelius, one of the decemvirs, imputed the enmity of the old ſenators againſt the decemvirate to envy and private reſentment, for having been themſelves diſappointed in the purſuit of that office; urged the unreaſonableneſs of loſing time in diſputes about new magiſtrates, when the enemy was almoſt at the gates of Rome, and repreſented, that it was impoſſible to come to a new election in leſs time than twenty-ſeven days, during which time the city might be beſieged and reduced to the utmoſt extremity. His ſpeech was highly applauded by the creatures of the decemvirs; and even ſome of the oldeſt ſenators were for granting levies, hoping, that when the war was finiſhed, the abdication of the decemvirs would quietly follow of courſe, and the government return naturally into the hands of the conſuls. Appius, ſeeing with great pleaſure that the majority were for granting him and his collegues a power to raiſe levies, aſked, for form ſake, the opinion of Valerius, on whom he had impoſed ſilence in

Claudius uncle to the decemvir Appius retires from Rome.

The decemvirs are allowed to raiſe levies.

in the beginning of the aſſembly. Valerius, riſing up, propoſed the creating a dictator, an expedient which had been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed on many occaſions. All the ſenators who ſpoke after Valerius, declared for this motion, as did alſo many of thoſe who had before voted for the continuation of the decemvirate. A warm diſpute hereupon aroſe with much clamour and tumult. Appius, taking advantage of the diſorder, ſtept forth into the midſt of the aſſembly, and cried out aloud, that the ſuffrages had been gathered, and that the opinion of Cornelius had prevailed. He then ordered the decree of the ſenate, which he had brought with him ready drawn up, and which impowered the decemvirs to raiſe troops, to be read in the aſſembly, and immediately diſmiſſing the ſenators withdrew [g].

THE authority of the decemvirs being now become more formidable than ever, the moſt timorous among the citizens became as ſubmiſſive and complying as the tyrants could wiſh; others ſought an aſylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. Appius, enraged to ſee the beſt men in the republic abandon the city out of hatred to his government, placed guards at all the gates to prevent their eſcape. But, finding that this precaution only encreaſed the number of the malecontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed the guard, and left every one free to retire. But to be revenged on thoſe who withdrew, he confiſcated their effects, or beſtowed them on his ruffians and partiſans. As for Valerius and Horatius, they ſtaid at Rome, and, having gathered together in their houſes a great number of their clients and friends, to ſecure them againſt the violence of the decemvirs, held private aſſemblies to concert meaſures for reſtoring liberty to the commonwealth. In the mean time, the decemvirs raiſed ten legions, the people, deſtitute of their tribunes, being forced to liſt themſelves. Q. Fabius, with two other decemvirs, Q. Petilius and M. Rabuleius, marched againſt the Sabines at the head of three legions. M. Cornelius, L. Minucius, M. Sergius, T. Antonius, and C. Duilius, all decemvirs, led five legions againſt the Æqui. Appius and Oppius remained with two legions in the city to keep in awe the domeſtic enemy, more formidable to him than the Sabines and Æqui. The people of whom the legions were compoſed, regretting

[g] Dio. Hal. l. xi. p. 69. Liv. l. iii. c. 4.

ting the loſs of their liberty, would not conquer, but ſuffered the enemy to gain great advantages over them, and at laſt, feigning a ſudden fright, diſperſed in the night and returned into the Roman territory. Appius did not fail to ſend recruits and proviſions to his collegues, exhorting them to keep the ſoldiers in awe by the terror of puniſhments, or in caſe that was dangerous, to deſtroy by private ways the moſt mutinous, and he himſelf ſet them an example. The famous Sicinius Dentatus, of whom we have ſpoke above, being returned from the camp, filled the city with his complaints againſt the decemvirs, exaggerating the faults they had committed in the management of the war. Appius, to get him out of Rome, ſent for him, diſcourſed with him ſeveral times, and, deſiring him to ſpeak with freedom, examined him concerning the conduct of the decemvirs. Sicinius, without reſerve or circumſpection, blamed the proceedings of Fabius and the other generals. Appius, pretending to admire his wiſdom, prevailed upon him to go and aſſiſt Fabius with his advice; and, to deceive him the more effectually, he dignified him with the character of envoy or legate, which not only gave him the authority of a general, but made his perſon ſacred and inviolable. As true valour is a ſtranger to jealouſy and diſtruſt, the brave Sicinius willingly embraced the opportunity of ſerving his country, and repaired to the camp with all ſpeed, where the decemvirs, inſtructed by Appius, received him with outward marks of great joy, and conſulted him, ſoon after his arrival, about the operations of the campaign. Sicinius adviſed them to remove their camp into the enemy's country, for many reaſons which he laid before them. This was what Fabius wanted, and accordingly he commiſſioned him to go and view the ſituation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new encampment. He appointed him an hundred choſen men light-armed to be his guard; but this guard conſiſted only of the decemvirs ruffians, who had ſecret orders to diſpatch him. Sicinius, not ſuſpecting the leaſt treachery, led them into the narrow paſſes between the mountains, and there they took the opportunity of falling upon him when he could not make his eſcape. The brave veteran no ſooner perceived their baſe deſign, but, drawing his ſword, he ſet his back againſt a rock, that he might not be attacked behind, and, then

The Roman ſoldiers ſuffer the Æqui to gain great advantages over them.

Sicinius Dentatus treacherouſly murdered.

then ſummoning all his valour, he laid fifteen of the aſſailants dead at his feet, and wounded above thirty more. The baſe aſſaſſins, not daring now to venture near him, ſtood at a diſtance and diſcharged their darts at him, which he avoiding with great dexterity, ſome of them climbing up to the top of the rock, from thence overwhelmed him with ſtones. They then went back to the camp, where they gave out, that they had been attacked by the enemy, and that Sicinius had been killed in the action. But when the ſoldiers, who marched out under arms to fetch the body of Sicinius, came to the place of the pretended battle, they obſerved, that the ſlain were all Romans, and that they lay unſtripped with their faces towards him. This made them ſuſpect that Sicinius had been murdered by his guard, and raiſed loud complaints and a general diſcontent throughout the camp. The whole army, in the greateſt fury and rage, demanded that the aſſaſſins might be brought to juſtice; but the decemvirs helped them to make their eſcape, and cauſed the body of Sicinius to be honourably interred, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould convey it to Rome, and there raiſe new diſturbances. The diſcontent, which ſo odious a treachery raiſed in the army, came to ſuch an height, that the greater part of the ſoldiers began to think in earneſt of throwing off the yoke, and reſtoring their country to its antient liberty, which they ſoon found an opportunity to effect.

Appius Claudius the decemvir, falls in love with Virginia.

APPIUS, as we have obſerved above, remained at home with a body of troops to keep the city in awe, while his collegues marched againſt the Sabines and Æqui. As he was one day going to his tribunal, he obſerved a young virgin of extraordinary beauty, and though he ſeemed dead to all ſoft paſſions, yet he was taken with her charms. It was then cuſtomary at Rome for young perſons of both ſexes to purſue ſuch ſtudies, as were proper for them, in public ſchools erected in the forum; and in one of theſe it was, that Appius firſt ſaw this beautiful young woman, and was charmed no leſs with her intent application to her book, than with her graceful mein and engaging behaviour. As his office obliged him to appear frequently in the forum, this ſevere magiſtrate and grave law-giver was obſerved to ſtop when he paſſed by the ſchool of the young virgins, and there to behold with great ſatisfaction ſome pleaſing object.

The

The perſon, who thus drew his attention, was the daughter of one L. Virginius, a man famous in the city for his probity, and in the army for his valour. Though he was a plebeian, he made a conſiderable figure in the troops, and had led ſeveral detachments in the preſent war with the Æqui, as commander in chief. His daughter's name was Virginia. Her mother Numitoria being dead, her father Virginius, upon his departure for the war, had committed her to the care of an uncle by her mother's ſide, who ſhewed for her all the affection and concern of a father. She was now marriageable; and Virginius had already promiſed her to Icilius, who had been tribune of the people, and was to marry her at the end of the campaign. But, in the mean time, the decemvir, conceiving a violent paſſion for her, reſolved at all adventures to ſatisfy it. He would willingly have married her; but he had a wife already, and though divorces were allowed by law, yet there had never been any inſtance of one. Poligamy was ſtrictly forbidden, and beſides, the decemvir himſelf had juſt paſt a law prohibiting all marriages between patricians and plebeians; ſo that he had no room to hope the accompliſhing of his wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young maid; and theſe he began to purſue, by endeavouring to corrupt, with large preſents and great offers, Virginia's nurſe or governeſs. But ſhe, equally faithful and prudent, inſtead of making a private market of the beauty and charms of young Virginia, rejected his offers with the utmoſt indignation, and kept a more watchful eye over her charge than ever. The amorous tyrant, finding he could neither corrupt nor deceive the truſty and watchful nurſe, had recourſe to another ſtratagem, the execution of which he entruſted to M. Claudius, one of his clients, an infamous wretch and fit for any villainous enterprize. This miniſter of the decemvir's paſſion, taking with him a band of profligate fellows, entered the ſchool, where Virginia was, and ſeizing her by the arm, declared that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves, and therefore belonged to him. As he was carrying her to his houſe, with all the authority which the law gave to a maſter over his fugitive ſlave, the people flocked about him, and being touched with ſo moving a ſight, obliged him to ſet her at liberty. Claudius, finding he could not execute his firſt deſign, cited

He contrives a ſtratagem to get her into his power.

her to appear before the decemvir; and ſhe by the new laws was obliged to follow him to the tribunal. Appius, who was alone upon the bench, was juſt ready to adjudge her to the claimant, as his lawful ſlave, when the people, full of indignation, cried out with one voice, that Virginia's relations ought firſt to be heard. Appius, abſolute as he was, dared not refuſe to ſuſpend the ſentence, till ſome of the priſoner's relations appeared. The firſt who came was Numitorius, the uncle of the young woman, attended by a great number of his friends and relations. Upon his arrival, ſilence being made, Claudius renewed his claim, founded on a lie concerted between him and the judge; he pretended, that Virginia was born in his houſe of a ſlave belonging to him; that her mother had given her to Numitoria, the wife of Virginius, and that Numitoria had impoſed the child upon her huſband, and made Virginia paſs for his daughter. He added, that he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that, in the mean time, it was but juſt, that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter, and that he would give ſecurity to produce the young woman again in court, when Virginius, her pretended father, returned from the war. Numitorius repreſented, that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it, adding, that Virginius, who was ſerving his country in the camp, would not fail to be at Rome in two days, and that it was reaſonable her uncle, who had the care of her perſon, ſhould, in the mean time, be the guardian of her honour. This, he ſaid, was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that, during a law-ſuit and before a definitive ſentence, the plantiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion. But this law Appius eluded, by artfully obſerving, that in the preſent diſpute there were two circumſtances, which altered the caſe. Here, ſaid he, there are two perſons claiming; one as a father, the other as a maſter; if the pretended father were preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion; but being abſent, the perſon, who claims her as his ſlave, ought to be preferred to any other, provided he gives good ſecurity to produce her again, at the return of the perſon, who is called her father. Having thus ſpoke, he ordered Virginia to be put into Claudius's hands. The iniquity of the judgment incenſed all who were preſent. The women who ſurrounded Virginia, made ſuch outcries, that they were heard at a great

great diſtance. They kept her in the middle of them, and ſeemed reſolute to defend her. At that inſtant, Icilius, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, arrived, and, breaking through the croud, forced his way to the tribunal to defend his dear Virginia. A lictor endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, crying to him, that ſentence was already paſſed. But nothing could ſtop the enraged lover; he took Virginia in his arms, and addreſſing himſelf to Appius; No, Appius, he cried, nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from Virginia. Add my murder to the many crimes with which thou art already polluted. Aſſemble all thy lictors, and thoſe of thy collegues too, I will defend her honour to my laſt breath. Have you deprived us of the protection of our tribunes, only to ſubject our wives and our daughters to your lewdneſs? Go on to exerciſe your rage upon our eſtates and lives; but ſpare the chaſtity of our virgins. If any attempt be made upon the honour of Virginia, I call the gods to witneſs that it ſhall not go unrevenged. What will not Virginius be able to do in the army, and Icilius among the people, when the one is to revenge the cauſe of an injured wife, and the other of a diſhonoured daughter? He was going on, when the lictors were ordered to drive him away and to ſeize Virginia. But the people, moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the officers of the decemvir, diſperſed them, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal. Appius, ſeeing the people incenſed againſt him beyond meaſure, called his client to him, whiſpered in his ear, and then, having cauſed ſilence to be made, "It is not," ſaid he, "the fury of the violent Icilius, which makes me com-"ply, but the entreaties of Claudius my client. He is "willing to give up the right he has to carry home his "ſlave, and to commit her to the ſame hands in which "ſhe was before. At his requeſt I will wait for Virginius's "return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give "him notice. If Virginius does not appear at the time "appointed, I would have Icilius know, that I ſhall not want any aſſiſtance from my collegues to put my decree in execution. When he had done ſpeaking, Claudius deſired, that Icilius might give ſecurity for producing Virginia the next day, which he did accordingly, all the people then preſent offering eagerly to be his ſecurity. Icilius and Numitorius immediately diſpatched, the firſt

his brother, the ſecond his ſon, to bring Virginius from the camp. Appius at the ſame time ſent a courier with orders to the generals to put him under arreſt. But the other meſſengers were more expeditious; and Virginius, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, had left the army, and was ſo fortunate as to eſcape two parties, which were ſent, one from the camp, and the other from the city to ſtop him. He appeared the next morning in the forum, leading his daughter in deep mourning, attended by a great number of matrons of diſtinction. He addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens as he paſſed, and uttered his complaints with an air of dignity, which ſeemed rather to demand, than implore, aſſiſtance. Icilius broke into the throng, inveighed loudly againſt Appius, and endeavoured to transfuſe his own reſentment into every breaſt. But the ſilent tears of the women, who attended Virginia, affected the multitude more than any words. Appius was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that Virginius was in the forum. Full of rage, he repaired thither, and, though informed of the diſpoſition of the people, he aſcended his tribunal, being ſurrounded by a numerous croud of his dependents and creatures. Claudius ſpoke the firſt, renewed his claim, and produced the ſlave, whom he had ſuborned to declare that ſhe was the mother of Virginia, and that ſhe had ſold her to the wife of Virginius. Several other witneſſes appeared to atteſt the ſame thing, all gained with great promiſes by Appius and his client Claudius. The friends and relations of Virginia, to deſtroy this impoſture, urged the little probability of Numitoria's impoſing a child upon her huſband. He had married her, when ſhe was very young, and was almoſt of the ſame age with her. Virginia was born ſoon after their marriage. Where was the neceſſity then, ſaid they, for Numitoria's practiſing ſuch a fraud as is pretended. Beſides, if ſhe had proved barren, and had deſigned to introduce a ſtranger into her family, why ſhould ſhe have choſen the child of a ſlave, rather than of a free woman? Why a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy? Beſides, was it probable, that a contrivance carried on by ſo many perſons ſhould continue ſo long a ſecret? Would not the ſlave have made her court to her maſter, as ſoon as Numitoria was dead, by diſcovering a ſecret to him, which would have put him in poſſeſſion of a young woman, well

Virginius the father of Virginia arrives at Rome.

The impoſture of Claudius made manifeſt.

educated

educated and of extraordinary beauty? Why was this myſtery kept undiſcovered till Appius was decemvir, ſince the ſlave for a long time paſt could have no intereſt in concealing it? To theſe preſumptions Virginius added undeniable proofs, and brought ſome of the moſt conſiderable women in Rome, who depoſed, ſome that they had ſeen Numitoria when ſhe was big with child, others, that they had aſſiſted at her labour, and ſome, that they had ſeen her ſuckle young Virginia, which ſhe could not have done, had ſhe been barren, as Claudius pretended. Appius, obſerving that theſe unanſwerable proofs made a great impreſſion upon the multitude, interrupted the evidence, and commanding ſilence, ſignified, that he himſelf had ſomething to ſay. All the people liſtened with attention, being anxious to know what he could object againſt ſo many witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit. He then ſpoke thus: "Virginius," ſaid he, "I muſt acquaint you and all who are preſent, "that this is not the firſt time I have heard of this affair. "Claudius's father revealed the ſecret to me at his death, "when he made me his ſon's guardian. Afterwards, I "examined into the matter, and found it to be true. "However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an "affair of this nature, and therefore left it to my pupil to "recover his right, or to agree with the parties concerned "when he ſhould come of age. But now that the cauſe "is brought before me in judgment, being obliged to give "ſentence, according to my own perſonal knowledge, I "declare both as judge and witneſs, that the young woman "belongs to Claudius, and my ſentence is, that ſhe be de- "livered up to him as his property." Virginius, provoked to the higheſt degree at ſo unjuſt and cruel a ſentence, was no longer maſter of himſelf. He trembled with rage, and, accompanying his words with a threatening geſture, "Infa- "mous wretch," ſaid he, "I never deſigned my daughter "for thee, I educated her for a lawful huſband, and not to "be a prey to a luſtful ravager. Muſt then brutal paſſions "among us take the place of honourable marriages! How "the citizens here will bear with theſe things I know not; "but I truſt that the army will revenge my wrongs." At theſe words the people ſet up a loud cry full of indignation, as if they were determined to oppoſe the execution of Appius's decree. But the decemvir, having firſt caſt his

Appius decrees Virginia to his client.

eyes on all ſides, to obſerve his ſtrength and how his friends were poſted, told the multitude with a threatening voice, that he was not unacquainted with the plots that had been laid to cauſe an inſurrection, but that he neither wanted power nor reſolution to inflict exemplary puniſhments on ſuch, as ſhould offer to diſturb the public peace. Let every one therefore, ſaid he, retire to his own houſe, and none preſume to give law to a ſupreme magiſtrate. As for you, Claudius, added he, ſeize your ſlave, and make uſe of my guard to diſperſe the croud. At theſe words uttered with an imperious tone, the multitude gave back, and left Virginia ſtanding by herſelf, an helpleſs prey to injuſtice. The unfortunate father, ſeeing there was no other remedy, drew near Appius, and in a ſuppliant manner addreſſed him thus: Pardon, Appius, the unguarded words, which have eſcaped me in my firſt tranſports of grief, and allow me to aſk in the young woman's preſence ſome queſtions of her nurſe, that I may carry home at leaſt the comfort of being ſet right in this matter. Appius readily granted him his requeſt, and Virginius taking his daughter in his arms, and wiping the tears in which ſhe was all bathed, drew near to ſome ſhops, which were in the forum. There he ſnatched up a butcher's knife, and turning to Virginia, "My dear daughter," ſaid he, "this is the only way to ſave thy liberty and thy honour; "go, Virginia, go to thy anceſtors, whilſt thou art yet a "free woman, pure and undefiled." With theſe words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again all ſmoaking with her blood, and turning to Appius; "By this blood," he cried, "I devote thy head "to the infernal gods." The decemvir immediately ordered him to be ſeized; but he with the knife in his hand made his way through the croud, got out of the city, and, mounting his horſe, took the road to the camp. In the mean time, Numitorius and Icilius, ſtaying by the dead body of Virginia, and ſhewing it to the people, raiſed a great commotion in the city. As for Appius, he ſeemed to have quite loſt his reaſon; inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he retired to his own houſe, and from thence ſent his lictors to ſeize Icilius, and carry away the dead body. But the people oppoſed the execution of his orders, and falling upon the lictors, broke their faſces, and drove them out of the forum. Hereupon the decemvir had the boldneſs

Virginius, to ſave the honour of daughter, ſtabs her,

neſs to come in perſon, attended by a choſen company of young patricians, to ſupport his authority. But Valerius and Horatius, thoſe ſworn enemies of the decemvirs, putting themſelves at the head of their friends and clients, obliged the decemvir to retire. In this perplexity, Appius haſtened to the temple of Vulcan, and there pretending to act the part of a tribune of the people, demanded that Valerius and Horatius ſhould be thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock, as diſturbers of the public tranquillity. But his harangue was often interrupted with hiſſes; and, in the mean time, Valerius, having cauſed the body of Virginia to be carried to the top of a flight of ſteps, whence it might be ſeen by the people, was from the ſame eminence inveighing againſt Appius. So that there were two aſſemblies and two orators in different parts of the forum, declaiming againſt each other at the ſame time. But Appius's auditors ſoon left him to go to Valerius: and Appius, terrified at the deſertion of many of his creatures, privately withdrew, and, hiding his face with his robe, took refuge in a neighbouring houſe. At that juncture Oppius, the plebeian decemvir, ruſhed into the forum to defend his collegue; but finding that the party of Horatius and Valerius was by far the ſtrongeſt, he judged, that the wiſeſt method in the preſent exigence was to convene the ſenate; and this immediately quieted the multitude, for they hoped, that the decemvirate would by that means be aboliſhed. But the ſenators then in Rome being all friends to the decemvirs, only ordered the people to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near mount Algidus, and prevent the ſedition which Virginius might raiſe there [h].

The decemvir obliged to retire.

He had entered the camp, attended by four hundred citizens, and holding the fatal knife in his hand. The ſoldiers at this ſtrange ſight, flocked to him from all quarters, when he, ſtanding on an eminence, with his face drowned in tears, related to them the plot laid by Appius againſt his daughter's honour and liberty, and the cruel method he had been forced to take for the preſervation of her chaſtity. The centurions and ſoldiers, full of indignation againſt Appius, aſſured him, that they were determined to ſtand by him in whatever he ſhould undertake againſt ſo wicked a tyrant. The decemvirs, who commanded the army, being informed of Virginius's

[h] Dio. Hal. p. 709—719. Liv. l. iii. c. 42—49.

ginius's return and the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, attempted to ſeize the former, and appeaſe the latter. But the ſoldiers, refuſing to pay any obedience to the orders of men, whom they looked upon as uſurpers and tyrants, flew to their arms, ſnatched up their enſigns, and took the way to Rome which they reached about evening, and entered without making the leaſt diſturbance. They marched quietly through the city to mount Aventine, and there intrenched themſelves, declaring, that they would not lay down their arms, till the decemvirate was aboliſhed, and the tribuneſhip reſtored. Hereupon Oppius convened the ſenate, for Appius was afraid to appear in public, and the conſcript fathers agreed to ſend three of their body to the army, to aſk, why they had left the camp without their generals orders, and what their intent was in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount Aventine? As they had not yet choſen a head, they all cried out with one voice, let Valerius and Horatius be ſent to us, we will return no anſwer to the ſenate, but by them. As ſoon as the three commiſſioners were gone, Virginius adviſed the troops to chuſe chiefs to govern them, and manage for them. Agreeable to his advice, ten perſons were elected under the name of military tribunes. The army was deſirous to have Virginius at the head of them; but he declined the honour. My daughter, ſaid he, is dead, and I have not yet revenged her death. No kind of honour will become me, till her manes are appeaſed. Beſides, what prudent or moderate counſels can you expect from me, who am ſo incenſed againſt the tyrants? I ſhall be of more ſervice to the common cauſe by acting in it as a private man.

The ſoldiers revolt from their generals, and encamp on mount Aventine.

Ten military tribunes elected.

In the mean time, the three legions ſent againſt the Sabines, being ſtirred up by Numitorius and Icilius, abandoned their generals, and having, after the example of the other army, choſen themſelves ten military tribunes, marched through the city, and joined the legions on the Aventine. The two armies thus united, commiſſioned their twenty tribunes to elect two out of their number to be ſupreme over all, and the choice fell upon M. Oppius and Sextus Manilius. In the mean time, the ſenate aſſembled every day, but ſpent the whole time in debates, without coming to any reſolution. At length it was carried by a majority of voices, that Valerius and Horatius ſhould be ſent to the revolted army. But they proteſted, that they would not move a ſtep, ſo long as the decemvirs were maſters of the government. The two armies, tired out with theſe delays removed their camp to the ſacred mount, intrenched themſelves there, and obſerved

obſerved the ſame good diſcipline as their anceſtors had formerly done. In this decampment they were followed by ſuch numbers of citizens, with their wives and children, that Rome was in a manner deſerted. The ſenators, ſurprized to ſee the ſtreets ſo thin of people, reſolved at length to aboliſh the decemvirate, to reſtore to the people their tribunes, and to the ſenate its conſuls. The decemvirs, finding they could not retain their authority any longer, only deſired, that they might not be ſacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, offering to reſign the power with which they were inveſted, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit to create new conſuls. Upon this Valerius and Horatius repaired to the army, where they were received with inexpreſſible joy. Icilius, whom the army choſe for their ſpeaker, after having returned the deputies thanks for the zeal they had ſhewn all along in behalf of the people, demanded, in the name of all who had retired to the Mons ſacer, 1. The re-eſtabliſhment of the tribunes of the people, with a right of appeal to them from the deciſions of the conſuls. 2. An amneſty for all who had left the camp, without permiſſion from their generals. 3. That the decemvirs ſhould be delivered into their hands, that they might be burnt alive. But the prudent deputies made a great difference between the two firſt articles and the laſt. Your two firſt demands, ſaid they, are agreeable to reaſon; but the third is the effect of paſſion. You are offered a ſhield; do not pretend to take a ſword too. The ſenate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already take upon you to give law to it? The people, being ſatisfied that no tribunes whatſoever could have their intereſts more at heart, than thoſe two ſenators, impowered them to make what terms for them they ſhould think fit. Horatius and Valerius returned immediately to the ſenate, and gave them an account of the demands of the people, but omitted their threats againſt the decemvirs, who hearing no mention made of their puniſhment, readily conſented to all that was aſked. Only Appius ſeemed unwilling to part with his power: "To re-eſtabliſh the tribuneſhip," ſaid he, "is only "to put arms into the hands of the enraged multitude. I "find my life muſt be ſacrificed to the public hatred. But "ſince it muſt be ſo, I will not any longer oppoſe the rage "of the populace. I am ready to reſign the decemvirate, "and care not how ſoon I do it." Accordingly, a decree was paſſed, aboliſhing the decemvirate and reſtoring the tribunes,

The ſenate reſolves to aboliſh the decemvirate,

A decree paſſes aboliſhing the decemvirate.

bunes. Then the decemvirs, repairing to the forum, there laid down their authority to the great joy of the city. When the news of their reſignation was carried to the camp, the army, leaving the ſacred mount, encamped a ſecond time on mount Aventine, and there choſe their tribunes, the pontifex maximus preſiding at the election. Virginius, Icilius, and Numitorius, were firſt named. C. Sicinius, M. Duilius, M. Titinius, M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, and C. Oppius, were appointed their collegues. An inter-rex was afterwards created, who held an aſſembly of the people by centuries, in which L. Valerius and M. Horatius were raiſed to the conſulate. Theſe conſuls, being both very popular, got ſeveral laws paſſed, which gave the people a ſuperiority over the ſenate. Formerly the decrees of the people, convened by tribes, obliged only the plebeians; but now it was enacted, that all decrees made in the comitia by tribes, ſhould have the force of laws with relation to all citizens. That the tribunes might be maintained in perpetual poſſeſſion of their right of judging cauſes brought before them by appeal, it was likewiſe enacted, that for the future no magiſtrates of any kind ſhould be inveſted with authority, without appeal to the aſſembly of the people, and that it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill the man, who ſhould attempt the creation of ſuch a magiſtrate. The ceremonies were likewiſe renewed, whereby the perſons of the tribunes were made ſacred. To theſe regulations another was added, viz. that the decrees of the ſenate ſhould for the future be carried to the ædiles, and kept in the temple of Ceres. This was done, leſt the ſucceeding conſuls ſhould ſuppreſs the decrees now made, and by that means render them uſeleſs.

L. Valerius and M. Horatius raiſed to the conſulate.

Appius impeached by Virginius,

THE power of the tribunes being now firmly eſtabliſhed, they reſolved to proſecute the decemvirs, and begin with Appius, who was accordingly cited to appear. Virginius, who was appointed to be his accuſer, without enumerating all his crimes, inſiſted only on his having, contrary to law, refuſed a young woman, who was in poſſeſſion of her liberty, the right of enjoying it, till the ſuit was determined. If you do not inſtantly clear yourſelf from this breach of the law, I will order you, ſaid Virginius, to be carried to priſon. Appius kept ſilence; but when the tribunes officers offered to ſeize him, he cried out, I appeal; and having enumerated the ſervices done

to

to the republic by his family, and reminded the people of his own zeal for the common good, in promoting and compiling the body of laws contained in the twelve tables, he claimed the protection of the laws juſt made in favour of appeals. Virginius anſwered, that ſuch a monſter as Appius ought not to partake of the common benefits of ſociety, nor be allowed to eſcape impriſonment on giving ſecurity, ſince he had refuſed that privilege to Virginia. He added, that it was but reaſonable, that ſo profligate a wretch ſhould be carried to that priſon, which he himſelf had built, and inſolently named the habitation of the people of Rome. Accordingly, he was led, notwithſtanding his appeal, to priſon; but his trial was put off to the third market-day. In this interval Claudius, the uncle of Appius, who had ſo much diſapproved of his nephew's conduct, and had always been againſt the decemvirs, yet, upon hearing of the danger of Appius, haſtened to Rome, and appeared in the forum, with all his friends and relations in habits of mourning. He went from citizen to citizen, beſeeching them not to fix ſuch an ignominy on the Claudian family; but to no purpoſe; Virginius on the other hand begging them to ſhew compaſſion for him and his daughter, and not for the Claudian family, which had tyrannized over them. But, before the day appointed for the trial, Appius died in priſon. Dionyſius tells us, that the tribunes gave out he had ſtrangled himſelf; but that it was much ſuſpected he had been diſpatched by their orders. Livy barely relates, that Appius, to avoid the infamy of a public baniſhment, laid violent hands on himſelf in priſon [i].

And carried to priſon,

And dies there.

THE proſecution of Oppius, one of the plebeian decemvirs, followed next. He was accuſed by Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, as an accomplice with Appius, whoſe injuſtice in her affair he had not oppoſed, though at that time in Rome. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge. A veteran, who had ſerved twenty-ſeven years in the army, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, uncovering his ſhoulders, expoſed to the multitude the marks of the rods, with which he had been beaten by Oppius's orders, and offered to undergo the ſame treatment again, if the decemvir could aſſign any good

Oppius another of the decemvirs, thrown into priſon where he dies.

[i] Idem, p. 526. Liv. l. iii. c. 56—58.

good reaſon for his cruelty. The accuſed was by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people thrown into priſon, where he died the ſame day. The other eight decemvirs, terrified with theſe impriſonments, which were followed by ſudden deaths, retired into baniſhment of their own accord. Upon their flight their effects were confiſcated and ſold, and the money ariſing from them carried by the quæſtors into the public treaſury. As for M. Claudius, the client, who had been ſuborned to ſerve the pleaſures, and carry on the iniquity, of his patron, he was condemned to death. But Virginius, pitying a wretch, who had offended at the inſtigation of a powerful magiſtrate, and a ſovereign, from whom he had no appeal, changed the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment, upon his confeſſing that he had been ſuborned. After this, Duilius, one of the tribunes, adviſed his collegues to carry vengeance no farther; and accordingly a general amneſty was granted, and the ſtate enjoyed a profound tranquillity at home, the remaining part of the year.

The others retire of their own accord into baniſhment.

AFFAIRS being thus ſettled, the two conſuls took the field againſt the Æqui, Volſci, and Sabines, who, during the late inteſtine diviſions, had pillaged the Roman territory. Valerius defeated the two former, and Horatius the latter. But the ſenate, diſſatisfied with their too popular adminiſtration, and moved by a ſpeech of C. Claudius, who inveighed bitterly againſt them, refuſed them a triumph. But this oppoſition ſerved only to gain the people a new prerogative, the right of decreeing triumphs. For the conſuls applied to them, and, the tribunes eſpouſing their cauſe, Icilius declared, in the name of the people of Rome, that the conſuls ſhould, in ſpite of the ſenate, have the honour of a triumph, which was thought ſo legal a one, that it had a place in the Faſti Capitolini. The tribunes did not ſtop here, but formed a deſign of getting themſelves continued in the tribuneſhip after the expiration of their year. This was a conſpiracy not unlike that of the decemvirs; but to prevent any ſuſpicion, that their aim was to make themſelves ſole maſters of the government, they were for having the people continue Valerius and Horatius in the conſulate. Duilius, one of their college, a man of great moderation and very zealous for the public liberty, oppoſed this project, and made it abortive, by prevailing upon the conſuls to declare publicly, that they would

The Æqui, the Volſci, and the Sabines, defeated by the conſuls.

would not hold the conſulate after their year was expired, though the people ſhould deſire it. After this Duilius held the aſſembly for electing tribunes and by his influence got five new ones choſen, in ſpite of the cabals of the old tribunes. However, the latter prevailed ſo far by their intrigues, as to hinder any other of the candidates from having the neceſſary number of voices. Hereupon the nomination of the five tribunes yet wanting was referred to the five actually choſen, according to the direction of a law, which expreſly provided, that 'if upon a day of election the full number of tribunes could not be choſen, thoſe 'who were elected ſhould have power to name their colleagues.' Agreeable to this law the new tribunes no ſooner entered upon their office, but they named their collegues, and among them, to the great ſurprize of all, S. Tarpeius and A. Æternius, both patricians, old ſenators, and even conſulars. Some writers are of opinion, that theſe patricians had got themſelves adopted into plebeian families; but this is a groundleſs conjecture; for Livy tells us, that the five firſt tribunes were directed by the ſenate in the choice of their collegues, whence it is more likely, that the ſenators privately joined with Duilius, who acted all along in concert with them, to get ſome of their body into the tribuneſhip, in order to counterbalance the power of the plebeian tribunes. The election of the conſuls followed that of the tribunes, when Lartius Herminius and T. Virginius were choſen without any diſturbance. In their conſulate, L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, diſſatisfied to ſee two patricians in that college, gave himſelf entirely up to croſs the ſenate in every thing, whence he acquired the ſirname of Aſper, or 'The Crabbed.' In order to exclude patricians for the future, he got a law paſſed, which from his name was called 'Lex Trebonia,' by which it was ordained, that 'whoſoever ſhould for the future hold the comitia, 'for electing tribunes of the people, ſhould not diſmiſs the 'aſſembly, till the number of ten tribunes was completed 'by the votes of the people.' This law took from the tribunes, who were firſt choſen, the right of naming their collegues, which the Romans called Cooptatio [k].

The patricians choſen tribunes of the people.

Lex Trebonia.

THE following conſulate of M. Geganius and C. Julius produced nothing remarkable. But the ſucceeding conſuls, T. Quinctius,

[k] Liv. l. iii. c. 65.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a fourth time, and Agrippa Furius, found the people highly exaſperated againſt the nobility, on account of ſome inſults they had offered the plebeians. The aggreſſors were cited to appear before the people, which occaſioned great contentions. Upon the news of theſe freſh domeſtic broils, the Æqui and Volſci entered the Roman territory, and ravaged the country to the very gates of Rome, the tribunes oppoſing the neceſſary levies to repulſe them. Hereupon the conſul Quinctius, a man illuſtrious for ſeveral victories, and greatly reſpected for the purity of his manners and the wiſdom of his counſels, having convened a general aſſembly of the people, made an harangue to them, with which they were ſo affected, that they concurred unanimouſly in taking arms. All the youth offered themſelves in crouds to be inliſted; inſomuch, that on the ſame day the levies were raiſed, and the army marched ten miles on its way. The next day, the conſuls came in ſight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle, and gained a complete victory.

The Romans gain a complete victory over the Æqui and Volſci.

However, the conſuls, as Livy obſerves, did not demand a triumph, nor did the ſenate offer them one. He conjectures, that the conſuls were aſhamed to aſk an honour for one victory, which the fathers had refuſed to Valerius and Horatius for two. This would have been a glorious year for the republic, had not the Roman people diſhonoured themſelves by an iniquitous judgment, in a cauſe that was referred to their deciſion. The inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia choſe them arbitrators in a diſpute concerning a large tract of land, to which they both laid claim. The tribes being aſſembled and the cauſe heard, the votes were going to be taken, when one Scaptius, a Roman eighty-three years old, deſired to ſpeak. He pretended, that the diſtrict in queſtion belonged formerly to the city of Corioli, and conſequently now to the Romans, who ought therefore to make no ſcruple of ſeizing it. The conſuls uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the people from taking a ſtep, which muſt caſt a blemiſh on the Roman probity. But all their efforts were to no purpoſe; the people, in ſpite of their remonſtrances, adjudged the territory to themſelves [1].

Iniquitous judgment of the people of Rome, in a cauſe referred to their arbitration.

In the following conſulate of M. Genucius Augurinus and C. Curtius Philo, the tribunes carried their pretenſions

New pretenſions of the tribunes

[1] Dio. Hal. l. xi. p. 729. Liv. l. iii. c. 71.

ſions farther than ever. For they not only demanded, that the law, prohibiting patricians and plebeians to intermarry, might be repealed, but likewiſe, that plebeians might be admitted to the conſulate. Canuleius, the moſt active of the tribunes, declared to the ſenate, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would conſtantly oppoſe all levies of troops, let the want of them be never ſo preſſing, till theſe conceſſions were made to the people. The conſuls and patricians declared with great warmth againſt theſe new claims of the incroaching tribunes; but, the Ardeates, the Æqui, the Veientes, and the Volſci invading at the ſame time the Roman territory, the ſenate found it neceſſary to let the law concerning marriages paſs, hoping, that this conceſſion would induce the tribunes to give over entirely the purſuit of the law relating to the conſulſhip, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it till the concluſion of the war. But their hopes proved vain; for the tribunes, though the alarm from abroad daily encreaſed, ſtill oppoſed the levies, and puſhed their point with the ſame zeal as before. Nay, at the inſtigation of Canuleius, they all bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath, not to deſiſt from their enterprize, till the ſenate had granted them their demand. C. Claudius, in a private aſſembly of the oldeſt ſenators, moved to have recourſe to arms and violence; rather than yield to the people the dignity of the conſulſhip. But T. Quinctius and the majority of the aſſembly thought it better to comply, than to come to a rupture with the people. Hereupon Claudius, to prevent the debaſing of the conſular dignity, made a new propoſal, viz. that, inſtead of conſuls, a certain number of military tribunes ſhould be choſen, partly out of the ſenate and partly from among the plebeians, and that theſe new magiſtrates ſhould be inveſted with conſular power. This project being approved, the ſenate was aſſembled, and the tribunes called to it, to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws in queſtion. After they had ſpoke, Claudius's ſcheme was propoſed, and received with great applauſe both by the patricians and plebeians. A decree was immediately paſſed for this fourth revolution in the Roman government, and the comitia were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refuſed to give their votes to any but patricians, ſo that only three military tribunes were choſen, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. At-

Military tribunes created with conſular power; who ſoon after abdicated.

L. Attilius, and S. Cecilius, or, as ſome ſtyle him, Clelius. But they did not long continue in office. Curtius, the late conſul, who had preſided at the election, declared three months after, that the auguries preceding it had been inauſpicious, which made their promotion void. This was probably an artful contrivance of the nobility to reſtore the antient form of government. However that be, the three new magiſtrates readily reſigned their office, and an inter-rex was named, that the commonwealth might not remain without a head. T. Quinctius the inter-rex aſſembled the people, to determine whether the conſular government ſhould be reſtored, or that of the military tribunes continued; The ſenate were for the former; the tribunes for the latter; but the people, being reſolved to confer the ſupreme dignity only on patricians, were indifferent whether it ſhould be called conſulſhip or tribuneſhip. At length all agreed to reſtore the old form of government, and L. Papirius Mugillanus and L. Sempronius Atratinus, brother to one of thoſe patricians, who had laid down the military tribuneſhip, were appointed conſuls for the remaining part of the year. Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a fifth time conſul, and M. Geganius, a ſecond time, the cenſorſhip was eſtabliſhed. There had been no cenſus for ſeventeen years, which occaſioned great diſorders. Theſe the new conſuls undertook to remedy; but, as they had many civil and military affairs on their hands, they deſired the ſenate to diſcharge them of the care of numbering the people, and to lay it upon two magiſtrates created for that purpoſe, who, with the title of cenſors, ſhould, every five years, take a general review of the whole Roman people, and an account of their effects. The ſenate approved the motion; and the tribunes, tho' always upon their guard againſt every thing offered by the ſenate, thought the employment of too little importance to oppoſe it. They did not even demand, that the plebeians ſhould be allowed a ſhare in it, not foreſeeing to what a pitch of power and grandeur the office of cenſor would in time arrive. As men generally ſtudy how to enlarge their authority, the cenſorſhip was no ſooner made a diſtinct magiſtracy, than the cenſors began to take upon them the reformation of manners, and by that means ſubject to their tribunal the ſenators and knights, as much as the meaneſt of the people. Papirius

The cenſorſhip eſtabliſhed.

Year of the flood, 2561. Before Chriſt 483. Of Rome, 310.

pirius and Sempronius, the conſuls of the preceding year, were the firſt cenſors, this dignity being unanimouſly conferred upon them, to make them amends for the ſhort duration of their conſulate [m].

WHILE the conſuls were thus eaſing themſelves of the burden annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them employment enough abroad. The Ardeates, who had lately renewed their alliance with Rome, were unhappily involved in a civil war, which aroſe from a very ſlight cauſe. Two citizens of Ardea, one of a noble family, the other of a plebeian, had fallen in love with the ſame young woman. As ſhe was a plebeian, her guardians were for giving her a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious woman, was fond of matching her with a man of quality. The diſpute about this marriage engaged all Ardea, the nobility declaring for one of the ſuitors, and the people for the other. At length the cauſe between the mother and the guardians was tried, and ſentence pronounced by the judges in favour of the former, who, they ſaid, had a right to diſpoſe of her child to whom ſhe pleaſed; but the latter, refuſing to ſtand to this determination, had recourſe to violence, gathered together ſome plebeians, and entering the widow's houſe, carried away her daughter. The nobility, on the other hand, taking the mother's part, ran to arms, fell upon the plebeians, and, having killed ſeveral of them, brought the young woman back to her mother's houſe. Hereupon the plebeians, leaving the city in great numbers, encamped on a neighbouring hill, and from thence ſent out parties to lay waſte the lands of the nobility. The mutineers, being joined by the Volſci, choſe themſelves a commander, named Cluilius, and laid ſiege to Ardea. In this diſtreſs the nobility applied to the Romans, and the ſenate ſent immediately an army to their relief, under the command of the conſul Geganius, who inveſted the beſiegers, obliged them to ſurrender their arms, and made them paſs under the yoke. After this, the conſul returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph, with uncommon pomp and ſolemnity [n].

A civil war among the Ardeates.

The Romans aſſiſt the nobility of Ardea.

THE ſucceeding conſuls, M. Fabius and Poſthumius Ebutius, made the Ardeates ſome amends for the wrongs the

[m] Liv. l. iv. c. 9. Cic. de leg. l. iii [n] Liv ibid.

Romans had done them, on occaſion of their conteſt with the Aricians; for they ſent a colony to re-people their city, much depopulated by the civil war, and privately agreed, that no lands, except thoſe formerly in diſpute, ſhould be divided among the new colony, and even of thoſe only a ſmall part; and that the reſt ſhould be reſtored to their antient proprietors. As this was diſannulling the judgment of the people, Agrippa Menenius, F. Clælius, and M. Ebutius, who had put the decree in execution, were cited to appear before the people; but theſe three patricians, to avoid the proſecution, declared themſelves citizens of Ardea, and continued there. The following year, when the government was in the hands of C. Furius and M. Papirius, proved a year of peace. But, in the ſucceeding conſulate of Proculus Geganius and L. Menenius, great diſturbances aroſe, occaſioned by a Roman knight, named Sp. Mælius, who had the confidence to aſpire to the ſovereign power. A dreadful famine happening in Rome, the people, to prevent the evil conſequences of it, created, with the conſent of the ſenate, an extraordinary magiſtrate, with the title of Superintendant of proviſions. The perſon, they named for this office, was one L. Minucius, an active and prudent man, who immediately ſent his agents into the neighbouring countries to buy corn, but with little ſucceſs, Sp. Mælius, who was one of the richeſt men in Rome, having been before-hand with him at the markets. The corn Mælius bought was, by his order, diſtributed among the meaner people; ſo that his houſe quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, and thoſe who had undone themſelves by debauchery. Minucius, who was continued in his office under the new conſuls, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, the ſixth time, and Agrippa Menenius, found out, that Mælius, under cover of an extraordinary liberality, formed aſſemblies at his houſe, and that great quantities of arms had been conveyed thither by night. Upon this intelligence, he enquired further into the matter, and at length diſcovered, that a conſpiracy was formed to ſubvert the preſent government; that Mælius aſpired to the ſovereign power; that the people were to take arms in his favour and that even ſome of the tribunes had conſented to ſell the public liberty. Minucius, without loſs of time, gave an account of his diſcoveries to the ſenate; and the ſenate following the advice of Quinctius Capitolinus, impowered him to name his brother Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator. It was thought neceſſary to take this ſtep in ſo critical a juncture

Sp. Mælius aſpires to the ſovereign power.

Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator.

to prevent Mælius from escaping the punishment due to his wicked attempt. He might have appealed from the consuls to the people, who, as they were entirely devoted to him, would have saved him; but from the dictator there was no appeal. Cincinnatus, being then past fourscore, would have declined the office; but, the consuls and the whole senate insisting upon his charging himself with the care of the commonwealth, he at length acquiesced, and named Servilius Ahala to be his general of the horse, and the next day placed guards in all the quarters of the city. This precaution surprized those who knew nothing of the conspiracy; but Mælius and his associates being well apprised, that the power of the supreme magistrate was wholly bent against them, used their utmost endeavours to engage the multitude in their favour. Hereupon the dictator, having caused his tribunal to be carried into the forum, sent his master of the horse to cite Mælius to appear before him. Mælius, instead of obeying the summons, attempted to make his escape. Whereupon Servilius commanded a lictor to seize him; and his orders were put in execution: but the multitude having rescued him out of the lictor's hands, he was very near making his escape, when Servilius, throwing himself into the croud, overtook him, and killed him on the spot. This action pleased the dictator, who, on seeing his master of the horse all sprinkled with the blood of the criminal, told him, that to him Rome was indebted for her liberty. He then convened a general assembly of the people, and, having acquainted them with the conspiracy, declared, that Mælius had been justly slain. His house was, by the dictator's orders, razed to the ground, and the prodigious quantity of corn found in it, sold to the people at low rates. As for Minucius, a statue was erected to him without the gate Trigemina, as a reward of his vigilance; but three of the tribunes, provoked at the murder of Mælius, made loud complaints in the assembly of the people, and obstinately opposed the election of the consuls; insomuch, that the patricians, to avoid a tumult, was forced to consent, that military tribunes should be chosen for the next year. The tribunes hoped, that the people would now divide the government between the patricians and the plebeians; but they chose only three patricians, viz. Mamercus Æmilius, L. Quinctius, the son of the dictator, and Julius Julus [o]. During their administration, the city of Fidenæ not only revolted from Rome,

Mælius is slain.

Fidenæ revolts from the Romans.

[o] Liv. l. iv. c. 17. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

Rome, but, putting themſelves under the protection of Tolumnius king of the Veientes, murdered four embaſſadors ſent by the ſenate to aſk the reaſon of their conduct. As a war was unavoidable, it was thought more proper to chuſe conſuls than military tribunes for the next year; and accordingly M. Geganius, a third time, and L. Sergius were elected. It fell to the latter to make war upon the Veientes; but, though he gained ſome advantages over them, he loſt a great number of men; which determined the ſenate to remove him from the command of the army, and to create a dictator in his room. The conſuls named Mamercus Æmilius for that dignity, who choſe young Quinctius Cincinnatus for his general of the horſe, and appointed Quinctius Capitolinus and M. Fabius Vibulanus, two great commanders, his lieutenant generals. He ſoon after took the field, came to an engagement with the united forces of the Faliſci, Fidenates, and Veientes, and gave them a total overthrow. Tolumnius himſelf was ſlain in the battle by Cornelius Coſſus, a legionary tribune, who ſtripped him of his armour and royal robes, and carried theſe ſpoils, called ſpolia opima, on his ſhoulders in the dictator's triumph. When the triumph was over, he depoſited them in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, they being the ſecond of the ſort known in Rome. In the following conſulate of M. Cornelius and L. Papirius, one Sp. Mælius, a tribune of the people, and a near relation of the famous Mælius, cited Minucius and Servilius Ahala to anſwer for his death. Some hiſtorians tell us, that theſe proſecutions ſerved only to bring the tribune into contempt; but the greater part ſay, that Servilius was condemned to baniſhment, and afterwards recalled. As for Minucius, we do not find any puniſhment inflicted upon him.

Mamercus Æmilius dictator.

The ſecond ſpolia opima.

THE Veientes and Fidenates renewed the war, in the following conſulate of Julius Julus, the ſecond time, and L. Virginius, while the Romans were greatly diſtreſſed by a plague; but Q. Servilius Priſcus, being created dictator, gave them battle near Nomentum, routed them, and took the city of Fidenæ. This ſucceſs was followed by a cenſus of the Roman people, which, after the eſtabliſhment of the cenſors, never failed to be renewed every five years. The following year Mamercus Æmilius was named to the dictatorſhip a ſecond time, upon a report, that all Hetruria

Fidenæ taken by the Romans.

wa

was preparing for war; but theſe fears proving vain, Æmilius, who had no hopes of gaining glory abroad, reſolved to do ſomething remarkable at home, and propoſed to the people the ſhortening the duration of the cenſorſhip, and reducing it from five years to eighteen months. This motion was received with applauſe, and paſſed into a law. Then Æmilius, to ſhew the diſlike he had to magiſtracies of long continuance, reſigned his own, and retired to his houſe, amidſt the loud acclamations of the multitude. However, this wiſe law coſt him dear; the cenſors, who were the inſpectors of the manners of the people, ſtruck him out of the roll of his tribe, took from him the privilege of voting, deprived him of all the rights of a Roman citizen, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he uſed to pay; but this perſecution gave him a new luſtre, and ſtirred up the people againſt his perſecutors, Furius and Geganius, to ſuch a degree, that they would have tore them in pieces, if Æmilius had not been ſo generous, as to uſe his intereſt with the multitude to ſave them. The tribunes of the people, by renewing their ordinary harangues againſt the electing of conſuls, prevailed to have military tribunes choſen for the next year. However, the people raiſed to that dignity only three patricians, M. Fabius, M. Fauſtius, and L. Sergius. Nothing memorable happened during their adminiſtration, but a plague, which ceaſed in the following year, when the republic was again governed by three military tribunes, all patricians, viz. L. Pinarius, L. Furius, and Sp. Poſthumius. Hereupon the rich plebeians complained of the poorer ſort, for not chuſing any but patricians to that magiſtracy, notwithſtanding the law which allowed three plebeians to be elected. They met at the houſes of the tribunes of the people to conſult upon this matter, and there reſolved to propoſe a law, forbidding any pretenders to the ſuperior offices to go about, in garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs, to ſollicit the votes of the people. It was cuſtomary for thoſe, who aſpired to any office, to ſhew themſelves to the people on market-days, in a habit of an extraordinary whiteneſs, and, in that dreſs, to court the meaneſt of the citizens, to call them by their names, to ſhake hands with them, &c. From this habit they were called candidati, or candidates, a word derived from the Latin candidus, ſignifying white. As this way of canvaſſing for offices

was uſed only by the nobility, the principal plebeians undertook the aboliſhing of ſuch a cuſtom, hoping thereby to put an end to the various arts uſed by the patricians to gain the favour of the people. The law prohibiting the uſe of white garments paſſed, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the patricians, who, ſeeing the people highly incenſed againſt the nobility, began to fear, that they would no longer refuſe their voices to the chief plebeians for the military tribuneſhip; wherefore, to avert this danger, they turned their thoughts on getting conſuls choſen for the next year, the formidable preparations which the Æqui and Volſci were making at this time for war favouring their deſign. As no plebeians had ever commanded armies, the people were quite indifferent, whether conſuls or military tribunes were choſen; for they were determined to give their ſuffrages to none but old captains, and conſequently to patricians. Thus the election being left to the ſenate, the conſulſhip was reſtored, and T. Quinctius, the ſon of Lucius, and C. Julius Mento were promoted to that dignity. They were both officers of great experience and courage; but a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, they were defeated by the enemy near mount Algidus. Hereupon the ſenate thought it neceſſary to name a dictator; but the conſuls obſtinately refuſing to comply with their deſire in this particular, as being piqued at the diffidence they ſhewed of their abilities, the ſenators had recourſe to the tribunes of the people, exhorting them to interpoſe their authority, and oblige the conſuls to name a dictator. The tribunes, who were then in the ſenate, charmed with a motion which tended to encreaſe their authority, having withdrawn a while to conſult, returned with this declaration, that it was the pleaſure of the tribunes, that the conſuls ſhould obey the ſenate, or be led to priſon, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience. Hereupon the conſuls ſubmitted; but juſtly reproached the ſenators with betraying the inteſts of their own body, and ſubjecting the conſular authority to the tribunitian power. Another difficulty ſtill remained: the conſuls could not agree about the perſon who ſhould be dictator; ſo that they were obliged to draw lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to Quinctius, and he named his father-in-law Poſthumius Tubertus, who appointed L. Julius Vopiſcus to be his general of the horſe. The dictator ſoon raiſed an army, with which he marched againſt the enemy, and having defeated them in a bloody

A law prohibiting the uſe of white garments.

bloody battle, returned in triumph to Rome, and laid down his employment [p].

Posthumius Tubertus dictator defeats the Æqui and Volsci.

THE next year, when C. Papirius and L. Julius Vopiscus were consuls, the Æqui desired to enter into an alliance with the Romans, on the same foot with the Latins and Hernici; but all they could obtain was a truce for eight years. Nothing remarkable happened at Rome during the present consulship, but the making a law to settle the value of oxen and sheep paid by way of fines for disobedience to magistrates. The fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox being valued at an hundred asses of brass, and each sheep at ten. The tribunes were the first projectors of this new law; but the consuls, having notice of their design, proposed the new regulation themselves, and by that means gained the favour of the people. The next year the republic enjoyed a profound peace, under the administration of L. Sergius, a second time consul, and Hostus Lucretius, which was not disturbed even by the tribunes. The next year, when T. Quinctius, a second time, and Cornelius Cossus were raised to the consulate, was remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary drought, which occasioned a famine, that was followed by a dreadful plague. On this occasion the Romans had recourse to deities unknown, and introduced new superstitions; but the senate, apprised of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the ædiles to take care, that no gods were worshipped, but those of the country; and by this means a stop was put to all foreign superstitions. The Veientes had obtained a truce for eight years, after their defeat near Nomentum, as we have related above; but, before the time was expired, had ravaged the lands of the republic. The senate, therefore, in the consulate of L. Papirius, a second time, and Servilius Ahala, resolved to punish them; but, a dispute arising between the people and the senate concerning the right of declaring war, those enemies of the republic escaped vengeance this year. The next, the tribunes insisted upon having the government placed in the hands of military tribunes; and accordingly four patricians were chosen, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Furius, M. Posthumius, and A. Cornelius Cossus. The latter staid at Rome, and the other three marched against the Veientes; but, as they did not act in concert, they were routed, and obliged

The Romans defeated by the Veientes.

[p] Liv. l. iv. c. 26.

obliged to keep within their camp. The people, upon the news of their defeat, inſiſted upon their being depoſed, and a dictator appointed in their room; but, as there were then no conſuls, whoſe prerogative it was to nominate a dictator, recourſe was had to the augurs, who declared, that Coſſus, who had had no ſhare in the late ſhameful diſaſter, might nominate a dictator. Accordingly he named Mamercus Æmilius, who had been in the ſame poſt twice before, and whom the cenſors had degraded. The new dictator appointed Coſſus his general of the horſe, and ſoon after took the field againſt the Veientes, whom the Fidenates had joined, after having maſſacred the Roman colony in their city. The dictator, coming up with them near the city of Fidenæ, gained a complete victory over their united forces, and made himſelf maſter both of the city of Fidenæ and of the camp of the Veientes. We are told, that the left wing of the Roman army was at firſt greatly terrified, and put into confuſion by the enemy's new manner of fighting; for the Fidenates, having all on a ſudden opened one of the gates of their city, ſent out ſome ſoldiers, with lighted torches in their hands and dreſſed like furies. Theſe, running through the Roman battalions, and threatening them with fire and ſword at the ſame time, occaſioned no ſmall diſorder; but the dictator upbraiding his men with cowardice, "What," ſaid he, "are you as "much afraid of ſmoke, as a ſwarm of bees? Make uſe "of your ſwords to wreſt the torches out of the enemies "hands, and then go and ſet fire to their city with them." Theſe words inſpired the Romans with new courage; and Coſſus falling upon the enemy at the ſame time with his cavalry, the latter were entirely defeated. This glorious expedition being finiſhed in ſixteen days, Æmilius led back his troops to Rome, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his employment[q].

The Veientes and Fidenates defeated by Mamercus Æmilius dictator.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ill conduct of the laſt military tribunes, the tribunes of the people prevailed ſo far, as to have the ſame government continued the two following years; but had ſtill the mortification to ſee patricians only elected. Theſe were, the firſt year, A. Sempronius, L. Furius, L. Quinctius, and L. Horatius; the ſecond, Ap. Claudius, Sp. Nautius, L. Sergius, and Sex. Julus. The tribunes of the people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade them from this preference of the patricians to them in the elections. The richeſt and moſt eminent men among the

[q] Liv. l. iv. c. 31—33. Flor. l. i. c. 12.

the plebeians gave out, that if they could once be choſen, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the poor citizens. This made no ſmall impreſſion upon the multitude; but the patricians, who were then in poſſeſſion of the military tribuneſhip, to avoid the ſhame of having plebeians for their ſucceſſors, agreed among themſelves to lead out of Rome thoſe who aſpired to that dignity, under pretence of making an incurſion into the territory of the Volſci. In their abſence, Appius Claudius, ſon of the decemvir, and one of the military tribunes, held an aſſembly for electing conſuls, when C. Sempronius Atratinus and C. Fabius Vibulanus were choſen. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when news was brought to Rome, that the Volſci had taken the field with a very numerous army, and were advancing towards the frontiers, with a deſign to lay waſte the lands of the republic. The conſul Sempronius, a man of greater courage than conduct, was ſent againſt them; but he, deſpiſing an enemy whom the Romans had ſo often vanquiſhed, and attacking them with the infantry alone, was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut off with all his men, if one Tempanius, an old officer of the horſe, had not taken upon him the command of the cavalry. This brave officer, obſerving the danger the legions were in, leaped from his horſe, and addreſſing himſelf to his companions, "Follow my lance," ſaid he, "as if it were a ſtandard, "and let us ſhew the enemy, that we can fight on foot "as well as on horſe-back." At theſe words the whole body of horſe diſmounted, and, following their leader, fell upon the enemy with incredible fury. The general of the Volſci ordered his men to retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; but Tempanius, after having reſcued the legions from the danger they were in, continued to preſs the enemy with ſuch vigor, that they could no longer withſtand him. Then the Volſcian commander, who was a man of great experience in war, ſent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give paſſage to the troops Tempanius led, and then to cloſe again, in order to ſeparate them from the reſt of the Roman army. His orders were obeyed, and Tempanius, ruſhing ſtill forwards, found himſelf at laſt cut off from the Roman main body. He did his utmoſt to force his way through the enemy's ranks; but not being able to break their order, he retired to an eminence, and there drawing up his men in a circle, defended himſelf

A bloody battle between the Romans and the Volſci.

with

with incredible bravery, till night coming on put an end to the conflict. The brave Roman did not doubt but the enemy would renew the attack as ſoon as the darkneſs was diſpelled, and therefore encouraged his men to behave like Romans, and, ſince they muſt periſh, to ſell their lives dear; but he was much ſurprized, when at day-break he ſaw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of the two great armies, which, a few hours before, had covered the plain. He went down with a few of his men to take a view, firſt of the Volſcian, and afterwards of the Roman, camp. Not a man was to be ſeen in either, except ſuch of the wounded as had not been able to follow the main body of their reſpective armies. Both the Romans and Volſcians had fought till night, and being equally afraid to renew the fight the next morning, had quitted their camps, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage, behind them, and retired to the neareſt mountains. Tempanius, not knowing to what place the conſul was retired with his troops, took up the wounded Romans and marched ſtrait to Rome, where he found the people actually aſſembled. Some runaways, having got to the city before him, had given out, that the conſul was defeated, and the whole body of cavalry cut in pieces. The tribunes of the people, thinking this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a conſul, obliged Tempanius to appear in the aſſembly, before he ſet foot in his own houſe, and aſked him aloud ſeveral queſtions concerning the conduct of Sempronius. Tempanius anſwered, That it did not become a private officer to judge of the capacity and behaviour of his general; that he had ſeen him fight at the head of his legions with great bravery; and that, by what appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, he could aſſure them, that the Volſci had loſt at leaſt as many men as the Romans. Notwithſtanding this favourable teſtimony of Tempanius, L. Hortenſius, one of the tribunes of the people, cited Sempronius, as ſoon as the year of his conſulate was expired, to anſwer for his conduct in the late battle; but when he appeared upon his trial, Tempanius, who had been choſen tribune of the people, with three other officers of the horſe, in reward of their ſervices, generouſly made themſelves his advocates, and aſked their collegue, why he proſecuted a brave general, whom he could reproach with nothing but bad fortune? "Sempronius," ſaid they, "was our general and our fa-

Sempronius cited to anſwer for his conduct in the battle.

"ther;

" ther ; and therefore, like true children, we will appear
" in the habit of criminals as well as he, and, as we have
" ſhared his fortune, partake of his diſgrace, if any befals
" him." " No," replied Hortenſius, " that ſhall never
" be ; the Roman people ſhall never ſee their tribunes in
" mourning. I have done ; I have nothing further to ſay
" againſt a general, who underſtood ſo well how to gain
" the affection of his ſoldiers :" and thus he dropped his
accuſation[r]. Sempronius and his collegue Fabius had been ſucceeded by military tribunes, L. Manlius, Q. Antonius, L. Papirius, and L. Servilius ; but this year Rome, having ſuch moderate tribunes of the people, returned to her antient form of government, and choſe, without any diſturbance, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, ſon of the famous Quinctius Capitolinus, and Numerius Fabius, conſuls.

The accuſation is dropped.

THE peace, which continued this year, gave the new tribunes an opportunity of raiſing diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip. Hitherto there had been only two quæſtors, and thoſe choſen annually from among the patricians. Their office was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of the war, and to keep exact accounts of the receipts and diſburſements of the public money, for which they were accountable. To this time they had never ſtirred out of Rome ; the conſuls therefore propoſed, that two new quæſtors ſhould be added, to attend the generals in the field, take an account of the ſpoils, ſell the booty, and, above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. This motion was received with great applauſe both by the ſenate and people ; but, when it came to be paſſed into a law, the tribunes demanded that two of thoſe magiſtrates ſhould always indiſpenſably be plebeians. The ſenate was willing, that, in the election of quæſtors, as in that of military tribunes, the people ſhould, if they thought fit, chuſe as many plebeians as patricians ; but the tribunes obſtinately requiring, that the people ſhould not be left at liberty to chuſe plebeians or patricians, the ſenate thought it adviſeable, rather than ſubmit to this, to drop the motion. The tribunes, by way of revenge, proteſted againſt holding the comitia for electing conſuls, and inſiſted on having military tribunes for the next year. The obſtinacy of the two parties threw the republic into a kind of anarchy, the tribunes oppoſing even the ſenate's meeting to name an inter-rex. After warm diſputes, the tribunes agreed to the naming of an inter-rex ; and the ſenate choſe for that office L. Papirius

New diſturbances about the quæſtorſhip.

An inter-rex choſen.

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 42. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5.

Papirius Mugellanus, who, by expoſtulations and ſoft perſuaſions, brought the contending parties to this compromiſe, that the ſenate ſhould ſuffer the people to chuſe military tribunes inſtead of conſuls; and that the tribunes of the people ſhould allow the tribes to beſtow the quæſtorſhip on patricians or plebeians, as they thought fit. Notwithſtanding all the cabals and ſeditious harangues of the tribunes of the people, not only the military tribunes, but the quæſtors too, were choſen out of the patricians only, though one of the tribunes had propoſed his brother, and the other his ſon. The tribunes, enraged at this preference, were for accuſing A. Sempronius, who had preſided at the election, of ſome unfair dealing in taking the votes; but, as he was a man of known probity, and then one of the military tribunes, they turned all their fury againſt C. Sempronius his couſin-german, who had not been acquitted on his former trial, tho' the proſecution had been dropped at the requeſt of Tempanius. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-ſeven days, during which time he conſtantly attended the ſenate, and zealouſly oppoſed the requeſt of the tribunes concerning the diſtribution of lands. With the ſame ſteadineſs he behaved on his tryal, and pleaded his cauſe with great eloquence. But, notwithſtanding all the ſolicitations of the ſenate in his favour, and the favourable teſtimonies of many officers, who had ſerved under him, he was fined fifteen thouſand aſſes of braſs. Soon after a veſtal, who, by her levity and too free airs, had brought herſelf under a ſuſpicion of incontinency, was tried before the pontifices and acquitted; but the pontifex maximus admoniſhed her to be more reſerved for the future. In the following military tribuneſhip of Agrippa Menenius, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius, and C. Servilius, a plot was formed by the ſlaves to ſet fire to the city and ſeize the capitol; but the ſecret being diſcovered by ſome of the conſpirators, the evil conſequences of it were prevented. The next year, when the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, M. Papirius, C. Servilius, and L. Sergius, Labicum, a city of Latium about fifteen miles diſtance from Rome, revolted, and entered into an alliance with the Æqui, who, after having pillaged the territory of Tuſculum, encamped at the foot of mount Algidus. Hereupon two of the military tribunes were ordered to take the field, and the third to remain in Rome; but each of the three, thinking himſelf the moſt capable of commanding the

C. Sempronius is again cited, and condemned in a fine.

Labicum revolts.

the army, deſpiſed the leſs glorious employment of governing the city. The ſenate was highly offended to ſee three magiſtrates, whoſe duty it was to take care of the intereſt of the public, ſacrifice it to their private ambition; but no one of that body had weight enough to put an end to the diſpute. At length Q. Servilius, who had been formerly dictator, interpoſing his paternal authority, commanded his ſon C. Servilius to ſtay at home; and Caius, tho' very deſirous of commanding the army, and raiſed above his father by the office he then bore in the republic, obeyed, without ſhewing the leaſt reluctance, and remained in Rome. But the two generals agreeing no better in the field than they had done in the city, the army under their command was drawn into an ambuſh, and entirely defeated. Hereupon the ſenate ordered a dictator to be created; and young Servilius nominated his father, who appointed him his general of the horſe. The father and ſon, leaving Rome at the head of a new army, encamped within two miles of the enemy, and, a few days after, attacked them, put their army to flight, took Labicum, their place of refuge, by ſtorm, and returning to Rome eight days after he had left it, laid down his office. The republic enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad under the ſucceeding military tribunes, P. Lucretius, L. Servilius, Agrippa Menenius, and Sp. Veturius. But the next year, when A. Sempronius, M. Papirius, Q. Fabius, and Sp. Nautius governed the republic, the tribunes of the people revived the old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands. Sp. Mæcilius, and Sp. Metilius, who were at the head of the factions, pretended, that the patricians had uſurped the lands they enjoyed, and therefore propoſed a new diviſion of them between the nobility and the plebeians. The ſenate met frequently to concert meaſures for defeating this propoſal; Appius Claudius propoſed gaining over ſome of the college of the tribunes, as the only remedy againſt their tyranny. His advice was received with great applauſe, and put in execution with ſucceſs; for the fathers applying themſelves to the tribunes, by entreaties and remonſtrances, won over ſix of the ten to oppoſe the promulgation of the law; ſo that Mæcilius and Metilius were obliged to drop their petition. The ſame good underſtanding was maintained the next year between the ſenate and ſome of the tribunes, when Cornelius Coſſus, Quinctius Cincinnatus, Valerius Voluſus, and Fabius Vibulanus were military tribunes. But in the military tri-

The Roman army defeated by the Æqui.

The old quarrel about the diſtribution of lands revived.

buneſhip of Q. Fabius, Cn. Cornelius, P. Poſthumius, and L. Valerius, the affair of the Agrarian law was revived. The Æqui having retaken Bola, a little town which the Romans had lately ſeized, P. Poſthumius, one of the military tribunes, was ſent with an army to recover it. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy in the field, he ſat down before the place, and, to encourage his men, promiſed to diſtribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. The place was ſoon after carried by aſſault; but the general, who hated the plebeians, of whom the greateſt part of his army conſiſted, breaking his word, put all the ſpoil into the hands of the quæſtors, and thereby alienated the hearts of the army from him. In the mean time Sextius, one of the tribunes of the people, having brought on anew the affair of the Agrarian law, Poſthumius was ſent for to Rome, to aſſiſt his collegues in oppoſing the tribunes. As he was an obſtinate wrong-headed man, on his arrival, he let many inconſiderate expreſſions drop in the preſence of the curiæ. One day Sextius having propoſed a decree for dividing the city of Bola and its territory, among the ſoldiers then in the field, who had made that conqueſt, Poſthumius, in a violent paſſion, cried out, Wo be to my men, if any ſuch thing be done. Sextius, perceiving by this the haſty temper of the general, took pleaſure in exaſperating him, and making him ſay many things offenſive to the people and ſoldiers. Then the crafty tribune, turning to the people, upbraided them for thinking ſuch a brute more worthy of the military tribuneſhip than their own tribunes, whoſe whole buſineſs was to procure them lands, houſes, and a comfortable retreat in their old age. His artful diſcourſe much leſſened the partiality of the people for the nobility in the elections; but when the threats of Poſthumius were related in the camp, the ſoldiers began to mutiny; and becauſe P. Seſtius, one of the quæſtors, ordered a lictor to ſeize a ſoldier, who was more mutinous than the reſt, his companions not only reſcued him, but one of them wounded the quæſtor with a ſtone. Poſthumius, informed of this tumult, haſtened to the camp; but, inſtead of appeaſing the ſedition, encreaſed it by his unſeaſonable ſeverity. He commanded the moſt guilty of the mutineers to be thrown into a ſhallow water, to be there covered with hurdles, and then preſſed to death, by heaping ſtones upon them. As this was a ſlow kind of death, which made the criminals cry out in an affecting manner, the ſoldiers flocked about

The ſoldiers mutiny in the camp.

about them, and reſcued them out of the hands of the executioners. Hereupon the general, in a tranſport of rage, came down from his tribunal, broke through the crowd, and being attended by his lictors endeavoured to diſperſe the multitude; but the ſoldiers forgetting their duty, oppoſed force with force, and, being worked up to fury, threw ſtones at their general, and killed him on the ſpot. This was the firſt inſtance of a commander killed by his troops from the foundation of Rome [s].

And killed their general

THE ſenate, fearing leſt the people, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe military tribunes for the next year out of the plebeians, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get conſuls elected, and, after warm debates, prevailed. A. Cornelius Coſſus and L. Furius Medullinus were raiſed to that dignity. As they were both men of great prudence and moderation, they were unanimouſly named, by the ſenate, people, and army, to proſecute the ſoldiers who had murdered their general; which they did with ſuch circumſpection, for fear of driving the army to an open revolt, that thoſe few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. Nothing remarkable, except a plague and famine, happened in the three following conſulates of Q. Fabius and C. Furius, of M. Papirius and C. Nautius, and of M. Æmilius and C. Valerius. But in the conſulate of Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius, a ſecond time, the tribunes of the people, eſpecially three of the Icilian family, who were more active than the reſt, prevailed upon the people to make uſe of the liberty allowed them by the laws, and to chuſe three plebeians into the quæſtorſhip. The Icilii having carried this point, encouraged the plebeians to oppoſe the election of conſuls, hoping, that ſome of their body might be raiſed to the military tribuneſhip, as they had been to the quæſtorſhip. The diſputes on this head grew warm, when news was brought, that the Æqui and Volſci were again in motion, and had retaken Carventum. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe forces, in order to ſtop their further progreſs; but the tribunes obſtinately oppoſed the levies, till the ſenate conſented to the election of military tribunes; but, to diſappoint the Icilii, they added this clauſe to their decree, that none of the tribunes of the people ſhould either be choſen military

Of the four quæſtors three are choſen out of the plebeians.

[s] Liv. l. iv. c. 49. Zonar. annal. l. vii.

military tribunes, or continued in their office the next year. As the tribunes could not object to this, without diſcovering their ambition, troops were raiſed without oppoſition; and tho' Carventum was not recovered, the city of Verrugo was taken from the Volſci, and ſome other advantages gained over them. In the mean time, the election of the military tribunes coming on, the patricians engaged ſome plebeians of no merit or weight to ſtand candidates. The plebeians, diſguſted with their meanneſs, and aſhamed to ſee them ſtand in competition with ſenators and conſulars of the firſt rank, gave all their ſuffrages to the nobles, and choſe three patricians, C. Julius Julus, P. Cornelius Coſſus, and C. Servilius Ahala. During their adminiſtration, the Volſci renewed the war, and having engaged ſome of the new allies of the republic to join them, encamped near Antium. The ſenate, apprehending the republic to be in great danger, ordered a dictator to be nominated; but as the three military tribunes had already drawn lots for the command of the army, which had fallen to Julius and Cornelius, thoſe two generals, offended at the diſtruſt the fathers had ſhewed of their conduct, refuſed to name a dictator. Hereupon the ſenate complained to the tribunes of the people. as they had done before upon the like occaſion, and deſired them to interpoſe their authority: but they gave them a ſcornful anſwer; Who are we, ſaid they, but contemptible plebeians, ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of men, much leſs of Roman citizens? When the honours and dignities of the republic ſhall be made common to us with the patricians, we ſhall take care that no proud magiſtrate diſobeys the decrees of the ſenate. Till then you muſt expect nothing from us, but do your own buſineſs the beſt you can. This refuſal greatly perplexed the ſenate; but at length C. Servilius, the third military tribune, extricated them out of the preſent difficulty, by taking upon him to act alone and to name a dictator. The perſon he raiſed to that high ſtation was P. Cornelius Rutilus, who appointed him to be general of the horſe. The dictator took the field, gained a complete victory over the Volſci, and returning to Rome laid down his office. Upon his reſignation, the military tribunes reſumed the functions of their employment, and to be revenged on the ſenate for the treatment they had met with, without conſulting the fathers, ordered the centuries to aſſemble for the election of military tribunes againſt the enſuing year. The patricians, alarmed at this

The Volſci renew the war.

P. Cornelius Rutilus dictator gains a complete victory over the Volſci.

ſtep, had recourſe to a new artifice, to prevent the government from falling into the hands of the plebeians. They obliged the moſt illuſtrious members of their own body to ſtand candidates; ſo that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the tribunes, four patricians of diſtinguiſhed merit were choſen, viz. C. Valerius, C. Servilius, Lucius Furius, and Fabius Vibulanus [t].

THE truce with the Veientes being at this time ended, the Romans ſent feciales to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries they had formerly done the republic; but the feciales meeting on the road envoys from Veii, at their requeſt proceeded no farther. Theſe envoys, being admitted into the ſenate, repreſented, that their city, being at preſent diſturbed by domeſtic broils, was not in a condition to give the Romans ſatisfaction. Theſe diſſenſions gave the Romans a favourable opportunity of falling upon their old enemies; but they had too much generoſity, as Livy obſerves, to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival ſtate, and therefore did not diſturb them this year. The Volſci retook Verrugo from the Romans the ſame year, and put the garriſon to the ſword; but the military tribunes having ſurprized the Volſci, while they were diſperſed about the country in queſt of booty, cut them all to pieces. In the following tribuneſhip of C. Cornelius, L. Valerius, Cn. Cornelius, and Fabius Ambuſtus, all patricians, the Veientes having inſulted the Roman embaſſadors and driven them out of their city with contempt, the ſenate ordered a declaration of war againſt them to be immediately propoſed to the people; but the tribunes oppoſed the levies, making the old affair of the Agrarian law their pretence. However, it was agreed, that three of the military tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the Volſci, who, at the approach of the legions, betook themſelves to flight, and left the country open to be pillaged. Hereupon the Roman generals, having divided their army into three bodies, made incurſions into it on three different ſides. Fabius laid ſiege to Anxur, and having taken it by ſtorm, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of all the three armies. This piece of generoſity paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobility and the people, which was entirely completed by a decree of the ſenate, that for the future the Roman infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the public expence. Hitherto all the

The Veientes inſult the Roman embaſſadors.

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 58.

citizens had been obliged to ſerve in war at their own coſt and charges, which was an exorbitant burden on the poorer plebeians, and frequently ruined their families. The ſenate therefore, pitying their condition, and reflecting on the many diſorders which were occaſioned by their refuſing to liſt themſelves, even for the moſt neceſſary wars, of their own accord decreed, that the foot ſhould have pay out of the public money; and that, to furniſh this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt. What pay was given at this time to each ſoldier, we find no-where recorded; but in Polybius's time, that is, in the time of the ſecond Carthaginian war, each foot-ſoldier was allowed two oboli a day, a centurion double that pay, and an horſeman treble. Two oboli were about the third part of an Attic drachma, which was worth ſeven pence three farthings of our money [u]. Upon the firſt news of this decree, the people, tranſported with joy, ran in crowds from all parts to the ſenate-houſe, and kiſſing the ſenators hands, called them the true fathers of the people, proteſting at the ſame time, that they would ſpill the laſt drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a tender mother; but the tribunes of the people, not liking this union of the two orders, which hindered them from making a figure in the ſtate, endeavoured to leſſen the value of the favour. They inſinuated to the people, that this pay was to come out of their own pockets; that it was not juſt to make thoſe citizens, who had completed the time of their ſervice at their own charge, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers; that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax, &c. However, as the ſenators began by laying great ſums on themſelves, which they paid readily, according to the real value of their eſtates, the common people followed their example, without ſhewing the leaſt uneaſineſs [w].

The Roman infantry begin to receive pay.

And now the ſenate, finding themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad, as long as they pleaſed, began to form great deſigns. All oppoſition to the levies, being over, they reſolved to beſiege Veii itſelf, one of the ſtrongeſt places of Italy, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of a new city and territory larger than their own. Before they embarqued in this great undertaking, the people being aſſembled,

[u] Vide præfat. præfix. Vol. I. vii. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 61. Zonar. l.

bled, all voted for a war, and choſe for the firſt time ſix military tribunes, all patricians, viz. C. Julius Julus, C. Æmilius Mamertinus, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, L. Furius Medullinus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, and A. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus. Some of theſe remained at home, while others took the field againſt the Veientes, who, declining a battle, ſhut themſelves up in their city. The Romans inveſted it; but there was little action this year, and leſs the following, when P. Cornelius Maluginenſis, Sp. Nautius Rutilius, Cn. Cornelius Coſſus, C. Valerius Potitus, C. Fabius Ambuſtus, and M. Sergius Fidenas were military tribunes. Theſe were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one of which continued before Veii, and the other marched againſt the Volſci, defeated them, took and razed the city of Artena, and then rejoined the forces left at the ſiege. The ſucceeding military tribunes, M. Æmilius, M. Furius, Ap. Claudius, grandſon of the decemvir, L. Julius, M. Quinctius and L. Valerius puſhed on the ſiege with great vigour. In the mean time the Veientes, changing their form of government, choſe themſelves a king; which ſo diſpleaſed the other ſtates of Hetruria, that they refuſed to ſend them any ſuccours. It was at this ſiege that the Romans are thought to have firſt invented lines of circumvallation and contravallation; at leaſt, this is the firſt time we find them mentioned in hiſtory. They fortified their camp both on the ſide of the city they inveſted, to prevent ſallies, and on the ſide of the country, to guard themſelves againſt any ſuccours, which the Hetrurians might ſend to the beſieged. The military tribunes, conſidering likewiſe that Veii could not be taken but after a long ſiege, and then not ſo much by force as by famine, reſolved, as the troops were now more at their command, to keep the army in the field all winter in wooden barracks covered with ſkins. To this deſign the ſoldiers made no oppoſition, chuſing rather to live in the camp at the expence of the public, than in Rome at their own; but the tribunes of the people, diſliking a project which kept great numbers of their adherents out of Rome and conſequently leſſened the ſtrength of their party in the comitia, aſſembled the tribes, and inveighed bitterly againſt the military tribunes, accuſing them of ambitious deſigns and cruelty, in keeping the troops all winter in the field. Appius whom the other military tribunes had left at Rome, in a long ſpeech, which he made to the people, expoſed the ſeditious and unreaſonable conduct of the tribunes. The people gave no great heed to Appius's remonſtrances; but a loſs,

The Romans inveſt Veii.

The Roman army kept in the field all winter.

which the beſiegers ſuſtained before the place, animated the plebeians, more than his prudent diſcourſe, to purſue the ſiege with vigour. The Veientes in a ſally ſurprized the Romans, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to their machines, and ruined in a few hours the work of many days. This misfortune, inſtead of ſinking the ſpirits of the Romans, inſpired them with new courage. The citizens, who had wealth enough to be placed in the firſt claſs among the knights, but had not yet received horſes from the republic, which ceremony was neceſſary to make a man a knight, went in a body to the ſenate, and offered to mount themſelves at their own expence and ſerve at the ſiege of Veii. The fathers accepted the offer; and the people, following the example of the new knights, declared themſelves ready to ſerve and ſupply the places of the ſoldiers who had been killed. The ſenate ordered the ſame pay to be given to the voluntiers as to the reſt of the army, and decreed at the ſame time, that for the future the cavalry likewiſe ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury [x].

The cavalry receive pay.

THE election of new military tribunes furniſhed the army with new generals. The ſix choſen were C. Servilius, Q. Sulpicius, Q. Servilius, A. Manlius, L. Virginius, and Manius Sergius. The Siege of Veii was carried on by the two latter; but as theſe two generals could not agree, each of them had a body of troops under his command, and, as it were, a ſeparate army. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginius covered the ſiege. While the army was thus divided, the Faliſci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and at the ſame time the beſieged ſallying out attacked him on the other ſide. The Romans under his command, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, began to loſe courage, and retire. Virginius could have ſaved his collegue's troops; for his forces were ranged in order of battle at a ſmall diſtance: but Sergius was too proud to ſend to him for ſuccour; and Virginius, tho' well appriſed of his danger, reſolved not to ſend him any, unleſs he aſked it. Thus the public good was ſacrificed to a private pique. The enemy made a dreadful ſlaughter of the Romans in their lines, but Sergius himſelf, having the good luck to eſcape, fled to Rome, not ſo much to juſtify his

The Romans routed before Veii.

[x] Liv. l. v. c. 3.

his own conduct, as to complain of that of his collegues. Hereupon Virginius was recalled, and both commanders ordered to give an account of their conduct to the ſenate, where they inveighed againſt each other with great acrimony. The conſcript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it adviſeable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year ſhould lay down their dignity, and the people immediately proceed to a new election. The four, who had been guilty of no fault, made no oppoſition to the decree; but the two, on whoſe account it had been made, proteſted againſt it, declaring, that they would not reſign their authority before the ides of December, the due time for its expiration. The tribunes of the people, thinking this a favourable opportunity for them to appear again and make ſome figure, threatened, with an air of authority, to ſend the two refractory magiſtrates to priſon, if they did not obey the ſenate. But Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, after having ſeverely reprimanded the tribunes of the people for treating his collegues in ſo haughty a manner, declared, that, if Sergius and Virginius continued obſtinate, he would name a dictator. Hereupon the two magiſtrates, finding it fruitleſs to reſiſt any longer, abdicated their magiſtracy, and the people choſe ſix new tribunes, viz. L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæſo Fabius, and Furius Camillus. Theſe new magiſtrates were ordered to begin anew the ſiege of Veii; but when the troops came to be raiſed, the tribunes of the people kindled freſh broils, by diſſuading the old ſoldiers, left in Rome to guard it, from paying the taxes, as if they were exempted from that burden by being inliſted. The diſturbances raiſed on this occaſion were ſo great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the people; however, the majority of theſe eight named two more, in defiance of the Trebonian law, which gave C. Trebonius, one of the preſent tribunes, an opportunity of drawing the hatred of the people upon three of his collegues; but they diverted the hatred of the public from themſelves, by turning it againſt Sergius and Virginius, the two generals of the laſt year, who were both cited to appear before the people, and condemned to pay a great fine for miſconduct. This proſecution had the deſigned effect; for the people were ſo intent

All the military tribunes of this year forced to abdicate.

upon it, that they forgot the Trebonian law, and their quarrel with the three tribunes [y].

THE tribunes, encouraged by the ſucceſs that attended them in the proſecution of Sergius and Virginius, renewed the domeſtic broils, and propoſed two laws; the firſt requiring a partition of the lands as formerly; the ſecond excuſing the people from any more contributions towards the ſoldiers pay; and, in fact, they would not ſuffer them to pay the taxes: ſo that the legions, being deprived of their ſubſiſtence, began to mutiny. But at length all was quieted, by chuſing a plebeian into the military tribuneſhip. His name was P. Licinius Calvus. The other five were, P. Mœlius, P. Mœnius, Sp. Furius, L. Titinius, and L. Publilius. Licinius, tho' a plebeian, was an old ſenator; for ſome time ſince the conſiderable plebeians had begun to be admitted into the ſenate. The tribunes of the people were ſo much rejoiced to ſee a plebeian raiſed to the ſupreme magiſtracy, that they dropped their oppoſition to the tax; ſo that the ſoldiers, receiving their pay again, took new courage, made themſelves maſters of Anxur, which belonged to the Volſci, and carried on the ſiege of Veii with great reſolution and perſeverance, tho' they ſuffered much from the ſevere cold of the winter.

A plebeian choſen military tribune.

LICINIUS having diſcharged his truſt with univerſal approbation, the centuries choſe for the year following five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only M. Veturius out of the patricians. The five were C. Duilius, L. Atinius, Cn. Genucius, M. Pomponius, and Volero Publilius. Their adminiſtration proved very glorious; for they carried on the ſiege of Veii with great vigor, and entirely defeated the confederate forces of the Faliſci and Capenates, who came to the relief of the beſieged city; but the extreme cold of the weather, changing of a ſudden to exceſſive heat, occaſioned a mortality both among men and cattle. Hereupon the Sibylline books being conſulted, the duumviri pretended to find there a new ſort of expiation. Three beds were placed in a temple round a plentiful table, and the ſtatues of Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune taken down from their niches, laid on the beds, and ſerved with magnificent repaſts for eight days together. Theſe public ceremonies were imitated in private families; every one kept open houſe for friends, ſtrangers,

Five plebeians military tribunes.

The ceremony of the lectiſternium

[y] Idem, c. 12.

ſtrangers, and even enemies; all law-ſuits, diſputes, and animoſities were ſuſpended, and the very priſoners releaſed to partake of the public rejoicings [z].

In the mean time the patricians, taking advantage of the preſent ſtate of affairs to recover the chief offices of the republic, and knowing the ſuperſtition of the people, attacked them on that ſide, and gave out, that the uncommon ſeverity of the winter the laſt year, and the preſent year's plague, were puniſhments from the gods, who were diſpleaſed to ſee all diſtinctions of families confounded, and plebeians placed in the higheſt offices. By this means and by propoſing only ſuch candidates to the centuries as were of ſuperior merit, they diſpoſed them to favour the nobility; and accordingly they reſtored the military tribuneſhip to the patrician order, raiſing to that office, L. Valerius, L. Furius, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius, and the famous Camillus, all patricians. During their adminiſtration, Rome was aſtoniſhed with a prodigy. It happened to be a very dry ſummer; but nevertheleſs the lake of Alba ſwelled on a ſudden to ſuch a height, as to cover the tops of the rocks which ſurrounded it; whereas it had never before reached to the foot of them. This ſtrange accident was much talked of in the camp before Veii; and, as in long ſieges the ſoldiers on both ſides frequently become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their different camps; but an old ſoldier of the Veientes one day, while the others were making merry with the prodigy, cried out in an enthuſiaſtic manner, Veii ſhall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba. A Roman centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing him, aſked who the old man was? and being informed that he was a diviner, made him priſoner by a ſtratagem, and carried him before the Roman general, who ſent him to the ſenate. The old man declared, that what he had ſaid was agreeable to an antient tradition written in ſome prophetic books of his country; and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, Veii would be taken: but he adviſed them to take particular care, that the drains, which ſhould be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the ſea. Tho' the ſenate was unwilling to truſt the bare

The lake of Alba overflows.

word

[z] Liv. l. v. c. 10. Sigonius & Pighius in faſt. Capitol.

word of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of ſuch conſequence, as to ſend a deputation of three patricians to Delphos, to conſult the oracle. Theſe returned the next year, while L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Poſthumius, A. Manlius, and P. Cornelius, all patricians, were military tribunes. The anſwer of the oracle was, to the great ſurprize of the ſenate and people, perfectly agreeable to the advice and prediction of the old man. The ſenate therefore immediately ſent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields in trenches. This wonderful work ſubſiſts to this day, and the waters of the lake Albano run through it [a]. The election of the preſent military tribunes being defective with regard to the auguries, they all abdicated, and, after a ſhort inter-regnum, were ſucceeded by ſix new ones, all plebeians, viz. L. Atinius, P. Mœlius, L. Titinius, P. Mœnius, Cn. Genucius, and P. Licinius. Atinius and Genucius marched with ſome troops to oppoſe a great body of Hetrurians, who were coming to attack the Roman entrenchments before Veii; but the two tribunes falling into an ambuſh, Genucius was killed, and his collegue driven out of the field. The news of this defeat ſo terrified the ſenate, that they had recourſe, as uſual in ſuch caſes, to a dictator. M. Furius Camillus was accordingly raiſed to that ſupreme dignity. He named P. Cornelius Scipio for general of the horſe, and ordered new troops to be raiſed. The people ſtrove who ſhould firſt liſt themſelves under the banners of ſo renowned a commander. The Latins and Hernici of their own accord ſent him a ſtrong ſupply of their choiceſt youth. On his firſt taking the field he came to a battle with the united forces of the Faliſci, Capenates, and Hetrurians, and having entirely defeated them, ſat down before Veii, and puſhed on the ſiege with incredible vigor; but the beſieged defending themſelves with more courage than ever, Camillus, deſpairing to carry by aſſault a place, which had a whole army for its garriſon, had recourſe to mines and ſapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into ſix companies, relieving one another, and the work continually advancing without interruption, a paſſage under ground was opened to the very caſtle. The dictator then

Canals are made to drain the lake.

M. Furius Camillus, dictator.

[a] Vide Kircher. vet. Lat. l. iii.

then thinking himſelf ſure of conqueſt, ſent to the ſenate, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. The queſtion was debated with great warmth; Appius Claudius was for having the rich plunder of Veii made a fund for the payment of the troops; but Licinius, thinking that this would give riſe to endleſs murmurs and ſeditions, propoſed, that the ſpoils ſhould be divided between the army and thoſe citizens who ſhould be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to all the citizens to go to the camp, and take their ſhare of the booty. Accordingly vaſt numbers flocked thither well armed, and joined the dictator's troops in the attack. The ſignal being given for the aſſault, part of the army ſcaled the walls, while the ſoldiers in the mine ſallied out, and ſpread themſelves in ſeveral bodies through the town. One fell upon thoſe who were defending the walls; another broke down the gates, and the whole Roman army entering the city, put all thoſe to the ſword who did not ſurrender their arms. Thus was the rich city of Veii taken, like a ſecond Troy, after a ten years ſiege. The booty, which was exceeding rich, was divided among the ſoldiers; but the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder, and the money ariſing from thence put into the public treaſury; but, tho' this was the only part of the ſpoil from which the public reaped any benefit, the people murmured at it, and inveighed both againſt the ſenate and dictator. The diſpleaſure of the multitude was encreaſed with regard to Camillus, by ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; for he entered the city in a ſtately chariot, drawn by four horſes all milk-white, and coloured his face with vermilion. White horſes, ſince the expulſion of the kings, had been allowed only to Jupiter and the ſun; and the ſtatues of the gods were commonly painted with vermilion. The people therefore, in the midſt of the praiſes, which they gave the dictator, could not, without a ſecret indignation, behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner, put him upon a level with the gods. What ſtill more incenſed the people againſt him was, his demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of Veii, to diſcharge a vow, which he had made to Apollo juſt before the aſſault, and afterwards forgot. This contribution at a wrong time irritated the people againſt him, and the tribunes gladly ſeized ſo favourable an occaſion of inveighing againſt

Veii taken after a ten years ſiege. Year after the flood 2608. Before Chriſt 391. Of Rome 357.

againſt him. In the mean time, it was propoſed to buy ſuch a vaſe of gold, with the produce of what the ſoldiers returned, as might ſhew Greece the magnificence of the Roman republic; but there being little gold to be found in the city, the ladies, of their own accord, contributed all their toys and ornaments, of which a vaſe with two handles was made, weighing eight talents; and three ſenators were ſent to Delphos with it. In return for the ladies generoſity, the republic granted them two favours, 1. That funeral orations ſhould be made for illuſtrious women, as for great men. 2. That they ſhould have leave to ride in chariots at the public games [b]

Sicinius Dentatus propoſes, that half of the ſenators, knights, &c. ſhould remove to Veii,

THE next year, the republic being under the government of ſix military tribunes, viz. P. Cornelius Coſſius, P. Cornelius Scipio, M. Valerius, Cæſo Fabius, L. Furius, and Q. Servilius, all patricians, Sicinius Dentatus, a tribune of the people, propoſed, that half of the ſenators, knights, and people of Rome ſhould remove to Veii and ſettle there. The affair, according to cuſtom, was carried before the ſenate; and the fathers, eſpecially Camillus, oppoſed it with great warmth. They feared, that two ſuch cities would, by degrees, become two different ſtates, which, after a deſtructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies. They therefore proteſted, that they would ſooner die than conſent to ſo unreaſonable a law. By this means, Camillus and the other ſenators, after much ſtruggle, brought this project to nothing. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by Camillus to this law, he was choſen one of the ſix military tribunes for the year following. His collegues were, L. Furius, P. Cornelius Scipio, C. Æmilius, Sp. Poſthumius, and L. Valerius. The conduct of the war againſt the Faliſci being committed to the care of Camillus, he beſieged Falerii, their capital city, and ſurrounded it with lines; but at ſo great diſtance from the walls, that there was ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger. The Faliſci had brought from Greece the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all the branches of polite literature, to take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes pro-

[b] Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. v. c. 21, 25.

proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue that exerciſe afterwards. But the preſent ſchool-maſter proved a traitor; he at firſt led the youth only along the walls; then he carried them a little farther; and at length, when a favourable opportunity offered, he led them through the guards of the Roman camp, quite to the general's tent. As they were the children of the beſt families in the place, their treacherous leader, when he came into Camillus's preſence, addreſſed him thus: With theſe children I deliver the place you beſiege into your hands. They were committed to my care and tuition; but I prefer the friendſhip of Rome to my employment at Falerii. Camillus, ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to ſtrip the traitor, to tie his hands behind him, and to furniſh the youth with rods to whip him back again into the city. The Faliſci, moved by this generous action, immediately ſent a deputation to Camillus to treat of a ſurrender, tho' they had a little before proteſted, that they would rather undergo the fate of the Veientes, than ſubmit to Rome. Camillus, out of modeſty, referred the deputies to the ſenate, which they addreſſed in the following manner: Rome, conſcript fathers, has juſt now gained a victory over us, which can never be ſhameful to us in the ſight either of gods or men. We ſubmit to you out of a perſuaſion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the laws of a republic, in which juſtice and probity reign. The Romans and Faliſci are this day giving two great examples to poſterity; you, in preferring juſtice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than to the force of arms. We ſurrender ourſelves into your hands. Command the Faliſci to lay down their arms, to give you hoſtages, and to receive a Roman garriſon, and we will obey and open our gates. We ſhall never repent of ſubjecting ourſelves to your government; nor ſhall you ever have reaſon to complain of our being unfaithful to you. The ſenate heard this diſcourſe with pleaſure; but left to Camillus the terms of the peace which was to be made with the Faliſci, not as conquered people, but as with a nation which voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of the republic. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, and demanded only the expences of the preſent campaign. He then led back his army to Rome, where his ſoldiers encreaſed

The Faliſci overcome by the generoſity of Camillus, ſubmit to Rome.

creaſed the number of his enemies. They had promiſed themſelves great riches from the plunder of Falerii, and thinking Camillus had given the Faliſci better terms than they deſerved, they looked on their general as an enemy to the people, and as one, who was no-ways inclined to promote their intereſt; ſo that the hatred of the multitude to this hero encreaſed as faſt as his reputation [c].

The Æqui defeated.

WHILE Camillus was thus employed, two of his colleagues, Æmilius and Poſthumius, having united their forces, defeated the Æqui in a pitched battle; but while the arms of the republic proſpered abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the time came for electing tribunes of the people, the multitude was for continuing thoſe who had propoſed the law for going to Veii; and the patricians were for re-electing thoſe who had oppoſed it; but the former prevailing in the comitia by tribes, the promoters of the law were re-choſen. Hereupon the patricians, in revenge, reſolved, if poſſible, to reſtore the conſular government; and accordingly, in the comitia by centuries, where they had moſt ſway, L. Lucretius Flavus and Severus Sulpitius Camerinus were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, Sicinius the tribune uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get the law paſſed for removing half of the people and ſenate to Veii. A. Virginius and Q. Pomponius, two of the tribunes of the people for the laſt year, who had oppoſed it, were cited to appear before the tribes, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs. The whole ſenate was offended at this ſentence, but eſpecially Camillus, who adviſed the conſcript fathers to appear in the comitium, when the tribes aſſembled to determine the affair, as men prepared to defend their temples, their houſhold gods, and their country. Accordingly the patricians, by tears, entreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, tho' it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the ſenate was ſo well pleaſed with the people, that the very next morning a decree was paſſed, aſſigning ſix acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, made no oppoſition to the election of conſuls. L. Valerius Potitus

[c] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 27.

Potitus and M. Manlius Capitolinus were raiſed to the conſulate, and began their year by performing the vow, made by Camillus when dictator, to celebrate the great games. Of theſe there were two ſorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of September, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; the other, called votive or extraordinary, had no fixed day, and was celebrated in honour of Jupiter only. This year the Volſinii, one of the twelve Hetrurian nations, alarmed at the fate of Veii and Falerii, took arms againſt Rome, and, being joined by the Salpinates, made incurſions into the Roman territory; but a contagious diſtemper made the republic ſuſpend her revenge. The two conſuls being ſeized with it, the ſuperſtitious multitude imagined they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen. They were therefore ordered by the ſenate to reſign. Upon their reſignation an inter-regnum enſued, during which the republic was governed by three preſidents, Valerius Potitus, (not the conſul) Camillus, and Cornelius Scipio, who ſucceeded each other for a few days. Valerius held an aſſembly for the election of ſix military tribunes, which ſort of government was now re-eſtabliſhed, that, in caſe ſome of the ſupreme magiſtrates were infected with the contagion, there might ſtill be others to take care of the public welfare. By a cenſus taken this year it appeared, that the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred fifty-two thouſand five hundred and eighty-three. No wonder therefore that numerous armies were often raiſed within the walls of Rome itſelf. The troops, ſince their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field ſummer and winter. They had never had a more gallant or experienced commander than Camillus. The frontiers of the republic were now extended above ſixty miles beyond the Tiber; and the people ſeemed to be in a ſettled tranquillity and perfectly reconciled to the ſenate; but this unuſual proſperity was interrupted by the Gauls, a memorable event, which almoſt ruined the Roman nation.

Conſuls created inſtead of military tribunes.

An interregnum.

Military tribunes elected anew.

GAUL was antiently divided into three parts, viz. Gallia Belgica, Gallia Celtica, and Gallia Aquitanica. The firſt reached from the Britiſh ſea to the Seine; the ſecond comprehended all the country between the Seine and the Garonne, quite to the Alps; the third contained all that tract of ground which lies between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the weſtern ocean. The Celtæ, or the inhabitants

Several invaſions of Italy by the Gauls.

habitants of Gallia Celtica, were the only Gauls, who, at different times, croſſed the Alps and ſettled in Italy. The firſt invaſion of Italy by the Gauls happened about the year of Rome 160, during the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus; when Ambigatus, king of the Celtæ, finding his dominions overſtocked, ſent away vaſt numbers of his ſubjects to ſeek their fortune, under the command of his two nephews, Segoveſus and Belloveſus. The former took his way through the Hercinian foreſt, and ſettled in a canton of Germany, ever ſince called Bohemia or Boïemia, from the word Boii, the greateſt part of his followers being of the Celtic nation which was ſo named; but theſe, being afterwards driven from thence by the Marcomani or Sclavonians, retired into that country, which lies between the Inn and the Iſer, and which from them took the name of Boiaria, or Bavaria. As for Belloveſus, he croſſed the Rhone, and, paſſing the Alps, poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe countries which are at preſent known by the names of Piedmont and Lombardy, after having driven out the Hetrurians, who then held them. A ſecond irruption into Italy was made by the Cænomani, or thoſe people of Gallia Celtica who dwelt between the mouths of the Seine and the Loire, under the conduct of one Elitouis. Theſe new adventurers ſettled in the preſent Breſciano, Cremoneſe, Mantuano, Carniola, and the territories now ſubject to the republic of Venice. The Læves, or Lævi, and the Ananes made the third irruption into Italy; the former ſeized the country of Novara, on the north ſide of the Po; and the latter that of Piacenza, on the ſouth ſide of the ſame river. The fourth tranſmigration of the Gauls into Italy was, when the Boii and Lingones paſſed the Alpes Penninæ, and ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the Po, between Bologna and Ravenna. Two hundred years after the invaſion by Belloveſus, the Senones, who poſſeſſed that part of Gaul which lies between Paris and Meaux, made a fifth irruption into Italy; which was occaſioned by the following accident: Arunx, one of the chief men of Cluſium in Hetruria, had been guardian to a young Leucumo, or lord of a leucumony, and had educated him in his houſe from his infancy. The Leucumo, as ſoon as he was of an age to feel the force of a paſſion, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and, havingupon the firſt diſcovery of their intrigue, conveyed her away, Arunx endeavoured to obtain reparation for the injury he had received; but the Leucumo, by his intereſt

and

and money, gained over the magiſtrates; ſo that the injured guardian, finding no protectors in Hetruria, reſolved to make his application to the Gauls. The people, among all the Celtic nations, to whom he choſe to addreſs himſelf, were the Senones; and, in order to engage them in his quarrel, he acquainted them with the great plenty of Italy, and made them taſte of ſome Italian wines. Upon this the Senones reſolved to follow him; and a numerous army was immediately formed, which paſſing the Alps, under the conduct of their Hetrurian guide, and leaving the Celtæ in Italy unmoleſted, fell upon Umbria, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country from Ravenna to Picenum. They were about ſix years in ſettling themſelves in their new acquiſitions, while the Romans were carrying on the ſiege of Veii. At length Arunx brought the Senones before Cluſium, in order to beſiege that place, his wife and her lover having ſhut themſelves up there. The Romans, notwithſtanding the daily conqueſts made by the Gauls, ſeem to have been under no apprehenſion of any danger from them; for at this time the great Camillus, the only general they had capable of making head againſt ſuch formidable neighbours, was accuſed by Apuleius, one of the tribunes of the people, of having applied to his own uſe ſome ſpoils taken from the Hetrurians, particularly a braſs door brought from Veii. His friends, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to protect him, promiſed to pay the fine which ſhould be laid upon him; but Camillus, having too great a ſoul to bear the affront of a public condemnation, retired from Rome and went of his own accord into baniſhment. He was no ſooner gone, than envoys arrived from the Cluſini, imploring the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt the Senones. The ſenate, being unwilling to engage in an open war with a nation which had never offended them, ſent an embaſſy of three young patricians, all brothers and of the Fabian family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Theſe embaſſadors, being arrived at the camp of the Gauls and conducted into the council, offered the mediation of Rome, and demanded of Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, What injury the Cluſini had done him? or what pretenſions any people from a remote country could have upon Hetruria? Brennus anſwered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having

Cluſium beſieged by the Gauls.

A malicious accuſation brought againſt Camillus, who baniſhes himſelf.

Brennus's anſwer to the Roman envoys.

recourſe

recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had a juſt complaint againſt the Cluſini, who, having more lands than they could cultivate, had refuſed to yield to him thoſe they left untilled: "And what other motives had you your "ſelves, Romans," ſaid he, "to conquer ſo many "neighbouring nations? You have deprived the Sabines, "the Albans, the Fidenates, the Æqui, and the Volſci "of the beſt part of their territories. Not that we accuſe "you of injuſtice; but it is evident, that you thought "this to be the prime and moſt antient of all laws, To "make the weak give way to the ſtrong. Forbear there-"fore to intereſt yourſelves for the Cluſini, or allow us to "take the part of the people you have ſubdued." The Fabii were highly provoked at ſo haughty an anſwer; but, diſſembling their reſentment, deſired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magiſtrates. But they were no ſooner there, than they began to ſtir up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence; nay, forgetting their character, they put themſelves at the head of the beſieged in a ſally, in which Q. Fabius, the chief of the embaſſadors, ſlew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the Gauls. Hereupon Brennus, calling the gods to witneſs the perfidiouſneſs of the Romans and their violating the law of nations, immediately broke up the ſiege of Cluſium, and marched leiſurely to Rome, having ſent an herald before him to demand, that thoſe embaſſadors, who had ſo manifeſtly violated the law of nations, ſhould be delivered up to him. The Roman ſenate was greatly perplexed, between their regard for the law of nations and their affection for the Fabii. The wiſeſt of the ſenate thought the demand of the Gauls to be but juſt and reaſonable; however, as it concerned perſons of great conſequence and credit, the conſcript fathers referred the affair to the people aſſembled by curiæ. As the Fabian family was very popular, the curiæ were ſo far from condemning the three brothers, that, at the next election of military tribunes, they were choſen the firſt. Brennus, looking upon the promotion of the Fabii as an high affront on his nation, haſtened his march to Rome. As his army was very numerous, the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which he paſſed, left their habitations at his approach; but he ſtopped no where, declaring that his deſign was only to be revenged on the Romans. The ſix military tribunes, viz. Q. Fabius, Cæſo Fabius, Caius Fabius, Q. Sulpicius,

The imprudent behaviour of the Roman ambaſſadors.

Sulpicius, Q. Servilius, and Sextus Cornelius marched out of Rome, at the head of forty thouſand men, without either ſacrificing to the gods, or conſulting the auſpices, eſſential ceremonies among a people that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious ſigns which the augurs declared to them. As moſt of the military tribunes were young, and men of more valour than experience, they advanced boldly againſt the Gauls, whoſe army was ſeventy thouſand ſtrong. The two armies met near the river Allia, about ſixty furlongs from Rome. The Romans, that they might not be ſurrounded by the enemy, extended their wings ſo far as to make their center very thin. Their beſt troops, to the number of twenty-four thouſand men, they poſted between the river and the adjoining hills; the reſt they placed on the hills. The Gauls firſt attacked the latter, who being ſoon put into confuſion, the forces in the plain were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they fled without drawing their ſwords. In this general diſorder moſt of the ſoldiers, inſtead of returning to Rome, fled to Veii; ſome were drowned as they endeavoured to ſwim croſs the Tiber; many fell in the purſuit by the ſword of the conquerors, and ſome got to Rome, which they filled with terror and conſternation, it being believed there that all the reſt were cut off. The day after the battle, Brennus marched his troops into the neighbourhood of Rome, and encamped ou the banks of the Anio. Thither his ſcouts brought him word, that the gates of the city lay open, and that not one Roman was to be ſeen on the ramparts. This made him apprehenſive of ſome ambuſcade, it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Romans would abandon their city, to be plundered and ſacked, without making any reſiſtance. On this conſideration he advanced ſlowly, which gave the Romans an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the proviſions they could get; and, that they might laſt the longer, admitted none into the place, but ſuch as were capable of defending it. As for the city, they had not ſufficient forces to defend it, and therefore the old men, women, and children, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, fled to the neighbouring towns. The Veſtals, before they left Rome, took care to hide every thing appropriated to the gods, which they could not carry off. The two palladiums and the ſacred fire they took with them. When they came to the Janiculum, one Albinius, a plebeian, who was conveying his

The Romans defeated by the Gauls, on the banks of the Allia.

The city of Rome abandoned by its inhabitants.

his wife and children in a carriage to a place of ſafety, ſeeing the ſacred virgins bending under their load and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the prieſteſſes and their gods into the carriage, and conducted them to Cære, a city of Hetruria, where they met with a favourable reception. The Veſtals remained at Cære, and there continued to perform the uſual rites of religion; and hence thoſe rites were called ceremonies. But while the reſt of the citizens at Rome were providing for their ſafety, about fourſcore of the moſt illuſtrious and venerable old men, rather than fly from their native city, choſe to devote themſelves to death by a vow, which Fabius the high pontiff pronounced in their names. The Romans believed, that by theſe voluntary devotements to the infernal gods diſorder and confuſion was brought among the enemy. Of theſe brave old men ſome were pontifices, others had been conſuls, and others generals of armies who had been honoured with triumphs. To complete their ſacrifice with a ſolemnity and pomp becoming the magnanimity and conſtancy of the Romans, they dreſſed themſelves in their pontifical, conſular, and triumphal, robes, and repairing to the forum, ſeated themſelves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greateſt conſtancy [d].

Brennus enters Rome.

At length Brennus, having ſpent three days in uſeleſs precautions, entered the city the fourth day after the battle. He found the gates open, the walls without defence, and the houſes without inhabitants. Rome appeared to him like a mere deſart; and this ſolitude encreaſed his anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the Romans were lodged in the capitol, or that ſo numerous a people ſhould abandon the place of their nativity. On the other hand, he could no where ſee any armed men but on the walls of the citadel. However, having firſt ſecured all the avenues to the capitol with ſtrong bodies of guards, he gave the reſt of his ſoldiers leave to diſperſe themſelves all over the city and plunder it. Brennus himſelf advanced into the forum with the troops under his command in good order; and there he was ſtruck with admiration at the unexpected ſight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death. Their magnificent habits, the majeſty of their countenances, the ſilence they kept, their modeſty and conſtancy at the

[d] Plut. in Camill. Liv. l. v. c. 37.

the approach of his troops, made him take them for ſo many deities. For they continued as motionleſs as ſtatues, and ſaw the enemy advance without ſhewing the leaſt concern. The Gauls kept a great while at an awful diſtance from them, being afraid to come near them. But at length, one ſoldier, bolder than the reſt, having out of curioſity touched the beard of M. Papirius, the venerable old man, not being uſed to ſuch familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory ſtaff. The ſoldier in revenge immediately killed him, and the reſt of the Gauls, following his example, ſlaughtered all thoſe venerable old men without mercy. After this the enemy ſet no bounds to their rage and fury. They plundered all places, dragging ſuch of the Romans as had ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, into the ſtreets, and there putting them to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Brennus then inveſted the capitol, but being repulſed with great loſs, in order to be revenged of the Romans for their reſiſtance, he reſolved to lay the city in aſhes. Accordingly, by his command, the ſoldiers ſet fire to the houſes, demoliſhed the temples and public edifices, and razed the walls to the ground. Thus was the famous city of Rome entirely deſtroyed; nothing was to be ſeen in the place where it ſtood, but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which the Gauls, who inveſted the capitol, were encamped. Brennus, finding he ſhould never be able to take a place, which nature had ſo well fortified, otherwiſe than by famine, turned the ſiege into a blockade. But, in the mean time, his army being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he ſent out parties to pillage the fields and raiſe contributions in the neighbouring cities. One of theſe parties appeared before Ardea, where the great Camillus had now ſpent two years in a private life. Notwithſtanding the affront he had received at Rome, the love he bore his country was not in the leaſt diminiſhed. The ſenate of Ardea being met to deliberate on the meaſures to be taken with relation to the Gauls, Camillus, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own baniſhment, deſired to be admitted into the council, where with his eloquence he prevailed upon the Ardeates to arm their youth in their own defence, and refuſe the Gauls admittance into their city. Hereupon the Gauls encamped before the city; and as they deſpiſed the Ardeates, after they had made themſelves maſters of Rome, they preſerved neither order nor diſcipline in their camp, but ſpent whole days in drinking. Hereupon Camillus, having eaſily perſuaded the

Rome burnt by the Gauls. Year of the flood 2614. Before Chriſt 385. Of Rome 363.

Camillus at the head of the Ardeates makes a great ſlaughter of the Gauls

youth of the city to follow him, marched out of Ardea in a very dark night, ſurprized the Gauls drowned in wine, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. Thoſe who made their eſcape, under the ſhelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peaſants, by whom they were maſſacred without mercy. This defeat of the enemy revived the courage of the Romans ſcattered about the country, eſpecially thoſe who had retired to Veii after the unfortunate battle of Allia. There was not one of them who did not condemn himſelf for the exile of Camillus, as if he had been the author of it; and, looking upon that great man as their laſt reſource, they reſolved to chuſe him for their leader. Accordingly, they ſent without delay embaſſadors to him, beſeeching him to take into his protection the fugitive Romans and the wrecks of the defeat at Allia. But Camillus would not accept of the command of the troops, till the people aſſembled by curiæ had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the public authority was lodged in the hands of thoſe who were ſhut up in the citadel, and therefore would undertake nothing at the head of the Roman troops, till a commiſſion was brought him from thence. To do this was very difficult, the place being inveſted on all ſides by the enemy. However, one Pontius Cominius, a man of mean birth, but bold and very ambitious of glory, undertook it. He put on a light habit, and, providing himſelf with cork to keep the longer above water, threw himſelf into the Tiber above Rome in the beginning of the night, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried down with the ſtream. At length he came to the foot of the capitol, and landed at a ſteep place, where the Gauls had not thought it neceſſary to poſt any centinels. There he mounted with great difficulty to the rampart of the citadel, and having made himſelf known to the guard, he was admitted into the place and conducted to the magiſtrates. The ſenate being immediately aſſembled, Pontius gave them an account of Camillus's victory, and in the name of all the Romans at Veii demanded that great captain for their general. There was not much time ſpent in debates: the curiæ being called together, the act of condemnation, which had been paſſed on Camillus, was abrogated, and he named dictator with one voice. Pontius was immediately diſpatched with the decree, and the ſame good fortune which had attended him to the capitol, accompanied him in his return. Thus was

Camillus nominated dictator.

Camil'us

Camillus, from the ſtate of baniſhment, raiſed at once to be ſovereign magiſtrate of his country. He was indeed proclaimed dictator in his abſence, contrary to cuſtom. But this was a ſmall defect in point of form only, which the neceſſities of the ſtate made very excuſable. His promotion to the command was no ſooner known, but ſoldiers flocked from all parts to his camp; inſomuch, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty-thouſand men, partly Romans, and partly allies, who all thought themſelves invincible under ſo great a general [e].

WHILE he was taking proper meaſures to raiſe the blockade of the citadel, ſome Gauls, rambling round the place, perceived, on the ſide of the hill, the print of Pontus's hands and feet. They obſerved likewiſe, that the moſs on the rocks was in ſeveral places torn up. From theſe marks they concluded, that ſome-body had lately gone up to, and returned from, the capitol. The Gauls immediately made their report to Brennus of what they had obſerved; and that experienced commander laid a deſign, which he imparted to no-body, of ſurprizing the place by the ſame way that the Roman had aſcended. With this view he choſe out of his army ſuch ſoldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accuſtomed from their youth to climb precipices. Theſe he ordered, after he had well examined the nature of the place, to aſcend in the night the ſame way that was marked out for them, climbing two abreaſt, that one might ſupport the other in getting up the ſteep parts of the precipice. By this means they advanced, with much difficulty and more danger, from rock to rock, till they arrived at the foot of the wall. They proceeded with ſuch ſilence, that they were not heard or diſcovered, either by the centinels who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs, that are uſually awaked and alarmed at the leaſt noiſe. But, though they eluded the ſagacity of the dogs, they could not eſcape the vigilance of the geeſe. A flock of theſe birds was kept in a court of the capitol, in honour of Juno, and near her temple. Notwithſtanding the want of proviſions in the garriſon, they had been ſpared out of religion; and as theſe creatures are naturally quick of hearing, they were alarmed at the firſt approach of the Gauls; ſo that running up and down, with their cackling and beating of their wings,

[e] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 46, 47.

Manlius ſaves the capitol.

they awaked Manlius, a gallant ſoldier, who ſome years before had been conſul. He ſounded an alarm, and was the firſt man who mounted the rampart, where he found two Gauls already upon the wall. One of them offered to diſcharge a blow at him with his battle-axe; but Manlius cut off his right hand at one blow, and gave the other ſuch a puſh with his buckler, that he threw him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. He in his fall drew many others with him; and in the mean time the Romans, crouding to the place, preſſed upon the Gauls and tumbled them one over another. As the nature of the ground would not ſuffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to fly, moſt of them, to avoid the ſwords of the enemy, threw themſelves down the precipice, ſo that very few got ſafe back to their camp [f].

As it was the cuſtom of the Romans at that time not to ſuffer any commendable action to go unrewarded, the tribune Sulpicius aſſembled his troops the next morning, in order to beſtow the military rewards on thoſe who the night before had deſerved them. Among theſe Manlius was firſt named, and, in acknowledgment of the important ſervice he had juſt rendered the ſtate, every ſoldier gave him part of the corn which he received ſparingly from the public ſtock, and a little meaſure of wine out of his ſcanty allowance. An inconſiderable preſent indeed in itſelf, but very acceptable, at that time, to the perſon on whom it was beſtowed. The tribune's next care was to puniſh the negligent; accordingly, the captain of the guard, who ought to have had an eye over the centinels, was condemned to die, and, purſuant to his ſentence, thrown down from the top of the capitol. The Romans extended their puniſhments and rewards even to the animals. Geeſe were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a gooſe was erected in memory of them, and a gooſe every year carried in triumph upon a ſoft litter finely adorned; whilſt dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year empaled one of them on a branch of elder [g].

THE blockade of the capitol had already laſted ſeven months; ſo that the famine began to be very ſenſibly felt, both

[f] Liv. l. v. c. 48. Plut. ibid. & de Fortuna Rom. [g] Plut. & Plin. de Fort. Rom.

both by the beſieged and the beſiegers. Camillus, ſince his nomination to the dictatorſhip, being maſter of the country, had poſted ſtrong guards on all the roads; ſo that the Gauls dared not ſtir out for fear of being cut to pieces. Thus Brenus, who beſieged the capitol, was beſieged himſelf, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies, which he made the Romans undergo. Beſides, a plague raged in his camp, which was placed in the midſt of the ruins of the demoliſhed city, his men lying confuſedly among the dead carcaſſes of the Romans, whom they had ſlain and not buried. So great a number of them died in one quarter of the city, that it was afterwards called Buſta Gallica, or the place where the dead bodies of the Gauls were burnt. But, in the mean time, the Romans in the capitol were more pinched with want than the Gauls. They were reduced to the laſt extremity, and at the ſame time ignorant, both of the lamentable condition to which the enemy's army was brought, and of the ſteps Camillus was taking to relieve them. That great general only waited for a favourable opportunity to fall upon the enemy; but, in the mean time, ſuffered them to pine away in their infected camp, not knowing the extreme want the Romans endured in the capitol, where they were ſo deſtitute of all ſorts of proviſion, that they could no longer ſubſiſt. Matters being brought to this ſad paſs on both ſides, the centinels of the capitol and thoſe of the enemy's army began to talk to one another of an accommodation. Their diſcourſes came at length to the ears of their leaders, who were not averſe to the deſign. The ſenate not knowing what was become of Camillus, and finding themſelves hard pinched by hunger, reſolved to enter upon a negotiation, and impowered Sulpicius, one of the military tribunes, to treat with the Gauls, who made no great difficulty in coming to terms, they being no leſs deſirous than the Romans to put an end to the war. In a conference therefore between Brennus and Sulpicius, an agreement was made and ſworn to. The Romans were to pay to the Gauls a thouſand pounds weight of gold, that is, forty-five thouſand pounds ſterling, and the latter were to raiſe the ſiege of the capitol and quit all the Roman territories. On the day appointed Sulpicius brought the ſum agreed on, and Brennus the ſcales and weights; for there were no gold or ſilver coins at that time, metals paſſing only by weight. We are told, that the weights of the Gauls were falſe, and their

Both the Gauls and Romans reduced to great ſtreights.

their ſcales untrue, which Sulpicius complaining of, Brennus, inſtead of redreſſing the injuſtice, threw his ſword and belt into the ſcale where the weights were; and when the tribune aſked him the meaning of ſo extraordinary a behaviour, the only anſwer he gave was, Væ victis, Wo to the conquered. Sulpicius was ſo ſtung with this haughty anſwer, that he was for carrying the gold back into the capitol and ſuſtaining the ſiege to the laſt extremity; but others thought it adviſeable to put up that affront, ſince they had ſubmited to a far greater one, which was to pay any thing at all. During theſe diſputes of the Roman deputies among themſelves and with the Gauls, Camillus advanced with his army to the very gates of the city, and being there informed of what was doing, he commanded the main body to follow him ſlowly and in good order, while he, with the choiceſt of his men, haſtened to the place of the parly. The Romans overjoyed at his unexpected arrival, opened to make room for him, as the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic, gave him an account of the treaty they had made with the Gauls, and complained of the wrong Brennus did them in the execution of it. They had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when Camillus cried out, "Carry back this gold into the capitol, and "you, Gauls, retire with your ſcales and weights. Rome "muſt not be redeemed with gold, but with ſteel." Brennus replied, that he contravened a treaty, which was concluded and confirmed with mutual oaths. "Be it ſo," anſwered Camillus, "yet it is of no force, having been made "by an inferior magiſtrate without the privity or conſent of "the dictator. I, who am inveſted with the ſupreme autho-"rity over the Romans, declare the contract void." At theſe words Brennus flew into a rage, and both ſides drawing their ſwords, a confuſed ſcuffle enſued among the ruins of the houſes and in the narrow lanes. The Gauls, after an inconſiderable loſs, thought fit to retire within their camp, which they abandoned in the night, not caring to engage Camillus's whole army, and, having marched eight miles, encamped on the Gabinian way. Camillus purſued them as ſoon as it was day, and coming up with them, gave them a total overthrow. The Gauls, according to Livy, made but a faint reſiſtance, being diſheartened at the loſs they had ſuſtained the day before. "It was not," ſays that author, "ſo much a battle as a ſlaughter." Many of the Gauls were ſlain in the action, more in the purſuit; but the greater number were cut off, as they wandered up and down the

Camillus ſurprizes Brennus, and drives the Gauls from Rome.

the fields, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. In ſhort, there was not one ſingle Gaul left to carry his countrymen the news of this fatal cataſtrophe. The camp of the barbarians was plundered; and Camillus, loaded with ſpoils, returned in triumph to the city, the ſoldiers in their ſongs ſtiling him Romulus, father of his country, and ſecond founder of Rome [h].

The Gauls all to a man cut off.

As the houſes of Rome were all demoliſhed and the walls razed, the tribunes of the people renewed, with more warmth than ever, an old project, which had occaſioned great diſputes. They had formerly propoſed a law for dividing the ſenate and government between the cities of Veii and Rome. Now this law was revived, nay, moſt of the tribunes were for entirely abandoning their old ruined city, and making Veii the ſole ſeat of the empire. The people were inclined to favour this project, Veii offering them a place fortified by art and nature, good houſes ready built, a wholeſome air, and a fruitful territory. On the other hand, they had no materials for rebuilding a whole city, were quite exhauſted by misfortunes, and even their ſtrength was greatly diminiſhed. This gave them a reluctance to ſo great an undertaking, and emboldened the tribunes to utter ſeditious harangues againſt Camillus, as a man too ambitious of being reſtorer of Rome. They even inſinuated, that the name of Romulus, which had been given him, threatened the republic with a new king. But the ſenate took the part of Camillus, and, being deſirous to ſee Rome rebuilt, continued him, contrary to cuſtom, a whole year in the office of dictator; during which time, he made it his whole buſineſs to ſuppreſs the ſtrong inclination of the people to remove to Veii. Having aſſembled the curiæ, he expoſtulated with them upon the matter, and, by arguments drawn from prudence, religion, and glory, prevailed upon them to lay aſide all thoughts of leaving Rome. As it was neceſſary to have the reſolution of the people confirmed by the ſenate, the dictator reported it to the conſcript fathers, leaving every one at free liberty to vote as he pleaſed. While L. Lucretius, who was to give his opinion the firſt, was beginning to ſpeak, it happened, that a centurion, who with his company had been upon guard, and was then marching by the ſenate-houſe, cried out aloud, Plant your colours, Enſign. This is the beſt place to ſtay in. Theſe words were conſidered as dictated by the gods themſelves, and Lucretius taking occaſion from them to urge the neceſſity of ſtaying at Rome, A happy omen, cried he, I adore the gods who gave it.

Camillus continued dictator.

[h] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. v. c. 49.

it. The whole ſenate applauded his words, and a decree was paſſed, without oppoſition, for rebuilding the city [i].

THOUGH the tribunes of the people were defeated by Camillus in this point, they reſolved to exerciſe their authority againſt another patrician, who had indeed deſerved puniſhment. This was Q. Fabius, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occaſioned the burning of Rome. His crime being notorious, he was ſummoned by C. Martius Rutilus before the aſſembly of the people, to anſwer for his conduct in his embaſſy. The criminal had reaſon to fear the ſevereſt puniſhment; but his relations gave out that he died ſuddenly, which generally happened, when the accuſed perſon had courage enough to prevent his condemnation and the ſhame of the public puniſhment. On the other hand, the republic gave a houſe ſituate on the capitol to M. Manlius, as a monument of his valour and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. Camillus cloſed this year by laying down his dictatorſhip; whereupon an interregnum enſued, during which he governed the ſtate alternately with P. Cornelius Scipio, and it fell to his lot to preſide at the election of new magiſtrates, when L. Valerius Poplicola, L. Virginius Tricoſtus, P. Cornelius Coſſus, A. Manlius Capitolinus, L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and L. Poſthumius Albinus were choſen. The firſt care of theſe new magiſtrates was, to collect all the antient monuments of the religious and civil laws of Rome, which could be found among the ruins of the demoliſhed city. The laws of the twelve tables, and ſome of the laws of the kings, had been written on braſs and fixed up in the forum; and the treaties made with ſeveral nations had been engraven on pillars erected in the temples. Pains was therefore taken to gather up the remains of theſe precious monuments; and what could not be found was ſupplied by memory. The pontifices on their part took care to re-eſtabliſh the religious ceremonies, and made alſo a liſt of lucky and unlucky days.

Q. Fabius is cited before the people but lays violent hands on himſelf.

AND now the governors of the republic applied themſelves wholly to rebuild the city. Plutarch tells us, that as the workmen were digging among the ruins of the temple of Mars, they found Romulus's augural ſtaff untouched by the flames; and that this was looked upon as a prodigy, from whence the Romans inferred, that their city would continue for

[i] Plut. ibid. Liv l. v. c. 51.

for ever. The expence of rebuilding private houſes was partly defrayed out of the public treaſure. The ædiles had the direction of the works, but ſo little taſte for order or beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even leſs regular than in the time of Romulus. And though in Auguſtus's time, when Rome became the capital of the known world, the temples, palaces, and private houſes were built in a more magnificent manner than before, yet even then theſe new decorations did not rectify the faults of the plan, upon which the city had been built after its firſt demolition.

CHAP. IV.

From the rebuilding of Rome to the firſt Punic or Carthaginian war.

ROME was ſcarce reſtored, when her citizens were alarmed by the news that all her neighbours were combining to her deſtruction. The Æqui, the Volſci, the Hetrurians, and even her old allies the Latins and the Hernici, entered into an alliance againſt her, in hopes of oppreſſing her before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. The republic under this terror nominated Camillus dictator a third time. This great commander, having appointed C. Servilius to be his general of horſe, ſummoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies. The firſt, under the command of A. Manlius, he ordered to encamp under the walls of Rome; the ſecond he ſent into the neighbourhood of Veii, and marched himſelf at the head of the third to relieve the tribunes, who were cloſely beſieged in their camp by the united forces of the Volſci and Latins. He, finding the enemy encamped near Lanuvium on the declivity of the hill Marcius, poſted himſelf behind the hill, and, by lighting fires, gave the diſtreſſed Romans notice of his arrival. The Volſci and Latins, when they underſtood thatCamillus was, at the head

Camillus a third time named dictator.

head of an army, newly arrived, were ſo terrified, that they ſhut themſelves up in their camp, which they fortified with great trees cut down in haſte. The dictator obſerving, that this barrier was of green wood, and that every morning there aroſe a great wind, which blew full upon the enemy's camp, formed the deſign of taking it by fire. With this view he ordered one part of his army to go by break of day with fire, brands to the windward ſide of the camp, and the other to make a briſk attack on the oppoſite ſide. By this means the enemy was entirely defeated and their camp taken. Camillus then ordered his men to extinguiſh the flames, in order to ſave the booty, with which he rewarded his army, a bounty the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected from the rigid dictator. He then left his ſon in the camp to guard the priſoners, and entering the country of the Æqui, made himſelf maſter of their capital city Bola. From thence he marched againſt the Volſci, whom he entirely reduced after they had waged war with the Romans for the ſpace of an hundred and ſeven years. Having ſubdued this untractable people, he penetrated into Hetruria, in order to relieve Sutrium, a town in that country in alliance with Rome, and beſieged by a numerous army of Hetrurians. But, notwithſtanding all the expedition Camillus could uſe, he did not reach the place before it had capitulated. The Sutrini, being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions and exhauſted with labour, had ſurrendered to the Hetrurians, who had granted them nothing but their lives and the cloaths on their backs. In this deſtitute condition they had left their own country, and were going in ſearch of new habitations, when they met Camillus leading an army to their relief. The unfortunate multitude no ſooner ſaw the Romans, but they threw themſelves at the dictator's feet, who, moved at this melancholy ſight, deſired them to take a little reſt and refreſh themſelvs, adding, that he would ſoon dry up their tears, and transfer their ſorrows from them to their enemies. He imagined, that the Hetrurians would be wholly taken in plundering the city, without being upon their guard or obſerving any diſcipline. And herein he was not miſtaken. The Hetrurians did not dream that the dictator could come ſo ſpeedily, from ſo great a diſtance, to ſurprize them; and therefore the Roman army paſſed through the territory of Sutrium, without finding any advanced guards, or meeting any ſcouts, and even entered the city, before the enemy had any notice of their approach.

Defeats the Volſci and Latins.

Recovers Sutrium from the Hetrurians.

In

In a word, he ſurpriſed the Hetrurians, who were wholly employed, either in plundering the houſes and carrying off the booty, or feaſting on the proviſions they had found in them, put many of them to the ſword, made an incredible number of priſoners, and reſtored the city to its antient inhabitants, who had not waited in vain for the performance of the dictator's promiſe. And now, after theſe glorious exploits, which were finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, the great Camillus entered Rome in triumph a third time. This honour was decreed him for having conquered the Volſci, made himſelf maſter of the capital city of the Æqui, and retaken Sutrium from the Hetrurians. The greateſt part of the captives, who graced his triumph, were ſold, and by that means money enough raiſed to pay all the Roman ladies for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a preſent to Apollo. With the remainder were bought three vaſes of gold, which, with Camillus's name inſcribed on them, were placed at the feet of Juno in the temple of Jupiter. Thus did the glory of Camillus eclipſe that of all his rivals. Envious men had hitherto aſcribed the greateſt part of his victories to chance. But, after theſe three laſt expeditions againſt three different nations, envy itſelf was ſilent [k].

CAMILLUS having reſigned his dictatorſhip, the republic choſe ſix new military tribunes, Q. Quinctius, Q. Servius, L. Julius, L. Aquilius, L. Lucretius, and Ser. Sulpitius. During their adminiſtration, the country of the Æqui was laid waſte, in order to put it out of their power to revolt anew, and the two cities of Cortuoſa and Contenebra, in the lucumony of the Tarquinienſes, taken from the Hetrurians and entirely demoliſhed. At this time it was thought proper to repair the capitol, and add new works to that part of the hill, where the Gauls had endeavoured to ſcale the citadel. Theſe works were eſteemed very beautiful, as Livy informs us, even in the time of Auguſtus, after the city was adorned with moſt beautiful decorations [l].

The cities of Cortuoſa and Contenebra taken by the Romans, and demoliſhed.

AND now, Rome being reinſtated in her former flouriſhing condition, the tribunes of the people, who had been for ſome time quiet, began to renew their ſeditious harangues

[k] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 2. & 3. Macrob. part. 1. c. 2. Eutrop. l. ii.

[l] Liv. l. vi. c. 4.

harangues, and revive the old quarrel about the diviſion of the conquered lands. The patricians had appropriated to themſelves the Pomptin territory lately taken from the Volſci, and the tribunes laid hold of this opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances. But, the citizens being ſo drained of their money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new farms and ſtock them with cattle, the declamations of the tribunes made no impreſſion upon their minds, ſo that the tribunes project vaniſhed. As for the military tribunes, they owned, that their election had been defective, and left the irregularities of the former comitia ſhould be continued in the ſucceeding ones, they voluntarily laid down their office. So that after a ſhort inter-regnum, during which M. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, and L. Valerius Potitus governed the republic, ſix new military tribunes, L. Papirius, C. Sergius, L. Æmilius, L. Menenius, L. Valerius, and C. Cornelius were choſen for the enſuing year, which was ſpent in works of peace. A temple, which had been vowed to Mars during the war with the Gauls, was built, and conſecrated by T. Quinctius, who preſided over the affairs of religion. As there had hitherto been but few Roman tribes beyond the Tiber, which had a right of ſuffrage in the comitia, four new ones were added, under the name of the Stellatina, Tramontina, Sabatina, and Arnienſis, ſo that the tribes were now in all twenty-five, which enjoyed the ſame rights and privileges.

THE expectation of an approaching war induced the centuries to chuſe Camillus one of the military tribunes for the next year. His collegues were Ser. Cornelius, Q. Servilius, L. Quinctius, L. Horatius, and P. Valerius. As theſe were all men of moderation, they agreed to inveſt Camillus with the ſole management of affairs, in time of war, and accordingly in full ſenate transferred all their power into his hands; ſo that he became in effect dictator. It had been already determined in the ſenate to turn the arms of the republic againſt the Hetrurians; but upon advice that the Antiates had entered the Pomptin territory, and obliged the Romans, who had taken poſſeſſion of it, to retire, it was thought neceſſary to humble them before the republic engaged in any other enterpriſe. The new dictator, if we may ſo call him, allotted

lotted to each of the five military tribunes an employment ſuitable to his rank. He joined P. Valerius with himſelf in the command of the army, which he was to lead againſt the Antiates. Q. Servilius was placed at the head of a body of troops, which was to continue in Rome, and be in a continual readineſs to march againſt the Hetrurians, or Latins and Hernici, in caſe they took the field. The third army wholly conſiſted of old men, and ſuch citizens as were excuſed on account of their infirmities from taking the field. The command of theſe was given to L. Quinctius, who was appointed to guard the walls of the city. L. Horatius's province was to ſupply the troops with arms, ammunition, and proviſions. Laſtly, the ſuperintendency of civil affairs, the comitia, the laws, and religion were committed to the care of Ser. Cornelius. So that none of the military tribunes, who had in ſome meaſure deveſted themſelves of their power in favour of Camillus, was left without an employment: they all readily accepted the provinces, which Camillus aſſigned them, only Valerius refuſed to be upon an equal foot with Camillus, 'You ſhall be my dictator,' ſaid he, 'and I 'will ſerve under you as your general of the horſe.' The Antiates had joined the Latins and Hernici near Satricum, ſo that the Romans being terrified at their prodigious numbers, ſhewed themſelves very backward to engage; which Camillus perceiving, he inſtantly mounted his horſe, and riding through all the ranks of the army, Fellow-ſoldiers, cried he, "Why don't I ſee "that joy and deſire of fighting in your looks, which "you uſed to have? Have you forgot, who I am, who "you yourſelves, and who your enemies are? Have "not the Volſci and the Latins been the occaſion of "your gaining immortal fame? Have you not con"quered Veii, defeated the Gauls, and delivered Rome "under my command? Am I not Camillus, becauſe I "have not the title of dictator? Do you but attack "the enemy, and we ſhall ſucceed as uſual. You will "conquer, and they will fly." Having uttered theſe words, he diſmounted, took the next ſtandard-bearer by the hand, led him towards the enemy, and cried out, 'Soldiers advance.' The ſoldiery was aſhamed not to follow a general, who expoſed himſelf to the firſt attack, and having therefore made a great ſhout, they fell upon

The Antiates, Latins and Hernici defeated by Camillus.

upon the enemy with incredible fury. Camillus, in order to encreaſe their eagerneſs ſtill more, commanded a ſtandard to be thrown into the middle of the enemy's battalions, which made the ſoldiers, who were fighting in the firſt ranks, exert all their reſolution to recover it. The Antiates, not being able any longer to make head againſt the Romans, gave way and were entirely defeated. The Latins and Hernici ſeparated from the Volſci and returned home. The Volſci, ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned bv their allies, took refuge in the neighbouring city of Satricum, which Camillus immediately inveſted and took by aſſault. The Volſci threw down their arms and ſurrendered at diſcretion. He then left his army under the command of Valerius, and returned to Rome to ſolicit the conſent of the ſenate, and to make the neceſſary preparations for undertaking the ſiege of Antium. But while he was propoſing this affair to the ſenate, deputies arrived from Nepet and Sutrium, two cities in alliance with Rome in the neighbourhood of Hetruria, demanding ſuccours againſt the Hetrurians, who threatened to beſiege theſe two cities, which were the keys of Hetruria. Hereupon the expedition againſt Antium was laid aſide, and Camillus commanded to haſten to the relief of the allied cities, with the troops which Servilius had kept in readineſs at Rome, in caſe of an emergency. Camillus immediately ſet out for the new war, and upon his arrival before Sutrium found that important place not only beſieged, but almoſt taken, the Hetrurians having made themſelves maſters of ſome of the gates, and taken poſſeſſion of all the avenues leading to the city. However, the inhabitants no ſooner heard, that Camillus was come to their relief, but they recovered their courage, and, by barricadoes made in the ſtreets, prevented the enemy from making themſelves maſters of the whole city. Camillus in the mean time having divided his army into two bodies, ordered Valerius to march round the walls, as if he deſigned to ſcale them, while he with the other undertook to charge the Hetrurians in the rear, force his way into the city, and ſhut up the enemy between the beſieged and his troops. The Romans no ſooner appeared, but the Hetrurians betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, through a gate which was not inveſted. Camillus's troops made a dread-

Camillus relieves Sutrium.

a dreadful ſlaughter of them within the city, while Valerius put great numbers of them to the ſword without the walls. From reconquering Sutrium, Camillus haſtened to the relief of Nepet. But that city, being better affected to the Hetrurians than to the Romans, had voluntarily ſubmitted to the former. Wherefore Camillus, having inveſted it with his whole army, took it by aſſault, put all the Hetrurian ſoldiers, without diſtinction, to the ſword, and condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors. Thus ended Camillus's military tribuneſhip, in which he acquired no leſs reputation, than he had done in the moſt glorious of his dictatorſhips [m].

And takes Nepet by aſſault.

But as well eſtabliſhed as Camillus's reputation was in Rome, yet he was not without a rival; M. Manlius, who had ſaved the capitol, could not bear to ſee his glory eclipſed by that of Camillus. He was indeed one of the braveſt ſoldiers Rome had ever produced; but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour. However, he did not attempt any thing till Camillus's fourth military tribuneſhip was expired. But no ſooner was the government put into the hands of ſix new military tribunes, A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, T. Quinctius, L. Quinctius, L. Papirius, and C. Sergius, than he began to vent his ſpleen, and endeavour to darken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. After all, Camillus's chief glory, ſaid he, is his having recovered Rome out of the hands of the Gauls, which he could never have done, had I not firſt ſaved the capitol; ſo that his glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the Gauls, till they had been tired with a long ſiege. But I repulſed them from the capitol, when they were moſt fluſhed with ſucceſs. A whole army ſhared Camillus's glory with him; but Manlius had no companion in his. By theſe and ſuch-like ſpeeches, he gave vent to his envy; but finding himſelf unable by noble actions to outſhine Camillus in reputation, in order to ſatisfy his ambition, he began to court the multitude, and even entered into the faction of the tribunes of the people. Though a patrician by birth, he inveighed againſt the nobility, and eſpouſed the cauſe of the people in the affair of the diſtribution of lands. He even

Manlius ſuſpected of aſpiring at the ſupreme power.

[m] Liv. l. vi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. Plut. in Camillo.

oppoſed the rich, whenever they ſeized their debtors, and ſet at liberty thoſe who were already in chains. So that he was always attended by a kind of guard made up of thoſe whom he had ſo aſſiſted. The ſenate, alarmed at Manlius's proceeding, thought it neceſſary to create a dictator, in order to prevent the evil conſequences of his two great popularity, and to cruſh the riſing faction. The army, which the Volſci had juſt then raiſed, furniſhed them with a ſpecious pretence for taking ſuch meaſures. The dictatorſhip was given to A. Cornelius Coſſus, who named T. Quinctius Capitolinus to be general of the horſe. The dictator came to an engagement with the Volſci in the Pomptin territory, and entirely defeated them, though much more numerous than the Romans. Among the priſoners, were found many Latins and Hernici of diſtinction, who being examined confeſſed, that they had acted by authority. Hereupon the dictator kept his army in the field, not doubting but he ſhould be ſoon employed againſt thoſe faithleſs allies. But the diſturbances raiſed by the factious Manlius called him back to the city without delay. It was neceſſary to examine into the deſigns of that ambitious man, whoſe popularity was become dangerous. A creditor had lately ſeized a centurion for debt, who was a man of great courage, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions. As the officer was leading him to priſon, according to his ſentence, Manlius and his ſeditious company met them. Upon which the factious patrician began to inveigh againſt the pride of the nobility and the cruelty of the rich, who lent money upon intereſt; but, above all, expatiated on the merit of the inſolvent centurion; what ſignifies my having ſaved the capitol, ſaid he, if more cruel enemies than the Gauls are ſuffered to rob me of a brave and faithful companion in battle, and reduce him to ſlavery? Having uttered theſe words, in the preſence of the officer and five witneſſes, he paid the debt, admitting the priſoner, as ſoon as he was delivered out of his creditor's hands, to be one of the guard that always attended him. This gave great umbrage in a republican ſtate, where the magiſtrates were always upon their guard againſt any thing that tended to monarchy. But ſoon after Manlius encreaſed their apprehenſions by a yet more extravagant act of popularity. He had ſome lands in the

Cornelius Coſſus dictator.

territory

territory of Veii, which were his paternal eſtate. Theſe he ſold by auction, and declared to the people, that he deſigned to apply the whole to the paying of the debts of inſolvent debtors. Theſe bounties made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the multitude, that they ſeemed ready to back him in any enterprize he ſhould undertake. Beſides, all his diſcourſes in his own houſe tended only to decry the patricians and the ſenate. He gave out, that the nobility, not content to rob the people of their right to a ſhare in the conquered lands, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own uſe, the gold, which was to have been given to the Gauls, and had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the capitol: a treaſure, which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. He even promiſed to ſhew them in due time the place where this treaſure was concealed; ſo that the whole care of the populace was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the patricians [n].

SUCH was the poſture of affairs at Rome, when the dictator Coſſus returned thither. He therefore poſtponed his triumph, till ſuch time as he had re-eſtabliſhed the public tranquillity. He made it his firſt buſineſs to aſſemble the ſenate, and finding the fathers inclined to ſuppreſs Manlius's inſolence, he ordered his tribunal to be placed in that part of the forum, where the comitia was held, and ſent a lictor to cite Manlius to appear before him. Manlius obyed the ſummons, but attended by his uſual guards, whom he exhorted to ſtand by him. The aſſembly looked like two armies drawn up in battalia againſt each other. Silence being made, the dictator challenged Manlius to declare, as he had promiſed, the perſons who had concealed the pretended treaſures, and the place where they were hid; otherwiſe he threatened to ſend him to priſon as an incendiary and ſlanderer. Manlius, inſtead of anſwering directly, extolled his own merit, and reproached the patricians with avarice and cruelty. He concluded his ſpeech with ſaying, that as to the ſecrete treaſure, the ſenators, who had concealed it, were better qualified than he to diſcover the place. But this being only an evaſion, the dictator preſſed him anew, either to perform his promiſe to the people, or to confeſs that

Manlius cited to appear before the dictator.

[n] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 11.

he had caluminated the ſenate. Manlius replied, that his thus preſſing him to declare the place where the gold was hoarded, was a convincing proof, that the ſenate had removed it beyond rhe reach of the moſt curious enquiry. Hereupon the dictator immediately ordered him to priſon. We have on this occaſion a ſurpriſing inſtance of the ready ſubmiſſion of the Romans to the command of a lawful magiſtrate. The people, however ſeditiouſly devoted to Manlius, took no one ſtep to hinder the execution of the ſentence. There was not an angry expreſſion heard, or a threatening look ſeen, in the whole aſſembly. The tribunes themſelves did not ſhew diſreſpect to the dictator. Only Manlius, when the lictors laid hold of him, cried out, addreſſing his complaints to the Gods, "O Jupiter, beſt "and greateſt, O Juno, queen of heaven, Minerva, and "all ye other gods and goddeſſes, who reſide in the ca-"pitol, will you ſuffer your champion and defender to "be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, "with which I drove the Gauls from your ſanctuaries, "be locked in chains?" But theſe lamentations raiſed no diſturbances among the multitude. His moſt zealous adherents expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crouding about the doors of the priſon, and there lamenting his misfortune. In this time of affliction the dictator Coſſus received the honours of a triumph. But the multitude expreſſed nothing but a deep concern on that day of joy; ſome were even heard to ſay, that Coſſus did not ſo much triumph over the Volſci, as over an oppreſſed citizen. Nothing, ſaid they, remains to complete the general's triumph, but to have the unfortunate Manlius led before his chariot in chains. In order therefore to appeaſe the people, the ſenate thought it neceſſary to ſhew them ſome indulgence. They aſſembled, and, of their own motion, ordered a colony of Roman citizens to be ſent to Sutrium, where they allotted to every man two acres and an half of arable land. But this unexpected bounty was ſo far from ſatisfying the malecontents, that it encreaſed their rage and jealouſy. For they looked upon this liberality of the ſenate as an artifice to induce the citizens to abandon Manlius. So that the ſedition gained ground, and the fury of the populace encreaſed ſtill more, as ſoon as Coſſus's dictatorſhip was expired. The multitude, being now freed from the

And committed to priſon;

dread

dread of an uncontroulable magiſtrate, no longer kept within any bounds. The people, ſurrounding the priſon day and night, threatened to break it open. The ſenate, fearing leſt the incenſed populace in their fury ſhould execute what they threatened, and that Manlius, being ſet at liberty by ſuch violent means, ſhould carry his fury farther than ever, thought fit to put an end to the diſturbance by releaſing him themſelves. But this timorous proceeding only gave the ſeditious a leader, provoked by the ſhame of his impriſonment, and incapable of following ſober counſels.

But is ſet at liberty.

DURING theſe ſeditions, embaſſadors arrived from the Latins, the Hernici, and from the cities of Circæi and Velitræ, demanding, that the priſoners, taken by the dictator in the late action with the Volſci, might be delivered up to them. The different reception they met with ſhews the diſtinction, which the Romans always made between nations in alliance with them and Roman colonies. Circæi and Velitræ were upon the foot of colonies, but the Latins and Hernici only in alliance with Rome: the latter enjoyed their own laws; the former were ſubject to the laws of Rome. The embaſſadors therefore of the Latins and Hernici were received, though their demand was rejected, nor did the Romans diſpute their right of ſending an embaſſy. But the deputies of Circæi and Velitræ were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the people, ſince they had no right to ſend embaſſadors[o].

WHEN new magiſtrates came to be elected for the next year, the great Camillus was choſen military tribune a fifth time, the republic wanting a governor of his reputation to ſtem the tide of the preſent troubles. With him were joined Ser. Cornelius, P. Valerius, Ser. Sulpicius, C. Papirius, and T. Quinctius. The confidence of Manlius and the ſtrength of his faction were now much encreaſed by the timorouſneſs of the ſenate. The mutineers met at Manlius's houſe, which was crouded with them day and night. There he ſpoke his mind without reſerve, exhorting the multitude to ſhake off the yoke they groaned under, to aboliſh dictatorſhips and conſulates, to eſtabliſh an exact equality among all the members of one and the ſame republic, and to make themſelves an head, who would govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. "If you "judge me worthy of that honour," ſaid he, "the more

Renews his factious intrigues.

[o] Liv. l. 6. c. 17.

" power you give me, the ſooner you will be in poſſeſſion " of what you have ſo long wiſhed for. I deſire authority " with no other view, but to make you all happy." It is ſaid, that a plot was formed to ſeize the citadel and declare him king; but it is not certain, that he embarqued in ſo difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. The ſenate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the republic, aſſembled frequently to deliberate on the beſt method to avert the blow. A decree was made, enjoining the military tribunes " To be watchful, that the republic received no damage "; a form of words, which was never uſed but in the greateſt dangers of the ſtate, and which inveſted thoſe magiſtrates with an authority almoſt equal to that of a dictator. After this different means were propoſed for defeating the evil deſigns of Manlius. All, except the tribunes of the people, were for aſſaſſinating the author of the ſedition. But as ſuch an attempt would have occaſioned the ſhedding of much blood, two of thoſe tribunes, M. Mænius and Q. Publilius, thought it more adviſeable to take him off by the uſual forms of law. They offered to proſecute him before the comitia, not doubting but the people, when they ſaw their tribunes become his accuſers, would immediately deſert him. This advice was approved, and Manlius ſummoned to his trial before the comitia by centuries. The crime laid to his charge was, his aiming at the ſovereign power; and as this was a capital crime, the accuſed appeared before his judges in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations changed their dreſs, or ſolicited the judges in his behalf, as was uſually done by the friends of a perſon accuſed; ſo much did the love of liberty prevail in the hearts of the Romans over all the ties of blood and kindred. Livy tells us, that he could not find in any author what direct proofs the tribunes brought of Manlius's aſpiring to the regal power. However, he ſuppoſes, that they had ſufficient proofs, ſince nothing but the circumſtances of the place, where he was tried, prevented his immediate condemnation. They could ſee the capitol, which Manlius had preſerved, from the campus Martius, where his ſentence was to be pronounced; and this ſight alone abated the reſentment of the centuries againſt the criminal; ſo that the people, who could neither reſolve to condemn or acquit him, put off pronouncing ſentence more than once,

Impeached by two of the tribunes of treaſon.

and

and every time poſtponed this affair for three market-days. In the mean time, Manlius omitted nothing that could move his judges to compaſſion. He produced above four hundred plebeians, whoſe debts he had paid, and whom he had delivered out of the hands of their creditors. He ſhewed the people thirty ſuits of armour, the ſpoils of thirty enemies, whom he had ſlain in ſingle combat. He had been the firſt Roman who had deſerved a mural crown by fighting on horſeback. He had been honoured with eight civic crowns, for having ſaved in battle the lives of ſo many citizens, and had been ſeven and thirty times rewarded by his generals for his extraordinary valour. He had ſaved in battle the life of C. Servilius, when general of the horſe, and had received two wounds on that occaſion. But his greateſt glory was, his having defended the capitol againſt the attack of the Gauls. This important piece of ſervice ſupported the criminal, notwithſtanding the evident proofs of his crime. Looking often at the capitol, he called upon Jupiter and the other gods for ſuccour, conjuring the people to turn their faces to that ſanctuary, and think of the gods who reſided there, when they were going to pronounce judgment. The people, having before their eyes the very place, where, by fighting ſo valiantly againſt the Gauls, he had ſaved Rome, could not reſolve to find him guilty. The tribunes, perceiving this, deferred the deciſion of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the aſſembly to be in the Peteline wood, without the gate Flumentana, whence the capitol could not be ſeen. Then the object, which had ſaved Manlius, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, they forgot his glory, and remembered only his crime. The public welfare gained the aſcendant over their gratitude, and the unhappy Manlius was condemned to be thrown headlong from the capitol itſelf. The ſentence was no ſooner pronounced than put in execution: the houſe, where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground, and it was decreed, that no patrician ſhould thenceforth dwell on the capitol, leſt the advantageous ſituation of a fortreſs, that commanded the whole city, ſhould ſuggeſt and facilitate the deſign of enſlaving it. The Manlian family alſo came to a reſolution among themſelves, that no member of it ſhould ever bear the prænomen of Marcus. But how inconſiſtent is the multitude! Manlius was ſcarce dead, when his loſs was generally lamented, and

Condemned and thrown headlong from the capitol.

a plague,

a plague, which ſoon followed, aſcribed to the anger of Jupiter againſt the authors of his death [p].

Wars carried on with the Prænestini and Volſci.

THE puniſhment of the ſeditious Manlius neither brought any diſcredit upon his relations, or leſſened their intereſt. On the contrary, his brother A. Manlius was choſen one of the military tribunes at the very next election. His collegues were L. Valerius, Ser. Sulpicius, L. Lucretius, L. Æmilius, and M. Trebonius. During their adminiſtration, the Volſci threatened the republic with a new war; the cities of Circæi and Velitræ continued in their revolt; Lanuvium itſelf, ever before faithful to Rome, declared againſt her, and all the cities of Latium ſeemed ready to riſe in their turns. And, to add to the misfortunes of the republic, the plague ſtill raged in the city. However, the ſenate judged it neceſſary to engage the people to conſent to a war. In order to this, they promiſed to divide the Pomptin territory among them, and nominated five commiſſioners to regulate the diſtribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to Nepet. But this deſign was not put in execution till nine years after. However, the comitia by tribes being aſſembled, it was decreed, that a war ſhould be declared with the ſeveral enemies of Rome, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the tribunes of the people. Accordingly, an army was raiſed, but the plague continuing to rage, the military tribunes could not lead their troops into the field. In the mean time, the inhabitants of Prænesſte, following the example of the other colonies, revolted, and committed great devaſtations in the territories of the Gabini, Tuſculani, and Labicani, who continued ſteady in their alliance with Rome. Though theſe faithful allies brought complaints to the ſenate of the hoſtilities committed in their diſtricts, yet the fathers pretended not to believe them, chuſing rather to diſſemble with them, than to take up arms in their preſent unhappy ſituation. But the Romans, who ſcarce ever ſuffered any attempt againſt their republic to eſcape unpuniſhed, only ſuſpended their reſentment. For, in the following military tribuneſhip of Sp. Papirius, L. Papirius, Ser. Cornelius, Q. Servilius, Ser. Sulpicius, and L. Æmilius, the two Papirii being ſent againſt the Veliterni, defeated them, though joined by great numbers from Prænesſte, and obliged them to ſhelter themſelves within the walls of their city. However, the generals did not think it adviſeable, either to attempt a doubtful ſiege, or to carry hoſtilities ſo far as to exterminate a Roman colony. The

[p] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 20.

The ſenate alſo adjudged it more neceſſary to purſue the war with vigour againſt the Prænestini, who had farther provoked the Romans, by aſſiſting their irreconcileable enemies the Volſci.

THESE expeditions therefore, which were to be undertaken, made the aſſembled centuries caſt their eyes on Camillus, and raiſe him a ſixth time to the military tribuneſhip. He was indeed very unwilling to embarque again in public affairs, being now very infirm and apprehenſive of the viciſſitudes of fortune. He therefore endeavoured to decline the honour which the people had conferred upon him, pleading his age and infirmities. But the people would not hearken to his repreſentations. We don't expect, ſaid they, that Camillus ſhould perſonally engage either on foot, or on horſeback, or that he ſhould join the bravery of the private ſoldier to the wiſdom of the general. All we now deſire of him is, to aſſiſt our armies with his council and command them; this is enough to make them invincible. Camillus could not help complying with their requeſt; he accepted the military tribuneſhip, in which he had the following collegues, A. Poſthumius, L. Poſthumius, L. Furius, L. Lucretius, and M. Fabius Ambuſtus. The command of the army, which was to be employed againſt the Volſci, was decreed to Camillus by the ſenate; but it fell by lot to L. Furius to be joined with him in the command. The two generals commanded an army of four legions, conſiſting of four thouſand men each, which marched to Sutrium, where the Volſci and Prænestini had formed a camp, and waited without fear for the Romans, being far more numerous than they, and fluſhed with their late ſucceſs againſt Satricum, which they had taken and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword. Camillus, whether he waited to recover his health, for he was greatly indiſpoſed, or to receive a reinforcement of troops, was not in haſte to come to a battle. But, in the mean time, the Volſci appearing drawn up in battle and provoking the Romans, the latter could hardly be reſtrained from ſallying out of their camp and falling upon them. Their ardor for fighting was encreaſed by the raſh diſcourſes of young Furius, who imputed the prudent delays of his collegue to his age, which he ſaid, had chilled his blood. At length the Volſci not only marched out their men on their own ground near the camp, but advanced into the open fields, and carried on their lines almoſt to the Roman camp. This was ſuch an

inſult, as neither Furius nor the legions could bear. The young general therefore addreſſing himſelf to Camillus, reproached him, that he was the only perſon in the army for delaying the engagement, and urged him to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiers. Camillus anſwered with an air of ſuperiority, but with great temper, that hitherto Rome had not been diſſatisfied either with his conduct or ſucceſs. But nevertheleſs, if the impetuoſity, which hurried the ſoldiers on to an engagement, could not be reſtrained, he wiſhed them ſucceſs, but deſired to be excuſed on account of his age from engaging in the foremoſt ranks. Furius drew up his troops in order of battle; but Camillus made it his buſineſs to prepare a corps de reſerve to aſſiſt his colleague in caſe of diſtreſs: Furius charged with great vigour, and the Volſci, feigning to give way, drew the Roman legions half way up the hill, on which their camp was ſituated; then ſallying out with freſh troops, by the advantage of the ground, obliged the Romans to retire in great diſorder. The Volſci purſued them cloſe to the very gates of their camp, which thoſe brave legions, a little before ſo deſirous of fighting, ſtrove by a ſhameful flight to regain. Camillus, though greatly indiſpoſed, no ſooner heard that the Romans were defeated, than he quitted his tent, and haſtening to the gate of the camp with his body of reſerve, cried out to the flying legions, is this then, Romans, the victory, you were ſo ſure of? What god or man can you blame, but your ſelves? You are come to ſeek for ſhelter in that camp, which you were ſo deſirous to abandon. But you ſhall not enter it till you have repulſed the enemy. Having uttered theſe words, he put himſelf at the head of the troops, which he had kept with him in the camp, and encouraging the legions that had fled to return with him to the engagment, he obliged the enemy to retire, which was all he could do that day. But the next day he drew up his troops in the plain, and challenged the enemy to a ſecond engagement. Furius, whom Camillus had placed at the head of the cavalry, behaved himſelf in the battle, which enſued, with uncommon valour. For the infantry being hard preſſed, he prevailed upon his cavalry to diſmount, and came ſo opportunely to the relief of the foot, that the numerous army of the Volſci was entirely routed, their camp taken, and their chief commanders either ſlain or made priſoners. Among the captives

The Romans put to flight by the Volſci.

The Volſci defeated in a ſecond engagement by Camillus.

captives were found ſome Tuſculans, who, as their city was in alliance with Rome, were ſeparated from the reſt and brought before the generals. Upon examination, they declared, that they had taken arms with the conſent and by the orders of their magiſtrates. This alarmed Camillus, who thought it neceſſary to go in perſon to Rome with the priſoners, and lay the matter before the ſenate. During his abſence, he left the army under the command of Furius, who was now grown prudent by the ill ſucceſs of his late attempt. However, it was generally believed both in the camp and the city, that the general's chief buſineſs at Rome was to accuſe his collegue, whoſe raſh conduct had like to have deſtroyed the army. The ſenate therefore was ſurpriſed to hear him ſpeak of nothing but the revolt of the Tuſculans. He was charged to puniſh their defection in an exemplary manner, and allowed to chuſe which of his five collegues he pleaſed to command with him in this new expedition. Upon which they all made intereſt to attend him, in order to learn the art of war under ſo great a general. But the generous Camillus, to the great ſurprize both of the ſenate and army, preferred Furius to all the reſt, being more deſirous to conceal the ſhame of one who had perſonally affronted him, than to purſue the dictates of revenge. An inſtance of moderation, which gained him no leſs eſteem and veneration than all his victories. The two generals began their march; and either the artifice of thoſe faithful allies, or their true repentance, gave the wiſe Camillus a freſh opportunity of ſignalizing his moderation. For when he entered their territories, he found the huſbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundeſt peace, the magiſtrates of the city ſent him proviſions, and came out to meet him. When he entered the city, he found the citizens with their wives and children walking about the ſtreets, without betraying the leaſt fear or ſurprize. The ſchools and ſhops were open, the markets full, and not the leaſt ſign of war. The general, pleaſed to find the Tuſculans returned to their duty, aſſembled the chief men of their republic, and, having told them that they had found out the true ſecret of diſarming the reſentment of the Romans, adviſed them to ſend a deputation to Rome, and apply to the ſenate, who were the proper judges, whether their preſent conduct was a ſufficient atonement for their paſt defection. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, who, habited in mourning and with their

A remarkable proof of moderation in Camillus.

dictator

dictator at their head, addreſſed the conſcript fathers in a ſuppliant manner. The ſenate readily forgave them, and ſoon after even granted them the privileges of Roman citizens (Q). Thus ended the ſixth military tribuneſhip of the incomparable Camillus [q].

THE military tribunes choſen to ſucceed him and his colleagues were, L. Valerius, P. Valerius, L. Menenius, C. Sergius, Sp. Papirius, and Ser. Cornelius, whoſe adminiſtration was diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions and a foreign war. Sp. Poſthumius, one of the cenſors, died; whereupon the other laid down his office, as the law directed, and the Romans proceeded to a new election. But as the patricians were afraid of the cenſus, which muſt of courſe diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, they pretended, that there was ſome defect in the election, and thence took occaſion to declare, that it was againſt the will of the gods that Rome ſhould have any cenſors that year. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring on a new election of the cenſors as ſoon as poſſible. This occaſioned great diſturbances, during which the Prænestines

[q] Plut. in Camillo. Liv. l. vi. c. 26

(Q) He only was a Roman citizen, in the moſt extenſive ſignification of the expreſſion, who had a right of having an houſe in Rome, of giving his ſuffrage in the comitia, and of ſtanding candidate for any office; and conſequently, who was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freed-men did not enjoy all theſe privileges, for in the times of the republic they were excluded from dignities. The municipal towns and Roman colonies enjoyed the right of citizenſhip, which had ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, privileges annexed to it. The municipal cities enjoyed this privilege by a particular grant from the ſenate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government. But there was this difference between them, that ſome of them could, others could not, either give their votes, or ſtand candidates for offices. This account of the municipia, and the difference between them, is agreeable to Livy, who tells us, that the inhabitants of Cære were made municipes with the right of ſuffrage; and elſewhere ſpeaking of Fundi and Formiæ, ſays, that theſe two cities did not obtain the right of ſuffrage, without much application, though they had already the right of citizenſhip. As for the Roman colonies, they enjoyed more or fewer privileges and exemptions peculiar to Roman citizens, in proportion to their fidelity and the ſervices they rendered the republic.

neſtines entered the Roman territory, and advanced to the very gates of the city. However, the tribunes would ſuffer no levies to be made, till the ſenate had recourſe to the uſual expedient in great extremities. Titus Quinctius was in all haſte nominated dictator, and he appointed A. Sempronius to be his general of horſe. The Prænestines no ſooner underſtood that Rome had created a dictator, but they removed farther off, and troops were raiſed in the city without oppoſition. The enemy, hoping that the banks of the Allia would prove always unlucky for the Romans, encamped there. But their hopes proved vain, the dictator purſued them, and gave them a total overthrow. They fled to Prænestе, but the dictator coming up with them, before they reached that place, defeated them in a ſecond engagement, took all their ſtrong-holds in a few days, and then appeared before Prænestе itſelf, wich capitulated. Quinctius, having thus reduced the enemy, returned to Rome, and brought with him from Prænestе the ſtatue of Jupiter Imperator, which, as an eternal monument of his glory, was placed in the capitol between Jupiter Capitolinus and Minerva. The dictator entered Rome in triumph, and then laid down his office, which had laſted but twenty-five days [r].

Titus Quinctius dictator.

Defeats the Prænestini, and takes Prænestе.

THE complaints of the inſolvent debtors, which ſtill continued, occaſioned this year an alteration in the government. Whether the aſſembled centuries divided the military tribuneſhip between the patricians and plebeians of their own accord, or by conſtraint, is uncertain; but we are told by all the antients, that three military tribunes were choſen out of the nobility, and three out of the people. The patricians were, P. Manlius, C. Manlius, and L. Julius; the plebeians, C. Sextilius, M. Albinius, and L. Antiſtius. Diodorus Siculus reckons up eight military tribunes for this year, as he did for the preceding; but herein he is as much miſtaken, as he is in changing Caius Sextilius's name into that of Caius Sextius. The two Manlii, without drawing lots, were appointed to command the army againſt the Volſci; but Rome had ſoon occaſion to repent of the choice ſhe had made, for the two tribunes having divided their army and encamped near each other, they ſent out their cavalry to forage, without being well acquainted with the country. The enemy did not think proper to intercept, as they might, the

Three military tribuues choſen out of the people.

[r] Liv. l. vi. c. 29.

the foragers, but by a ſtratagem found means to draw the whole army into an ambuſcade. They ſent to the Roman camps a Latin ſoldier, diguiſed like a Roman, to acquaint the generals, that their foragers were ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt be inevitably cut off, if not relieved without delay. This was giving a general alarm; the two commanders, without ſo much as thinking of detaining the meſſenger who brought this falſe news, marched out of their camps with precipitation and in diſorder, hurrying their troops into narrow paſſes, where the Volſci lay in wait for them. The Romans though in diſorder, fought with incredible bravery, and were by their deſperate courage alone preſerved from total deſtruction. But while they were wholly intent on defending themſelves againſt one body of the enemy's forces, the other took and plundered the two Roman camps without reſiſtance. The ill conduct of the Manlii made the ſenate deliberate, whether a dictator ſhould be nominated; but the enemy attempting nothing farther, it was reſolved to recall the army and its commanders. During theſe misfortunes abroad, a profound peace reigned at home, which, no doubt, was owing to the ſhare the plebeians had in the government.

The Roman camp taken and plundered by the Volſci.

THE enſuing year, the centuries choſe only patricians, viz. Sp Furius, Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, P. Clælius, M. Horatius, and L. Geganius. The people therefore renewed their antient complaints, and, in order to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of the rich, got at length two cenſors choſen, Servilius Priſcus and Clælius Siculus, who took an exact account of the people and their effects, and concluded the cenſus with a luſtrum, which the Faſti Capitolini call the nineteenth from its inſtitution. So that nothing now remained for the cenſors to do, but to put an end to the diſputes between the patricians and plebeians, by relieving the poor debtors, who were oppreſſed by the exceſſive uſury of their avaricious creditors. But, in the mean time, news being brought to Rome, that the Volſci had entered the Roman territory and were committing ravages there, the cenſors ſuſpended this work, under pretence, that it was of more conſequence to the ſtate to guard againſt hoſtilities abroad, than diſſenſions at home. But the tribunes of the people purſued their point, and, playing their uſual game, oppoſed the levies; ſo that the ſenate was obliged to iſſue a decree, that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed for debt, or

even

even the payment of the uſual taxes, during the campaign. The levies were then made without oppoſition and two armies raiſed, which marching by different ways into the country of the Volſci, laid it waſte, and returned to Rome with an immenſe booty, the enemy not daring to appear in the field. The patricians no ſooner found themſelves free from the terror of a foreign war, but they cited their debtors to appear before the judges as uſual, the tribunes of the people not being able to lend them any aſſiſtance ſo long as peace continued abroad.

The country of the Volſci laid waſte.

THE following year, the centuries choſe ſix patrician military tribunes, viz. L. Æmilius, S. Sulpicius, P. Valerius, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Veturius, and C. Quinctius. During their adminiſtration, the Latins and Volſci, entering into a new confederacy againſt the republic, took the field and encamped near Satricum. It is ſurprizing, that the tribunes of the people ſhould not lay hold of the opportunity, which the diſcontents and complaints of the debtors gave them, to oppoſe the raiſing of troops. The patricians had in all likelihood at this time the aſcendant over the plebeians; for three armies were raiſed without the leaſt oppoſition; one to guard the walls; another to be ready to march on the firſt notice; and the third, which was the moſt numerous, to attack the enemy in the neighbourhood of Satricum, under the command of P. Valerius and L. Æmilius. Theſe two generals found the Latins and Volſci advantageouſly poſted; but nevertheleſs did not delay giving them battle, which laſted till it was interrupted by ſo violent a rain, that neither party could keep the field. It was renewed next day, and at firſt with pretty equal ſucceſs on both ſides, the Latins, who had been long in alliance with the Romans, having learnt of them the art of war. At length the Latin battalions were broke and put in diſorder by the Roman cavalry, which occaſioned the defeat of the whole confederate army. The fugitives retired in great diſorder, firſt to Satricum, about two miles from the field of battle, and from thence to Antium, with a deſign to ſecure themſelves in that city. But the Antiates, not thinking their city to be in a condition to hold out a long ſiege, were for ſurrendering to the Romans on honourable terms. The reſt of the Volſci, being alſo weary of the war, expreſſed an inclination to peace. Hereupon the Latins, obſtinately bent upon purſuing the war, ſeparated from them

The Latins and Volſci defeated.

in

in a great rage, which they carried upon Satricum, though belonging to the Volſci, and the very place which had ſerved them for a retreat after their overthrow. They reduced the place to aſhes, ſparing only a temple of the goddeſs Matuta, whom the Greeks, as Plutarch informs us, worſhipped under the name of Leucothea, or Ino, the daughter of Cadmus. From Satricum they marched into the country of the Tuſculans, ſurprized their city, and put all the inhabitants they met with to the ſword, for having renounced the Latin confederacy and accepted the privileges of Roman citizens. Great numbers of the Tuſculans retired with their wives and children into the citadel, and from thence ſent to acquaint the Romans with their misfortune and ſurprize. Hereupon an army, which had been kept ready againſt any unforeſeen accident, was immediately ſent to their relief, under the command of L. Quinctius and Ser. Sulpicius, two of the military tribunes, who took the place by aſſault, and put all the Latins within the walls of Tuſculum to the ſword, not one of them eſcaping. The tribunes, having thus recovered the city, led back their army to Rome[s].

THE peace concluded with the Antiates and the defeat of the Latins gave the republic an interval of reſt from foreign wars. But at home the avarice of the patricians encreaſed the miſery of the poorer ſort of people. As all the debtors were preſſed to pay their debts at the ſame time, one friend could not aſſiſt the other; ſo that moſt of them, becoming inſolvent, were delivered up to their creditors and reduced to ſlavery; which melancholy ſcene ſo depreſſed the ſpirits, not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the moſt conſiderable of that order, that, far from ſtanding in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneſhip, they even neglected to ſue for the plebeian magiſtracies. Inſomuch, that the patricians ſeemed to have engroſſed to themſelves for ever the whole adminiſtration of public affairs. But at this very criſis a trifling accident gave the plebeians an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under, of raiſing their drooping ſpirits, and carrying their pretenſions higher than ever. Fabius Ambuſtus, an illuſtrious patrician, but very popular, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to Ser. Sulpicius a patrician, and at this time military tribune; the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian.

The lower ſort of people oppreſſed by the rich.

It

[s] Liv. l. vi. c. 32.

It happened, that while the younger ſiſter was paying a viſit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the forum, where he had been diſcharging the duties of his office, attended by a croud of clients and by the lictors, who, thundering at the door with the ſtaff of the faſces, as was uſual, gave notice that the magiſtrate was coming. This noiſe, to which the wife of Licinius was not accuſtomed, put her into a fright, which her ſiſter taking notice of, could not forbear laughing at her, ſeeming much to wonder at her ignorance. This laughing, how innocent ſoever, was conſtrued by the younger ſiſter as an inſult upon her, on account of the ignoble family into which ſhe was married. This imaginary affront greatly provoked her, and her uneaſineſs was encreaſed by the croud of people, that came to pay their court to her ſiſter and receive her commands. Her father happening to ſee her, and perceiving by her countenance that ſomething troubled her, kindly aſked what it was, and whether all was well at home. At firſt he could get no ſatisfactory anſwer from her, but at length prevailed upon her with ſoft words to diſcloſe the ſecret: You have married me, ſaid ſhe, into a family, which is excluded from enjoying the chief honours of the republic: What a vaſt difference is there between my ſiſter's condition and mine? Her father, who was very fond of her, did all that lay in his power to comfort her; "Don't be uneaſy," ſaid he; "you ſhall ſoon ſee as much ſtate at your own "houſe, as you was ſurpriſed to find at your ſiſter's." From this time he entered into an aſſociation with Licinius, his ſon-in-law, and L. Sextius, a young plebeian of extraordinary parts, who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices of the republic. Their deſign was to aboliſh the military tribuneſhip, reſtore the conſulſhip, procure for the plebeians a ſhare in that ſupreme dignity, and, in ſhort, to put the patricians and plebeians upon an equal foot. To compaſs this deſign, it was thought expedient, that Licinius and Sextius ſhould begin, by getting the plebeian tribuneſhip for the next year, which would enable them to pave themſelves a way to the higheſt dignities. The two candidates were accordingly admitted; and having carried that firſt point, they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to deſtroy the grandeur of the patricians, and promote the intereſt of the people. The firſt ſtep they took was, to propoſe a law, for ſuppreſſing the military tribuneſhip, reſtoring the conſulate, and requiring, that of

The vanity of a woman ſets three citizens at work to raiſe the fortune of the plebeians.

the two conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be a plebeian. In order to engage the people to paſs this law, they added two others to it relating to the debts and the conquered lands. The firſt was this; let the intereſt already paid be reckoned as a diſcharge of ſo much of the principal; and let the remainder of it be paid at different equal payments. The ſecond reſtrained any Roman citizen from poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that reſtriction were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens. The patricians, alarmed and terrified, frequently met in order to deliberate on the moſt proper means to avert the impending evil; but could fix upon no other, except that of dividing the tribunes of the people, and engaging one part of the college to oppoſe the attempts of the other. Accordingly, they gained over the other eight: Licinius and Sextius aſſembled the tribes ſeveral times, in order to get their law paſſed; but were always oppoſed by their collegues, who, as ſoon as the law began to be read, never failed to cry out, "We proteſt againſt it." Theſe proteſts of one part of the tribunes againſt the other were often repeated at different comitia; inſomuch, that the two popular tribunes were not able to get their laws heard by the people. Being therefore at length tired with ſuch frequent diſturbances and interruptions, they reſolved to proteſt in their turns. Very well, ſaid Sextius to his collegues, ſince you are ſo delighted with hearing the word Veto, I forbid or proteſt, we ſhall ſoon find occaſion to repeat it too, and to the advantage of the people. Accordingly, when the centuries aſſembled to elect military tribunes for the next year, Sextius and Licinius cried out in their turns, We proteſt againſt it, which put a ſtop to all proceedings. As theſe two were continued in the plebeian tribuneſhip, they renewed the ſame oppoſition for five years ſucceſſively; ſo that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes and ædiles. Thus the patricians were entirely excluded from the government; and this intermiſſion of ſuperior magiſtrates placed Licinius and Sextius, who were at the head of the tribunes of the people, in ſome degree at (2) the head of the republic. So that Fabius's promiſe to his daughter may be ſaid to have been performed from this time.

In the ſixth year, Licinius and Sextius were juſt elected tribunes of the people a ſixth time, when the inhabitants of Velitræ

Velitræ declared war againſt Rome, over-ran the lands of the republic, and even laid ſiege to the city of Tuſculum. As the Tuſculans had long been allies, and lately admitted citizens, of Rome, Sextius and Licinius, aſhamed to refuſe them aſſiſtance, waved their oppoſition, and ſuffered an aſſembly to be held by an inter-rex for electing military tribunes. Six patricians were choſen, viz. L. Furius, P. Valerius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, C. Valerius, and Ser. Cornelius. Theſe having made the neceſſary levies, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, raiſed the ſiege of Tuſculum, and inveſted Velitræ. But as the generals, who began the ſiege, could not make themſelves maſters of the place before their year expired, ſix new military tribunes were created, without the leaſt oppoſition, to purſue the war with the Veliterni, till their city was reduced. It happened very unfortunately for the patricians, that Fabius Ambuſtus, the father-in-law of Licinius Stolo, was choſen military tribune. His five collegues were, Q. Servilius, M. Cornelius, C. Veturius, Q. Quinctius, and A. Cornelius. The promotion of Fabius encouraged the tribunes to purſue their point with more vigour than ever. They found means to gain over three of their collegues; ſo that of the ten tribunes five were now for the publication of the laws, and five againſt it. Licinius and Sextius were now the eighth year in office; and as they were by long habit thoroughly practiſed in the art of managing the people, they held frequent aſſemblies, and, in the preſence of the multitude, aſked the patricians the following queſtions; Whether they did not think it unreaſonable, that they ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land, whilſt a great number of the plebeians had ſcarce ground enough whereon to build themſelves a ſmall habitation to live in, or a ſepulchre for their family? How can you, patricians, ſaid they, even in point of intereſt, account for your making your miſerable debtors languiſh in chains, and abſolutely putting it out of their power to pay you, by keeping them in priſon? And yet what is more common than to ſee theſe wretched citizens delivered up into the hands of their creditors by your courts of juſtice? Are not the houſes of the patricians become ſo many priſons? When they perceived that theſe enquiries made a great impreſſion on the minds of the people, they immediately added, and what remedy can be provided againſt theſe misfortunes? Since our tribunes are not able to protect us, we muſt introduce ſome

The Veliterni defeated.

of the plebeians into the higheſt offices. Nor will it be ſufficient that plebeians be qualified by law to be conſuls. Was not the number of military tribunes encreaſed, on purpoſe that the plebeians might have a ſhare in that magiſtracy? and yet how few have been raiſed to it? And how much eaſier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled, to ſecure them both to themſelves? It is therefore neceſſary, that a law be paſſed, laying Rome under a neceſſity of chuſing one of her ſupreme governors out of the people. From that very day, and not till then, may the Roman people be deemed to have baniſhed kings from Rome, and eſtabliſhed liberty on a laſting baſis. When the tribunes found that the people liſtened to theſe diſcourſes with great pleaſure, they added a fourth law to the three already mentioned, importing, that decemviri ſhould be elected inſtead of duumviri, to preſerve and interpret the Sibylline books, and that five of them ſhould be always plebeians. However, all proceedings on this, as well as on the other regulations, were ſuſpended, till the reduction of Velitræ, that the ſoldiers employed in that ſiege, who made ſo great a part of the people, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when ſuch important innovations were on foot.

THE year expiring before the return of the army, for the ſiege went on but ſlowly, the republic choſe ſix new military tribunes, L. Quinctius, Sp. Servilius, Serv. Cornelius, L. Papirius, Serv. Sulpicius, and L. Veturius. As for the tribunes of the people, Licinius and Sextius were ſtill continued in their employment, the people being eager to have theſe two oppoſers of the patrician party carry on their deſigns and complete them. The Roman army was no ſooner returned from the ſiege of Velitræ, than Licinius and Sextius ſummoned the people once more, declaring, that they would proceed to the publication of the law, without any regard to the oppoſition of their collegues. The patricians, ſeeing their caſe deſperate, had recourſe to the laſt refuge, which was to nominate a dictator. The man, who ſeemed moſt proper to ſit at the helm of affairs in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon, was Camillus, and accordingly the fathers with unanimous conſent raiſed him to that dignity the fourth time. Camillus was not very forward to accept the charge, being unwilling to quarrel with thoſe very men, whoſe valour he had ſo often employed in war. As affairs then ſtood, he could expect nothing, but either to diſoblige the commons, if he ſucceeded,

Camillus dictator.

ceeded, or to contribute to the ruin of his party, if he did not. However, that zealous patriot did not refuſe to aſſiſt his country, when it ſo much ſtood in need of his authority. From the day he was nominated dictator, the power of the tribunes of the people ought to have been ſuſpended. But Licinius and Sextius, without paying any regard to the dictator, continued ſtill to aſſemble the people, who being met in the forum on the day appointed, the four laws were read to them. The tribes had already begun to give their ſuffrages in order, and the firſt tribe had actually voted in favour of the laws, when the dictator, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of patricians, repaired to the aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf in his tribunal. As the tribunes were divided among themſelves, ſome declaring for the laws and others proteſting againſt them, the dictator riſing up declared, that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the people, and that he would never ſuffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of oppoſition. The two heads of the tribunes laughed at this artful ſpeech, and purſuing their meaſures with great ſteadineſs, continued to take the ſuffrages of the people, which ſo provoked Camillus, that he ordered his lictors to drive away the tribes from their reſpective places, threatening at the ſame time, that if they did not diſperſe immediately, he would aſſemble them in the campus Martius, inliſt them, and make them march into the field without delay. On the other hand the tribunes, to encourage the people, had the boldneſs to threaten the dictator, that, as ſoon as his dictatorſhip was expired, they would get him condemned in a fine of fifty thouſand drachmæ, if he prevented the people from giving their ſuffrages. However, the tribes, terrified at the menaces of a magiſtrate, who had power of life and death, retired, and the comitia were poſtponed to another day. But Camillus, ſeeing the people too much enraged to be brought to any terms, either by authority or perſuaſion, withdrew to his own houſe, and ſoon after laid down his office. Some authors are of opinion, that remembering his exile, he was intimidated by the threatenings of the tribunes, and did not care to venture himſelf again in an affair of ſo much heat. But Livy tells us, that he was informed there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of taking the auſpices, when he was created dictator, and that on this account he would not, as he was very ſcrupulous in theſe matters, retain a dignity conferred upon him contrary to the laws

Lays down his office.

of his religion. The ſenate, after a ſhort inter-regnum, named P. Manlius to ſucceed Camillus. Manlius preſently diſcovered himſelf to be a great favourer of the people; for the firſt thing he did was to name a plebeian, C. Licinius, not Licinius the ſon-in-law of Fabius, for his general of the horſe. Sextius and Licinius no longer doubted, but they ſhould be able to bring their deſigns to a happy concluſion, under the adminiſtration of a dictator who favoured them, and the protection of his general of horſe, provided they could get themſelves continued in the tribuneſhip. In order to this, they pretended, that they would no longer ſerve, repreſenting to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneſhip to no purpoſe, and that, after ſtruggling nine years with the ſenate for the good of the people, the only recompence they had met with was neglect and ingratitude. Shall our laws, ſaid they, wholly tend to your benefit, and we receive no manner of advantage from them ourſelves? Is it conſiſtent with modeſty for you to aſk great advantages by our means, while you reſolve to leave us without honour, or even the hopes of honour? To be plain then, the laws we have propoſed are inſeparable. If you are reſolved to paſs them conjointly, then continue in us the tribuneſhip. We ſhall in that caſe make uſe of the authority you ſhall inveſt us with, to finiſh the work we have begun. But if you are determined to paſs thoſe laws, which concern uſury and the conquered lands, without any regard to our intereſt, we will accept of the tribuneſhip no longer; and be aſſured, that you ſhall not obtain your deſires. The people were very earneſt to paſs the laws concerning the debts and conquered lands; but as to the other two laws, relating to the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſulate, on condition that one of the conſuls ſhould always be a plebeian, and the changing of the duumviri into decemviri, the people did not give themſelves much concern about them, being well appriſed, that the endeavours of the tribunes, to open a way for the plebeians to arrive at the conſulate, were chiefly intended for their own private intereſt. The tribunes therefore would not by any means ſuffer the laws to be propoſed ſeparately. Appius Claudius, grandſon to the famous decemvir, made a long ſpeech, full of invectives againſt the two tribunes, expatiating on the inſolence of the declaration they had made, viz. that the people ſhould not be allowed to paſs ſuch laws as they approved, unleſs they would at the ſame time paſs others which they did not approve. But, notwithſtanding his harangue, the two tribunes were choſen the

tenth

tenth time, the multitude being afraid of loſing ſuch able and zealous defenders. Not long after their re-election, they obtained the paſſing of that law, which related to the care of the Sibylline books. This advantage contented the people for the preſent; and ſix military tribunes, all patricians, were created for the next year without the leaſt diſturbance, viz. A. Cornelius, L. Veturius, M. Cornelius, P. Valerius, M. Geganius, and P. Manlius. In the very beginning of their adminiſtration, the tribunes uſed their utmoſt efforts to get the other laws paſſed, and the debates were carried to ſuch an height on both ſides, that the citizens were upon the point of taking up arms againſt each other, when news was brought to Rome, that a numerous army of Gauls was in full march from the coaſts of the Adriatic, with a deſign to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. The approach of ſo dreadful an enemy ſuſpended the diviſions of the commonwealth. The common danger united both patricians and plebeians, and prompted them to name a dictator. The great Camillus was raiſed to this dignity the fifth time. He was indeed now fourſcore years old, and had very lately laid down the dictatorſhip before the uſual time. But nevertheleſs, his zeal for the welfare of his country induced him to ſacrifice the remaining part of his life to the public good. He did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it; and, having made the neceſſary levies, marched out of Rome with all the vivacity of a young man, after he had named T. Quinctius to be his general of the horſe. As ſoon as he came near the camp of the Gauls, which was on the banks of the Anio, he poſted the ſmalleſt part of his army upon a hill of eaſy aſcent, and concealed the reſt in the vallies and behind the rocks. The poor appearance of the Roman troops made the Gauls ſo confident, that they pillaged the country quite up to his very trenches, which Camillus, in order to encreaſe their confidence, ſuffered them to do for ſeveral days together, keeping himſelf quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all ſides. At length, perceiving, that a great part of the enemy were ſcattered in the country to pillage, and being informed, that thoſe who remained in the camp did nothing night and day but drink and revel, he ordered his light-armed men to march in the night-time into the plain, and to prevent the enemy from drawing up in order of battle, when they ſhould firſt ſally out of their camp. Early in the morning he marched

Camillus dictator for the fifth time.

Defeats the Gauls on the banks of the Anio.

ed down the hill with his main body, and drew them up in battalia. The Gauls haſtened out of their trenches, but the light-armed Romans, falling upon them before they could range themſelves in their uſual order, obliged them to begin the fight in confuſion. In the mean time, Camillus charged them with his heavy-armed legions, and made ſuch a ſlaughter in the foremoſt ranks, that the reſt fled and diſperſed themſelves over the champain country, the Romans being poſſeſſed of the hills. Thoſe who eſcaped the purſuit of the conquerors, fled into Apulia. Some writers are of opinion, that from this time the Gauls began to ſpread themſelves into Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Greece, and Aſia Minor. After this victory the dictator led his victorious army againſt Velitræ, the ſiege of which city had been interrupted. But the Veliterni ſubmitted to him without making the leaſt reſiſtance; he returned therefore to Rome, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him both by the ſenate and people [t].

But the republic was in too great a ferment for the ſenate to conſent to his abdicating the dictatorſhip. The patricians thought, that, under the ſhelter of his great name and abſolute authority, they ſhould be better able to contend with their adverſaries. For the people proud of their late victory, were more obſtinately bent than ever on paſſing the laws ſo long diſputed. Sextius and Licinius, ſeeing themſelves backed and ſupported by the multitude, grew more audacious than ever, and took a moſt extraordinary ſtep to effect their purpoſe. As the dictator was one day ſitting on his tribunal in the forum, an officer, ſent by thoſe tribunes, commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the ſame time, as if he deſigned to ſeize him and carry him away by force. Hereupon ſuch a noiſe and tumult aroſe in the forum, as never had been heard before, the patricians, who attended Camillus, driving back the officer, and the multitude at the foot of the tribunal crying out, 'Pull him down; 'pull him down.' The tribunes deſign was by this violence to frighten Camillus into an abdication, but he, though at a loſs what to do in this exigence, would not lay down the authority, which had been legally conferred upon him. In the midſt of this uproar, he took refuge in the ſenate-houſe, whither the patricians followed him; and there the pretenſions of the people and their tribunes were

The tribunes ſend an officer to ſeize Camillus, though dictator.

[t] Plut. in Camillo Liv. l. vi. c. 40, 41.

were taken into conſideration. On this occaſion Camillus made a vow to build a temple to Concord, in caſe he ſucceeded in quieting theſe commotions. As the populace could not be prevailed upon by any means to abate of their pretenſions, it was reſolved, after many long and warm debates to comply with their requeſt, and to accept the three laws in queſtion, as the only means to extinguiſh their obſtinate fury. Thus the government was changed, the conſulate revived, and the military tribuneſhip laid aſide for ever [u].

THE people having thus carried their point, the comitia were held for the election of conſuls, when L. Æmilius Mamercinus and L. Sextius, the plebeian tribune, were raiſed to that dignity. However, when the election of Sextius came to be confirmed by the ſenate, the conſcript fathers abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it. The new diſputes between the two parties on this occaſion were carried to ſo great a length, that the people were ready to leave Rome and ſeparate themſelves from the patricians, as they had formerly done. All the wiſdom of a dictator univerſally eſteemed was therefore neceſſary to bring about an accommodation; and Camillus found out an expedient, to which both parties agreed. The conſuls and military tribunes, who long ſupplied their places, were generals of the Roman armies, and at the ſame time judges of civil affairs; but as they could not always attend to the latter branch of their office, being commonly during the ſummer in the field, Camillus's expedient was to ſeparate this function from the conſulate, and to create a judge, with the title of Prætor, to whom it ſhould be appropriated. He adviſed the ſenate to ſuffer one conſul to be choſen annually out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætors ſhould be alway patricians. This motion was agreed to by both parties, the election of Sextius was confirmed, and all feuds and diſſenſions in the republic laid aſide (R).

The firſt plebeian conſul. Year of the flood 2637. Year before Chriſt 362. Of Rome 386.

TRAN-

[u] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. vi. c. 41.

(R) The prætorſhip was then looked upon as the ſecond dignity in the republic, the prætor being elected in the comitia by centuries, and under the ſame auſpices as the conſuls; ſo that they were in a manner collegues. The conſul had the management of political and military affairs. The prætor was the chief magiſtrate concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice. Before the eſtabliſhment of the prætorſhip, the conſuls were called

prætors;

The great games.

TRANQUILLITY being thus re-eſtabliſhed, the ſenate, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated. Theſe ſhews formerly laſted only three days; but now a fourth was added to them; and on that account their names was changed from ludi magni, or great games, into that of ludi maximi, or the greateſt games. The preſent ædiles refuſed, for what reaſon we know not, to make the neceſſary preparations for the great games, tho' that was a branch of their office. Hereupon the young patricians cried out; That, ſince the affair in queſtion was to take care of the worſhip of the gods, they ſhould think it no diſhonour to be choſen ædiles. The dictator accepted the offer, and propoſed to the people the eſtabliſhing of two patrician ædileſhips, which they agreed to. Theſe patrician ædiles, from the ivory chair, called ſella curulis, had the name of ædiles curules, and were of greater account, being curule magiſtrates, than the plebeian ædiles. Their buſineſs was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of juſtice, and the repairing of the city walls, and alſo to ſee that no novelty was introduced into religion. In after-ages they examined the fables or pieces written for the ſtage, and ſeem to have been the judges of other writings. To them the generals of armies, upon

The curule ædiles.

prætors; nay, the dictator himſelf aſſumed the title of prætor maximus, the word prætor being derived from the Latin verb præire, ſignifying to go before: Hence the old Latins called their commanders prætores. At firſt one prætor only was appointed. Afterwards, that is, about the year of Rome 501, another was added; and then one of them applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice among the citizens, with the name of prætor urbanus, while the other decided the differences which aroſe amongſt foreigners, with the title of prætor peregrinus. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia, two more prætors were created to aſſiſt the conſuls in the government, and as many more upon the entire conqueſt of Spain. Sylla encreaſed their number to eight; Julius Cæſar, firſt to ten, and afterwards to ſixteen; and the ſecond triumvirate to ſixty-four. From this time we meet ſometimes with twelve prætors, and ſometimes with eighteen; but, in the declenſion of the empire, they were reduced to three. When the number of the prætors was thus encreaſed, the prætor urbanus undertook the cognizance of private cauſes, and the others that of crimes; whence they were alſo ſtyled Quæſitores. Beſides theſe, there were alſo provincial prætors, whoſe buſineſs it was to adminiſter juſtice in the Roman provinces, and command the troops there in time of war, till their office, which was annual, expired.

upon their return, delivered the corn and proviſions taken from the enemy, as they did the priſoners to the prætor, and the money to the quæſtor. Nothing now remained, but to mark out a place for the temple of Concord, which Camillus had vowed. It was built, at the expence of the public, upon an eminence at the foot of the capitol; ſo that it was ſeen from the forum, and the placed where the aſſemblies were held and juſtice was adminiſtered. Thus ended a year ſo glorious for Camillus. He had overcome the moſt formidable enemies of Rome, reſtored peace to the republic, and calmed the people, without exaſperating the nobility. Full therefore of glory and of years, he laid down the dictatorſhip, wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in the repoſe and tranquillity of a private life. The temple of Concord.

THE enſuing year all continued quiet, both at home and abroad, except that the tribunes of the people complained, and could not bear, that for one plebeian conſul granted to the people, the patricians had got three curule magiſtrates, viz. a prætor and two ædiles. Their complaints, backed with the murmurs of the people, made an impreſſion on the ſenate; and the patricians conſented, that the curule ædiles ſhould be choſen out of the plebeians every ſecond year. Afterwards they left the people at full liberty to chuſe them every year out of either body. Theſe eſtabliſhments being once made, Rome enjoyed a profound peace, under the adminiſtration of the new conſuls, L. Genucius, a plebeian, and Servilius Ahala, a patrician. This year a dreadful plague broke out, which ſwept away great numbers; amongſt the reſt one cenſor, three tribunes of the people, and one curule ædile; but the moſt fatal ſtroke of all was the death of the great Camillus, who was much regretted by all ranks of people. He was deſervedly ſtyled a ſecond Romulus, the firſt having founded, and he reſtored, the city. He is ſaid never to have fought a battle without gaining a complete victory, never to have beſieged a city without taking it, and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded both with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and, though perſecuted by his ungrateful country, would never hearken to his juſt reſentments. The neceſſities of the public no ſooner obliged the people to have recourſe to him, than, forgetting the affronts he had received, he took upon him the conduct of the moſt difficult and laborious undertakings. Death of Camillus.

takings. He was a patrician by deſcent; but not actuated by party-zeal, his love for the public being the only rule of his conduct. He favoured the plebeians, when the intereſt of the public required him to do ſo, but without flattery or ſelf-intereſt. He had nothing in view but to do every one juſtice, and put an end to the diſſenſions which weakened the republic; ſo that he left his country in the enjoyment of a perfect tranquillity at his death, by means of the equality he had wiſely introduced, and the juſt balance he had ſettled between all orders of men in the republic. In ſhort, Rome may be ſaid to have furniſhed the world with many noble patterns of probity; but, none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable Camillus.

THE Roman republic, at the time of Camillus's death, had ſcarce gained any encreaſe of territory, except on the other ſide of the Tiber, in the country of the Hetrurians; nor did her juriſdiction even there reach far beyond Veii and Cære; ſo that it was confined within ſix or ſeven leagues of the capital. Ever ſince the taking and ſacking of Rome by the Gauls, her allies had been continually wavering in their fidelity. The eternal jealouſies between the nobility and people retarded their conqueſts, and revived the hopes of the nations they had conquered. The tribunes of the people were ever oppoſing the enterprizes of the conſuls or military tribunes. The ſenate had often recourſe to a dictator, and then the experience and valour of the Roman troops made them victorious; but the return of domeſtic ſeditions gave the people, whom they had conquered, an opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke. Thus were the Romans, without interruption, running in the ſame round of wars againſt the ſame enemies, without reaping any advantage from their conqueſts. Such was the ſtate of Rome, when C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo were raiſed to the conſulate. The firſt was a patrician, and the latter the famous plebeian tribune, ſon-in-law to Fabius, who jointly with his collegue Sextius, had firſt contrived the four laws, then maintained them, and at length, in the ten years he had been tribune, obtained the publication of them. And now the promiſe which Fabius had made to his younger daughter, that ſhe ſhould ſee the ſame honours paid to her huſband, which ſhe had beheld with envy paid to the huſband of her elder ſiſter, was fulfilled. She had the pleaſure to ſee for a whole year the lictors with their faſces march before her huſband, and to have her houſe adorned with thoſe enſigns of the ſupreme power and

As

As the plague ſtill continued to rage, the Romans had recourſe to an old ſuperſtition called lectiſternium. This was a religious entertainment made for the gods in their own temples, where tables were ſpread, and beds placed round them, on which the gods, according to the Roman faſhion, were to lie, and eat. The beds were placed near the altars, and ſtrewed with leaves and odoriferous herbs, as well as the temples; whence this ceremony had the name of lectiſternium, that is, a ſtrewing of a bed. The ſtatues of Jupiter and the other gods were laid upon theſe beds, as if they had been to partake of the feaſt. The goddeſſes were placed on chairs, after the manner of the Roman women, this being thought the more decent poſture for their ſex; but, as the ceremony of the lectiſternium did not remove the plague, the ſuperſtitious Romans endeavoured to appeaſe the anger of the gods, by inſtituting new ſports, which were called ſcenici, from their being repreſented on a ſcene, that is, a ſtage built in the ſhade. The performers were brought out of Hetruria, in the language of which country hiſter ſignified a player; whence came the Latin word hiſtrio. Theſe hiſtriones or actors danced to the flute, and kept time with their motions and geſtures; but their dances, in theſe early times, were not accompanied by any verſes or diſcourſes. Afterwards the Roman youth imitated theſe foreign dances, and mixed ſuch jokes and raillery with them, as were ſuitable to the geſtures and poſtures they mimicked. This mixture of dances and merry verſes were very agreeable to the people, which prompted ſome to undertake the compoſing of verſes for the ſtage; but the firſt ſpeakers fell into the corrupt taſte of the Feſcennini, a people of Hetruria, who threw rude and unpremeditated jokes at one another, without any order or regularity. Theſe were ſoon ſucceeded by ſatires, written in verſe and ſet to the flute; which ſatires were repeated with ſuitable geſtures. Some years after, Livius Andronicus turned the ſatires into regular plays; and then the farces, which had made people laugh, were deſpiſed (S).

The lectiſternium.

The ſcenic ſhews.

(S) However, the Roman youth revived theſe farces, and acted them at the end of their ſerious pieces. When the profeſſed actors had finiſhed their parts, ſome young Romans came upon the ſtage maſqued, and began to repeat merry verſes as formerly, but ſuch as were free from obſcenity. Theſe pieces were

THE

THE ſcenic plays, which were introduced at this time, were performed in a part of the circus, near the banks of the Tiber, which happening to overflow, the people concluded, were firſt brought from Atella, a city of Campania, and called exodia, that is, verſes not belonging to the play. The Roman youth never ſuffered the profeſſed actors to bear any part in their exodia, for fear of diſhonouring them; ſo that the perſons who acted theſe pieces, were not liable to the penalties inflicted on the hiſtriones. Their names were not blotted out of the tribes, in which they were incorporated; nor were they excluded as infamous perſons from ſerving in war. In ſhort, they were not upon the foot of actors hired to entertain the public. The profeſſion of an actor was indeed honourable among the Greeks. Æſchines acted on the ſtage of Athens in his youth, and yet became one of the greateſt orators of his time, and equalled Demoſthenes himſelf (9). Ariſtodemus, tho' an actor, was ſent on an embaſſy to Philip king of Macedon, in the name of the republic of Athens (10). But this was not the caſe with the Romans. Cornelius Nepos ſhews us the difference in his preface, where he ſays, that in Greece it was no diſhonour to a man to appear upon the ſtage in the habit of an actor; whereas among the Romans it was infamous and unworthy of an honeſt man. Hence Tully ſays of Roſcius the comedian, that he ſeemed to be the only man of his profeſſion who deſerved to be encouraged, and have a numerous audience, adding, that ſo mean an employment was unworthy of ſo honeſt a man, and that he deſerved a more honourable ſtation and more ſuitable to his probity (11). The profeſſed actors could not be incorporated in any tribe, and conſequently had no right of ſuffrage. None who acted on the ſtage were capable of ſerving in the legions, or bearing any civil or military employment. A ſenator, if he acted but once on the ſtage, was immediately degraded; and a knight forfeited all his privileges. An actreſs was infamous, and ſubject to the ſame laws as common proſtitutes. Theſe puniſhments were decreed and inflicted by an edict of the prætor; Ait prætor, ſays Ulpian, Qui in ſcenam prodierit, infamis eſt (12). But the actors of the Atellanæ were not compriſed under this law, the Roman nobility confining the acting of theſe performances to themſelves. If any actor in theſe pieces did not perform his part well, the people did not oblige him to unmaſk, which they had a right to do with reſpect to the profeſſed actors.

(9) Vide Demoſth. in orat. de corona apud Quinctil. l. ii. c. 17. & Plut. in vitis decem rhetor. (10) Cic. l. iv. de repub. apud S. Auguſt. l. ii. de civit. Dei. (11) Cic. orat. pro Quinctio. (12) Ulpian. l. ii. par. 5. ff. de iis qui infamia notantur.

cluded, that the new remedy was not efficacious to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. They therefore revived an old religious ceremony, which was ſaid to have proved effectual in the like calamity. This was, the driving of a nail by a dictator into that part of the wall of Jupiter Capitolinus's temple, which divided it from the chapel of Minerva under the ſame roof. This odd ceremony was borrowed from the Volſinienſes in Hetruria, who reckoned their years by nails, which they drove into a temple of the goddeſs Nortia or Fortune. When Brutus and Horatius Pulvillus were conſuls, immediately after the expulſion of the Tarquins, the Romans built the famous temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and reſolved to mark down in it, and thereby tranſmit to poſterity, the number of years, which had paſſed ſince the foundation of Rome; but as they were then unacquainted with the numeral letters, they drove as many nails into the wall of the temple, as there had paſſed years ſince their city was founded. Every year afterwards, on the ides of September, the chief prætor, or conſul for the time being, drove a nail into this wall, which ſhewed the year of his conſulſhip. Livy tells us, that the law which enjoined this ceremony was written in antique characters and obſolete words, and fixed up in the chapel of Minerva, whom the Romans looked upon as the inventreſs of numbers. This ceremony of driving the nail was afterwards transferred from the conſuls to dictators, as magiſtrates of greater dignity and power; and, as it had been long diſcontinued, it was thought neceſſary to revive it at this time, ſome of the old people reporting, that it had formerly put a ſtop to a violent plague. A dictator was accordingly named for the performing of this ceremony, and the perſon raiſed to that dignity was T. Manlius, who, from his haughty ſpirit and imperious air, was ſurnamed Imperioſus. He choſe L. Pinarius Natta for his general of the horſe, and, with great pomp and ſolemnity, drove the nail into the wall of the temple; but the proud dictator, unwilling to have the whole buſineſs of his office confined to one religious ceremony, ordered troops to be raiſed, and even forced the citizens, tho' worn out with long ſickneſs, to inliſt themſelves, under pretence, that the Hernici were preparing to ſhake off the Roman yoke; but, as he had been nominated dictator to perform a religious ceremony, and

Manlius Imperioſus dictator.

and not to command an army, the tribunes of the people repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to lay down his office; which he had no ſooner done, than he was cited by M. Pomponius, one of the tribunes, to anſwer before the people for the violence and cruelty which he had exerciſed over the citizens; for he had impriſoned ſome, and cauſed others to be barbarouſly whipped. He was alſo accuſed of treating inhumanly one of his own ſons, by name Titus, whom he had confined to the country, obliging him to work among his ſlaves, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was of ſlow parts and had an impediment in his ſpeech. This ſhews, that the abſolute power which fathers, by the laws of Rome, had over their children, was kept within bounds by the ſuperior authority of the magiſtrates. Manlius had, according to cuſtom, a copy of the heads of his accuſation given him, and the uſual time of three market-days, or twenty-ſeven days, allowed him to prepare for his defence. All were highly exaſperated againſt ſo ſevere a dictator and ſo barbarous a father, except the ſon himſelf, who, moved with filial piety, and under the greateſt concern that he ſhould furniſh matter of accuſation againſt his father, reſolved upon a moſt extraordinary method to deliver him. Early in the morning he left the country-houſe, to which he had been baniſhed by his unnatural father, came to the city, and ſtopped no-where till he got to the houſe of Pomponius, who was yet in bed. However, Manlius was immediately admitted by the tribune, who did not doubt but he was come to diſcover to him ſome new inſtances of his father's ſeverity. After they had ſaluted each other, Manlius deſired a private conference; whereupon every body was ordered to withdraw. Then the young man, drawing out a poniard and holding it cloſe to the tribune's throat, threatened to ſtab him that moment, if he did not ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution he was carrying on againſt his father. Pomponius was ſo terrified, that he readily ſwore whatever the other was pleaſed to dictate, and, thinking himſelf obliged even to comply with an involuntary obligation, dropped the proſecution. The people was not diſpleaſed at the bold enterprize of a ſon in favour of a father, by whom he had been uſed in the baſed manner. They all extolled his piety, and not only, for his ſake, pardoned the father, but the ſame year raiſed him to one of the moſt important

A remarkable inſtance of filial piety.

important poſts in the Roman army, that of legionary tribune[w].

THIS year the Hernici revolted; but, while the Romans were preparing to bring them back to their duty, an unforeſeen accident threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. The earth opened all on a ſudden in the midſt of the forum, probably by the violence of an earthquake. The citizens, having laboured in vain to fill up the chaſm by throwing abundance of earth into it, had at laſt recourſe to the augurs, who declared, that they would never be able to compaſs their deſign, till that thing, in which the ſtrength and power of the Roman people conſiſted, was thrown into the place; and that ſuch a victim would ſecure the eternal duration of the Roman ſtate. While they were all conſulting about the meaning of this oracle, M. Curtius, a brave young patrician, having firſt aſked them, Whether Rome had any thing more valuable than arms and valour? armed himſelf completely, and mounting a horſe richly capariſoned, came to the forum, and, in the ſight of the people who were aſſembled in crouds, devoted himſelf to death for his country, and rode full ſpeed into the gulph; an action, which ſome hiſtorians would willingly magnify with a miracle; for they tell us, that the ground immediately cloſed; but the moſt judicious writers own, that the opening was afterwards filled up with earth and rubbiſh[x]. After M. Curtius had thus devoted himſelf, the Romans did not doubt but they ſhould ſoon humble the Hernici: but they were diſappointed; for Genucius, the firſt plebeian conſul who had ever been entruſted with the command of an army, fell into an ambuſcade, and was killed, after the legions, ſeized with a ſudden fright, had abandoned him. Some hiſtorians ſeem to doubt, whether he did not fall by the hand of a Roman; at leaſt it is certain, the melancholy news of his defeat did not ſo much grieve the patricians, as raiſe their pride. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of Rome were owing to the violation of human and divine rights in the conſecration of a plebeian conſul. To wipe off the diſgrace which Rome had received, it was reſolved

The earth opens in the forum.

Curtius leaps into the gulph.

The Romans defeated, and the conſul killed, by the Hernici.

[w] Liv. l. vii. c. 4. Cic. offic. l. iii. Val. Max. l. v. c. 4.
[x] Liv l. vii. c. 6. Val. Max. l. v. c. 6. Oroſ. l. iii. c. 5. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 18.

to create a dictator. Servilius, the surviving consul, named to that office Appius Claudius, the most inveterate enemy of the plebeian party, that he might repair the losses, which the republic had sustained by the mismanagement of a plebeian consul. While the dictator was raising a second army, the Hernici, elated with their late success, advanced with great boldness to besiege the vanquished in their camp; but C. Sulpicius, who had been lieutenant to Genucius, and had, after the defeat and death of his general, collected the scattered troops, sallying out upon them, obliged them to return to their own intrenchments. Appius soon after arrived with a new army, which he had just raised in the city, and having exhorted his men to imitate the bravery of Sulpicius and the soldiers under his command, prepared for a general engagement. The Hernici, hearing that a dictator was created to carry on the war against them, exhausted their country of men to reinforce their army, none who were able to bear arms being excused from taking the field. Out of this multitude they chose three thousand two hundred men, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of four hundred men each. This was the flower of the enemy's troops; and their generals, to distinguish them from the rest, and by that means engage them to exert themselves in battle, not only allowed them double pay, but exempted them from all the laborious offices of the army. The dictator no sooner began to draw up his men, but the Hernici did the same, in a plain, which lay between the two camps, and was about three miles over. This was the field of battle; and never were forces more equal, or the victory more doubtful. The Roman knights engaged the eight cohorts; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the enemy kept both their ground and ranks. The bad success of this first onset made the Roman cavalry change their way of fighting. They all dismounted, and, with permission of their general, posted themselves in the first line, at the head of the infantry. The eight cohorts still made head against them with incredible bravery, the rest of the soldiers in both armies being idle spectators of a battle fought by the flower of the two nations. The victory was a long time doubtful, many falling on both sides; but at length the better fortune of the Romans, as Livy expresses it, prevailed; the cohorts first retreated in good order, and then, being warmly pressed, gave way and fled in confusion. The conquerors pursued the enemy to their camp; but

The Hernici defeated by Appius Claudius dictator.

but night coming on hindered them from attempting to force it. The next morning the Romans found it abandoned; the Hernici having retired under the walls of their cities. This victory coſt the Romans dear; for they are ſaid to have loſt a fourth part of their army and a great number of knights. The dictator returned to the city; but did not obtain a triumph, the people being in all likelihood unwilling to beſtow that honour on the moſt declared enemy of the plebeian party [y].

NOTWITHSTANDING the misfortune of Genucius, the centuries choſe another plebeian conſul, viz. C. Licinius Stolo, a ſecond time, and with him C. Sulpicius, ſirnamed Peticus. As the moſt violent enemy of the plebeians had been nominated dictator the laſt year by the patricians, ſo the moſt enterprizing adverſary of the nobility was now raiſed to the higheſt office by the ſuffrages of the people. The two conſuls entered the enemy's country together; but finding no enemy in the field, they beſieged and took Ferentinum, formerly a city of the Volſci, which had been given up to the Hernici by the Romans. After the ſurrender of this place, they took the road to Rome; but when they came to Tybur, they were ſurprized to find the gates of that city ſhut againſt them. Upon enquiry, they found, that the Tyburtes were in ſecret intelligence with the Gauls, who were again in motion. The apprehenſion of a war with ſo formidable an enemy made them determine to create a dictator. T. Quinctius Pennus was the perſon nominated to that dignity, and he appointed Serv. Cornelius to be his general of the horſe. While the Romans were preparing for the war, the Gauls advanced as far as the banks of the Anio, within three miles of Rome. The Roman army, under the command of the dictator, immediately advanced to meet them, and encamped on the oppoſite banks of the river. Both armies lay near one of the bridges of the Anio, which neither of them offered to break down, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue fear; ſo that this bridge became the ſcene of ſeveral combats between the champions of both parties. One day a Gaul of gigantic ſtature, advancing upon the bridge, cried out with a loud voice, "Let the braveſt man "in the Roman army enter the liſts with me; the ſucceſs "of

Ferentinum taken from the Hernici.

[y] Liv. ibid.

" of our combat ſhall determine which is the more valiant " nation." His extraordinary ſize and fierce looks ſtruck the Romans with ſuch terror, that, for a long time, not one in the whole army offered to accept the challenge. At length young Manlius, who had ſo remarkably ſignalized his piety to his father, touched with a juſt ſenſe of the affront offered to the Roman name, quitted his poſt, and flying to the dictator, aſked leave to encounter the Gaul. Tho' I were ſure of victory, ſaid he, I would not fight this proud Gaul without your orders; but, if you will give me leave, I will make this huge beaſt know, that I am of the blood of that Manlius, whoſe valour proved ſo fatal to the Gauls on the capitol. The dictator, who had been very uneaſy that no Roman had accepted the challenge before, readily complied with the requeſt of the brave youth. "Go " Manlius, ſaid he, and humble the pride of this inſulting " enemy. Revenge the cauſe of the city where you firſt " drew your breath, as ſucceſsfully as you relieved him to " whom you owe it." Upon this the young Roman, having changed his round buckler, which he wore as a Roman knight, for a ſquare one, and armed himſelf with a ſhort ſword, fit both for cutting and ſtabbing, advanced againſt the Gaul, who was ſtrutting about in his armour and making an oſtentatious ſhew of his ſtrength. Both Romans and Gauls retired to their reſpective poſts, leaving the bridge free for the two champions. The Gaul, ſays Livy, began the combat, by diſcharging a great blow with his long ſword at Manlius, which made much noiſe, but did no execution. Hereupon the young Roman, dexterouſly ſlipping under his enemy's ſhield before he recovered his heavy ſword, ſtabbed him in two places; ſo that he ſoon fell, and covered, to uſe Livy's expreſſion, a vaſt piece of ground with his huge body. The conqueror cut off his head, and, without troubling himſelf about the reſt of his ſpoils, only ſeized a golden collar, which he tore from his neck, and, bloody as it was, put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence he got the ſirname of Torquatus, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. The event of this combat ſo diſcouraged the Gauls, that they abandoned their camp in the night and retired into Campania [z].

Young Manlius kills in ſingle combat a mighty champion of the Gauls, who thereupon retire.

As ſoon as the conſuls for the new year entered upon their office, the one, viz. C. Pætelius Libo, was ſent with an

[z] Liv. l. vii. c. 9. Oroſ. l. v. c. 6.

an army to puniſh the Tyburtes; and the other, M. Fabius Ambuſtus, was ordered to march againſt the Hernici, who perſiſted in their revolt. The two conſuls had no ſooner left Rome, than the Gauls appeared again, and, venturing to advance into the neighbourhood of Rome, blocked up the gate Colina. However, the ſenate did not think proper to recal either of the conſuls. A dictator was created to make head againſt thoſe dangerous enemies, and the conſuls pitched upon Servilius Ahala, who, having named T. Quinctius to be his general of horſe, and armed all the youth that were left in Rome, came to an engagement with the Gauls under the very walls of Rome. As the Romans fought in ſight of their parents, wives, and children, who were on the ramparts, they behaved with extraordinary valour. The battle was very bloody, and the field all covered with dead bodies; but at length the Gauls gave way and fled towards Tybur, where the conſul Pætelius fell upon them, with a deſign to prevent them from taking refuge in that city: but the Tyburtes ſallying out covered their retreat; ſo that they eſcaped, but not without great loſs, the purſuit of the conquerors. On the other hand, Fabius fought the Hernici with ſucceſs, and overcame them in a general action. Thus was the republic this year victorious on all ſides. The honours of a triumph were chiefly due to the dictator; but he, either deſpiſing them out of pride, or declining them out of modeſty, on his return to Rome, highly commended the two conſuls both to the ſenate and people, and then, without mentioning his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorſhip. Pætelius ſolicited for a triumph and obtained it; but his colleague Fabius, who had conquered the Hernici, was content with an ovation [a].

The Gauls and Hernici defeated.

The next year Cn. Manlius Imperioſus and M. Popilius Lænas being conſuls, the Tyburtes came in the dead of the night to the very gates of Rome, and alarmed the city, the people believing that the Gauls were come again; but the return of light diſcovering only a ſmall number of Tyburtes, who were come rather out of a bravado, than with any concerted deſign to ſurprize the city, the conſuls marched out at two different gates, and eaſily repulſed the bold aggreſſors. The conſuls for the next year were C. Fabius

[a] Liv. l. vii. c. 11. & 12.

The Hernici ſubdued.

Ambuſtus and C. Plautius Proculus. The latter marched againſt the Hernici, and totally ſubdued them; but the former, being ſent againſt the Tarquinienſes, who had entered the Roman territory in arms, was defeated by them. The Tarquinienſes took three hundred and ſeven Roman priſoners, and, to ſhew their contempt of the republic, firſt treated them in a barbarous manner, and then cut their throats. The diſadvantage Fabius had ſuffered was followed by a new alarm from the Boii, who appeared all on a ſudden in the plain of Prænefte, and from thence advanced as far as Pedum, a city of Latium between Tybur and Tuſculum, and not above ten miles from Rome; but the Latins, perhaps tired with ſeeing their country almoſt every year plunderd by the Gauls, renewed very ſeaſonably their alliance with Rome, and furniſhed her armies with the ſame quota of men they had formerly ſtipitulated to grant. With this reinforcement the republic was in a condition to make head againſt all her enemies. As the conſuls were both employed elſewhere, Sulpicius, ſirnamed Peticus, was created dictator, to conduct the war againſt the Gauls.

Sulpicius Peticus dictator marches againſt the Gauls,

The dictator named M. Valerius for his general of the horſe; and having choſen out the beſt legions in the two conſular armies, he took the field and marched againſt the enemy. Both armies were very impatient to come to a battle; but the dictator reſtrained the impetuoſity of his men, being well appriſed, that the Gauls muſt neceſſarily be ſoon diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſince they had brought none with them, nor prepared any magazines; but the ſoldiers began to complain of their general's conduct, and even threatened openly to attack the enemy without his leave, or to quit the camp and march back to Rome. They came in crowds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded acceſs to him, having named Sextius Tullius to be their ſpeaker. Sextius was an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage, and had been for ſeven years laſt paſt the firſt captain of the firſt corps of the army. The dictator was therefore ſurprized to ſee a company of ſeditious men headed by an officer of his rank and reputation. Sextius, in the name of the army, reproached the dictator with the diſadvantageous opinion he ſeemed to entertain of his troops, and preſſed him to lead them againſt the enemy. His diſcourſe was followed by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave

to

to arm and march to battle. The dictator could not help complying with their requeſt, and therefore promiſed to lead them out againſt the enemy the next day. Then taking Sextius aſide, he aſked him, What could have put him at the head of a faction? The brave centurion replied, that it was not want of reſpect to his general, or ignorance of the martial laws; but to divert the unruly multitude from chuſing a leader, who might have done ſomething injurious to the dignity of the dictator. He then exhorted Sulpicius to yield to the deſires of thoſe impetuous men, who were ſtrongly inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting without his leave. The dictator followed his advice; and having acquainted his men that he deſigned to engage the enemy the next day, he ordered all the muleteers of the army to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horſes, to mount them, and, marching up the hills in the night-time, to conceal themſelves in the woods, till they received further orders. This, as Frontinus informs us, was then a new ſtratagem; but often practiſed afterwards both by the Romans and other nations. As ſoon as it was day, Sulpicius led his troops out of their entrenchments, and marched up againſt the Gauls, who did not expect to ſee the Romans appear ſo ſoon in the field. He drew up his army ſo, that all the legionaries, who uſed to attack the enemy at the head of their legions with a ſort of darts called pila, ſucceeded one another in files. As ſoon as one company of them was within reach of the enemy, they diſcharged their darts and inſtantly retired, leaving a ſpace of ground between them and the Gauls. Then a ſecond company took the place of the other, and did the ſame. Thus four companies ſucceeded one another, diſcharging their darts and falling back, without ſuffering the Gauls, who depended chiefly on their long ſwords to come near them. This repeated diſcharge of darts, which put the enemy into ſome confuſion, was no ſooner over, than the reſt of the legions cloſed in with them ſword in hand. The Gauls, tho' in ſome diſorder, ſuſtained the attack with great bravery, and even obliged the right wing of the Romans to give ground. Then the dictator, who was there in perſon, flying to the foremoſt ranks, Is this, ſaid he, the effect of your promiſes? Will all your boldneſs in the camp end in a ſhameful flight in the field? Follow your general, if you are true Romans. Having thus ſpoke, the brave dictator

Attacks them.

advanced

advanced ſword in hand at the head of his legions, which, confounded with ſhame, threw themſelves upon the enemy's battalions, and fought like men in deſpair. There was indeed more of a ſavage fierceneſs than true courage in this attack; but it ſucceeded. The Gauls were put to flight, and the Romans purſued them; but the enemy rallied near their right wing, which kept its ground, tho' attacked with great vigor by the dictator, at the head of his victorious troops. Then Sulpicius ſent orders to his muleteers to leave their ambuſcade, appear in the plain, and march towards the camp of the Gauls, who no ſooner ſaw them, than they quitted their ranks, and haſtened in confuſion to the defence of their camp; but M. Valerius, general of the horſe, who had poſted himſelf near the enemy's camp, after the defeat of their left wing, intercepted their flight; ſo that they had no retreat left but to the mountains and woods. Valerius purſued them cloſe with his cavalry, and put moſt of them to the ſword, the whole plain being for ſome miles covered with dead bodies. This victory left the republic no enemies in Latium. The Hernici were ſubdued; the Gauls vanquiſhed and cut in pieces; and the Latins quieted. In ſhort Rome was now in as flouriſhing a condition as it had been before it was taken by the Senones. Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a triumph, which he well deſerved, reſigned the dictatorſhip, and the government returned into the hands of the two conſuls for the year [b]. During their adminiſtration, a law was paſſed, at the motion of Pætelius the tribune, againſt openly canvaſſing for votes; for the novi homines, or upſtarts, more ambitious of offices than the patricians themſelves, not only ſolicited the ſuffrages of the people in the forum, but even went to the country fairs and other public meetings to buy voices.

And gains a complete victory.

UNDER the ſucceeding conſuls, C. Marcius Rutilus and Cn. Manlius Imperioſus, the intereſt of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of Duilius and Mænius, two tribunes of the people, ſettled at one per cent. The patricians, diſpleaſed with a law which ſet bounds to their avarice, in order to revenge themſelves on the plebeians, cited the famous Licinius Stolo to anſwer for a breach of one of the four laws, which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly promoted, forbidding any citizen to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land. Licinius actually poſſeſſed a thouſand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his ſon, or given

[b] Liv. l. vii. c. 15. Faſt. Capit.

given up his authority over him, and made him the nominal poſſeſſor of one half of them; but, as this emancipation was made purely to evade the law, he was convicted of fraud before the prætor, and fined ten thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, about thirty-two pounds ſterling [c]. This ſame year the conſul Marcius defeated the Privernates, who had declared againſt Rome the year before, and took their city. His colleague Manlius marched againſt the Faliſci, a people of Hetruria; but gained no conſiderable advantage over them. Nothing was talked of at Rome, but his attempt upon the conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the tribes near Sutrium, and made a law in his camp, whereby it was enacted, that, for the future, the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave ſhould be paid into the public treaſury. The law paſſed by the favour of the conſcript fathers, notwithſtanding its irregularity; but the tribunes of the people thought this ſtep might be of dangerous conſequence to the public liberty: The tribes, ſaid they, when aſſembled in a camp and by an armed conſul, are not free to vote as they pleaſe; beſides, the ſoldiers, who are ſworn to obey their generals, will of courſe give their ſuffrages as their commanders direct them. To prevent therefore theſe inconveniencies, the tribunes got a law paſſed, forbidding any magiſtrate to aſſemble the comitia any-where but in Rome, under pain of death. However, the law for paying the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave was not repealed. The two conſuls for the following year, M. Fabius Ambuſtus and M. Popilius Lænas, were employed, the firſt againſt the Faliſci and Tarquinienſes, and the latter againſt the Tyburtes. Popilius, not finding the enemy in the field, ravaged their country and carried off a great booty; but Fabius, after having gained ſome advantage over the united forces of the Faliſci and Tarquinienſes, and the latter againſt the Tyburtes. Popilius, not finding the enemy in the field, ravaged their country and carried off a great booty; but Fabius, after having gained ſome advantage over the united forces of the Faliſci and Tarquinienſes, was obliged to retire, all Hetruria taking up arms againſt him. Upon his retreat, a numerous army of Hetrurians advanced as far as the ſalt-pits on the banks of the Tiber. Their approach obliged the Romans to have recourſe to a dictator

Privernum taken by the Romans

[c] Liv. l vii. c. 16. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 6. Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

C. Marcius Rutilus a plebeian dictator.

tator. The conſul Popilius named him in the abſence of his collegue, and as he was a plebeian himſelf, he pitched upon C. Marcius Rutilus, the plebeian conſul for the laſt year. The dictator likewiſe choſe a plebeian, C. Plautius Proculus, for his general of horſe. The patricians, highly provoked at theſe promotions, did all that lay in their power to prevent the dictator from having ſuch things decreed him as were neceſſary for the war. But the people, on the other hand, haſtened the preparations for the campaign; ſo that, every thing being got ready ſooner than uſual, the dictator took the field without delay, marched ſtraight to the enemy's camp, ſurprized and forced it, nothing being able to withſtand the Roman ſoldiery under the conduct of a plebeian dictator, the firſt who had ever been raiſed to that high office. Hiſtorians do not tell us what number of Hetrurians periſhed in the battle; but leave us to gueſs at the multitude of the ſlain by the number of priſoners; for we are told, that eight thouſand were taken in this famous action. This victory well deſerved the honours of a triumph, which the patricians, jealous of the glory of a plebeian dictator, oppoſed to the utmoſt of their power: but the people, in ſpite of their oppoſition, did him juſtice; ſo that he entered Rome in triumph the day before the nones of May [d].

Triumphs over the Hetrurians.

The time drawing near for electing new conſuls, and there being none but plebeian magiſtrates in Rome to preſide in the comitia, the nobility raiſed difficulties againſt holding them. They pretended, that it was not lawful for any plebeian, tho' a dictator, to preſide in them. The pontifical laws, ſaid they, require, that the election of chief magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by auguries, which belong of right only to the patricians. And for this time they prevailed: the dictator and the conſul Popilius were excluded on account of their birth. As it was neceſſary to have ſome magiſtrate of the firſt rank to preſide at the election, the republic had recourſe to an inter-regnum, during which it was governed by ſix patricians, viz. Q. Servilius Ahala, M. Fobius, Cn. Manlius, C. Fabius, C. Sulpicius, and L. Æmilius. Theſe governed by turns, and managed their affairs ſo well, that the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed moſt were excluded from a ſhare in the government; for C. Sulpicius

[d] Liv. l. vii. c. 17. Oros. l. iii. c. 6. Eutrop. l. ii. Faſt. Capit.

picius Peticus and M. Valerius Poplicola, both patricians, were raiſed to the conſulate, tho' for the laſt eleven years one of the conſuls had been a plebeian. The tribunes exclaimed againſt the election, as contrary to the laws; but Fabius, who preſided in the comitia, ſilenced them, by quoting a law of the twelve tables, whereby it was enacted, that only the laſt edict of the people ſhould be of force, and render all preceding ones null. From thence he inferred, that the Roman people, by giving their votes to two patricians, had repealed the law, which divided the conſulate between the patricians and plebeians. The conſuls of this year took Empulum from the Tyburtes; but did nothing elſe worth mentioning. When the time came for new elections, they declared, that they would not reſign their dignity into any hands, but thoſe from which they had received it. We hold the conſulate, ſaid they, of the ſenate and patricians, and therefore think ourſelves bound, both in honour and gratitude, not to reſign it into any hands but theirs. This extraordinary proceeding occaſioned ſuch commotions in the campus Martius, that the greater number of the people cried out, that they ought not only to diſſolve the aſſembly, but leave Rome, as they had done formerly. Many actually retired, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them, who gave their ſuffrages for two patricians, M. Fabius Ambuſtus and T. Quinctius Pennus, who took the field without delay againſt the Tyburtes and Tarquinienſes. The former were totally ſubdued by Fabius, and the latter defeated in a bloody battle by Quinctius, who, to revenge the cruelty they had formerly committed on three hundred and ſeven Roman ſoldiers, put all the priſoners to the ſword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he ſent to Rome, where, by order of the ſenate, they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Theſe victories gained the Romans ſuch reputation among the Italian nations, that the Samnites ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to propoſe an alliance with the republic. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the ſenate, and the alliance concluded, the Samnites engaging to furniſh the republic with troops, when required, and the Romans promiſing to protect them againſt their enemies both at home and abroad. Thus Rome advanced by degrees to that immenſe grandeur to which at laſt ſhe attained.

Empulum taken from the Tyburtes, who are totally ſubdued.

The Samnites enter into an alliance with Rome.

THE

THE patricians had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the people, that they kept the conſulate in their own hands, and promoted to that dignity C. Sulpicius Peticus and M. Valerius Poplicola. The former marched againſt the Tarquinienſes, and the latter againſt the Volſci, who were anew in motion. The conſuls had ſcarce taken the field, when Valerius was recalled to nominate a dictator, the ſenate being informed by Sulpicius, that the Cærites were diſpoſed to take part with the Tarquinienſes, and that the Faliſci had already joined them.

Manlius Torquatus dictator.

Valerius named T. Manlius Torquatus to the dictatorſhip, tho' he had never been conſul, a neceſſary ſtep to that ſupreme dignity; but Valerius regarded nothing but the merit of Manlius in the choice; and his nomination was not oppoſed, tho' contrary to law. The new dictator, having named Cornelius Coſſus to be his general of horſe, was preparing to march againſt the Cærites; but they, being ſenſible they could not make head againſt the brave Torquatus, ſent deputies from all their towns to implore the clemency of the Romans. The ſenate referred the deputies to the people, who being reminded by them, that Cære had been the aſylum of the veſtals when Rome was taken by the Gauls, received them into favour, and granted them a truce for an hundred years. Then the dictator led his army againſt the Faliſci; and, finding no enemy in the field to contend with, laid waſte their country, and returned to Rome, where all things continued quiet, till the time came for the new elections. The dictator, who was to preſide in the comitia, had formed a deſign of excluding the plebeians; which the tribunes being aware of, oppoſed the aſſembling of the centuries, till the expiration of the dictatorſhip, which ended with the conſuls year. Whereupon the republic fell into an inter-regnum; and thoſe who then governed found both parties irreconcileable. The diſputes grew to ſuch a height, as threatened an open revolt; which ſo terrified the fathers, that they ſuffered at length the Licinian law to take place, and one of the conſuls to be choſen, agreeable to that law, out of the plebeians. The perſons elected were P. Valerius Poplicola, a patrician, and C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, who was now raiſed to this office a ſecond time [e].

The payment of debts regulated.

THE firſt care of the new conſuls was to regulate the payment of debts, the only obſtruction to a thorough union of the patricians and plebeians. They no longer conſidered the relief of debtors as a private affair, but as a general concern of

[e] Liv. l. vii. c. 20. 21.

of the public; and therefore choſe out five men, of known probity and great experience, to take an account of all the debts of the plebeians. Theſe five were called bankers, and had the command of the public treaſury to enable them to diſcharge their commiſſion; which they did to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Thoſe who, out of ſloth and idleneſs, had plunged themſelves in debt, either borrowed money of theſe bankers, giving the treaſury ſecurity for it, or depoſited the value of their debts in their creditors hands in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greateſt part of the debtors were relieved, without doing injury to any perſon and with little loſs to the public.

TRANQUILLITY being thus eſtabliſhed at home, the city was ſuddenly alarmed with a report, that the twelve leucumonies of Hetruria were entered into an alliance againſt the republic and ready to enter her territories. Julius Julus dictator. Hereupon Julius Julus was named dictator, and he appointed L. Æmilius, ſurnamed Mamercinus, to be his general of the horſe; but the report proved groundleſs, and was in all likelihood artfully ſpread by the patricians, that they might have an opportunity of placing a man at the head of the republic, who was able to prevent the execution of the Licinian law. And indeed Julius made uſe of all his credit and authority to get two patricians choſen conſuls; but he was ſo warmly oppoſed by the tribunes, that both he and the conſuls went out of their office, before the comitia could be aſſembled for a new election. In the inter-regnum which enſued, C. Sulpicius Peticus and M. Fabius governed ſucceſſively, and found means to bring the people to a compliance with the patricians. Two patricians were choſen, Sulpicius himſelf and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus. During their adminiſtration, the Tarquinienſes and Faliſci, being quite tired out with the calamities of war, ſubmitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years. And now the peace the Romans enjoyed giving them a favourable opportunity to elect new cenſors, the day was fixed for the comitia to proceed to this new election. None but the moſt illuſtrious patricians had ever enjoyed this dignity; but nevertheleſs C. Marcius Rutilus, thinking himſelf, tho' a plebeian, qualified for any poſt in the republic, after he had been twice conſul and once dictator, ſtood candidate for this office, and, in ſpight of all oppoſition of the nobles;

bles, was elected, with Cn. Manlius a patrician. The commons being unwilling to give a new luſtre to an office, to which a plebeian had been juſt promoted, Ovinus, one of the tribunes propoſed a law, depriving the conſuls of the prerogative of filling up the ſenate, and lodging this power in the cenſors. The law paſſed; and what is very extraordinary, this important change was made in the republic without the leaſt diſturbance. And now the cenſorſhip being open to the plebeians, the patricians, in order to ſecure the conſulate to themſelves, and prevent the Licinian law from being put in execution, prevailed upon the conſuls to name a dictator to preſide at the next election, imagining, that he would be more reſpected in the comitia, and have a far greater influence over the centuries than the conſuls. The perſon raiſed to this dignity was Fabius Ambuſtus, a man diſtinguiſhed by his birth, his employments, and his perſonal merit. He had been thrice conſul, and honoured with a triumph but three years before. He choſe for his general of the horſe the famous Servilius Ahala, a man no-ways inferior to himſelf; but, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, who had been conſul twice already, was promoted to this dignity. His collegue, L. Cornelius Scipio, falling ſick ſoon after his election, the plebeian conſul, to the great mortification of the nobility, became the ſole general of the Roman troops. The Gauls, at this time having entered Latium anew and laid waſte the country, were advancing towards Rome. Popilius therefore ordered levies to be made; and ſo great a number of ſoldiers inliſted themſelves on this occaſion, that two armies were immediately raiſed, one to guard the city, under the command of M. Valerius Poplicola who was then prætor, and the firſt in that employment who was ſeen at the head of an army. Popilius marched with the reſt of the troops to ſtop the progreſs of the Gauls, who, upon his firſt appearance, offered him battle; but Popilius, who was well acquainted with their temper, and therefore willing to let their firſt heat abate, kept within his camp. The Gauls, thinking the Romans afraid, attacked them while they were raiſing their works; but were repulſed with great loſs. The Gauls, however, returned the ſame day to the charge; and, in the beginning of this ſe-

The cenſorſhip opened to the plebeians.

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cond attack, Popilius, expoſing himſelf too much, was wounded with a javelin, and carried out of the field to have his wound dreſſed. This accident ſuſpended the ardor of the Romans; but as ſoon as their general appeared again, they renewed their courage, drove the Gauls into the plain, and there, drawing up into the form of a wedge, penetrated into the main body of the enemy, and obliged them to retire with precipitation. The general did not think proper to purſue the fugitives; but having taken and plundered their camp, led back to Rome his victorious army enriched with the ſpoils of the conquered enemy. He was decreed a triumph at his return, which was put off till he was recovered of his wound. As his collegue Scipio continued likewiſe indiſpoſed, the ſenate deſired the two conſuls to name a dictator to preſide at the approaching election. In compliance with the requeſt of the conſcript fathers, they named L. Furius Camillus, ſon of the great Camillus, to that dignity, who appointed P. Cornelius Scipio to be his general of the horſe. Theſe two patricians uſed all their intereſt to make the election fall only on men of their order, and carried their point; for Camillus himſelf was choſen one of the conſuls, and Appius Claudius, ſurnamed Craſſus, another patrician, was appointed his collegue[f].

The Gauls defeated by Popilius.

In the beginning of their conſulate, the Gauls, who had fled for refuge to the hills of Alba, appeared again in great numbers on the ſea-coaſt of Latium; and at the ſame time ſome Greeks, from what part Livy does not determine, made a deſcent on the coaſt which the Gauls were plundering. The latter, jealous of their booty, oppoſed the Greeks at their landing, and obliged them to retire to their ſhips; however, they continued hovering about the coaſt, while the Gauls laid waſte and plundered it, from the mouth of the Tiber to Antium. The republic made the neceſſary preparations to drive ſuch dangerous enemies farther off; but in the mean time, Appius, one of the conſuls, dying, the whole management of the war was committed to Camillus, whoſe very name was looked upon as a good omen in a war with the Gauls. His firſt care was to raiſe a numerous army, conſiſting of ten legions, and amounting to forty-five thouſand men. Of theſe legions he gave four to L. Pinarius the

[f] Liv. l. vii. c. 23. Appian. Celtic.

the prætor, ordering him to guard the ſea-coaſt againſt th[e] Greeks; two he left to defend the city, and with the other four marched himſelf againſt the Gauls; but as he had no deſign to come to a pitched battle with them, he encamped in the Pomptin territory, a country full of marſhes and rivers. While both armies continued inactive, a fierce Gaul, remarkable both for his ſtature and the richneſs of his armour, challenged the braveſt man in the Roman legions to a ſingle combat. M. Valerius, a legionary tribune, great-grandſon to the famous Valerius Voluſus, accepted the challenge, and is ſaid to have obtained the victory by means of a raven, which, perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant during the fight, ſo blinded him with his wings, that it was eaſy for his rival to ſtab him. But the Gauls, deſpiſing the advantage Valerius had gained by the help of a bird, crouded round the body of their dead champion, to hinder the Roman from ſtripping him of his armour. Upon this the Romans haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Valerius, which naturally led both armies to a battle, in which the Gauls were entirely defeated. Thoſe who eſcaped took their way through the country of the Volſci, and, entering Campania, croſſed the plains of Falernum, penetrated as far as Apulia, and retired to the coaſts of the Adriatic ſea. As for the brave Valerius, the general rewarded him with a crown of gold and two oxen, a conſiderable preſent at that time. He ever after bore the name of Corvus, which ſignifies a raven, and his poſterity that of Corvinus; which diſtinguiſhed this branch of the Valerian family from all the reſt [g].

M. Valerius furnamed Corvus.

The Gauls defeated anew.

The conſul, having thus freed Latium from the Gauls, joined his army to that of the prætor Pinarius, in order to drive away the Greek pirates, who infeſted the coaſt; but the obſtinacy of thoſe adventurers, who, though they durſt not land, continued ſtill at ſea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he expected; ſo that, in the mean while the time for electing new conſuls drawing near, he was obliged to nominate a dictator to preſide in the comitia. The perſon he promoted to that dignity was the famous Manlius Torquatus, who choſe Cornelius Coſſus to be his general of the horſe. As the dictator was charmed with the exploit of Valerius, ſo much reſembling his own, and had a great influence in the elections, he prevailed with the people to chuſe him one

Manlius Torquatus dictator.

[g] Liv. l. vii. c. 25. Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 11. Zonar. l. vii. c. 25.

one of the conſuls, though he was but twenty-three years of age, and too young even to have a place in the ſenate. His collegue was Popilius Lænas, who now entered upon this office the fourth time. As for Camillus, he continued with his army on the coaſt, till the Greeks, wanting freſh water and other neceſſary proviſions, and not daring to come aſhore, put out to ſea.

WHILE the Romans enjoyed a profound peace both at home and abroad, under the adminiſtration of the two conſuls mentioned above, embaſſadors came from Carthage to Rome. The Carthaginians were the firſt nation the Romans were acquainted with out of Italy, and with whom they entered into an alliance. As early as the firſt year after the expulſion of the Tarquins, when Brutus and Valerius were conſuls, theſe two nations entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce. This treaty was yet to be ſeen in Polybius's time, on the baſe of a column in the antient Roman language, which, as that writer tells us, was ſo different from what was ſpoke in his time, that thoſe who were moſt converſant with the Latin tongue could not, without much ſtudy and labour, underſtand it. The Greek hiſtorian has tranſlated the words of this treaty with all poſſible fidelity, and tranſmitted it to us. It was conceived in theſe terms:

A treaty of navigation and commerce made with Carthage.

" THERE ſhall be peace and friendſhip between the Ro-
" mans, and the allies of the Romans, and between the
" Carthaginians, and the allies of the Carthaginians, on the
" following terms: The Romans, and the allies of the Ro-
" mans, ſhall not ſail beyond the Fair Promontory, unleſs
" conſtrained by tempeſt, or by any enemy. If, at any
" time, they ſhall chance to be forced aſhore, they ſhall not
" be permitted to buy any thing, nor take any thing, but
" what they want for repairing theirve ſſels, or for their ſa-
" crifices. None ſhall make longer ſtay aſhore than five
" days. Thoſe who ſhall come as merchants, ſhall pay no
" other duty than what is allowed to the common crier and
" regiſter. Theſe two officers ſhall make oath of what ſhall
" be bought and ſold in their preſence, as well in Africa as
" Sardinia. If the Romans ſhall chance at any time to viſit
" ſuch places in Sicily, as are ſubject to the Carthaginians,
" they ſhall not ſuffer any moleſtation whatſoever; but ſhall
" have juſtice done them in all things. The Carthaginians
" ſhall attempt nothing againſt the Ardeates, the Antiates,
" the Aretini, thoſe of Laurentum, Circeii, and Terracina,

" or, in a word, any of the Latins whomſoever, who ſhall " be in ſubjection to the Romans; nor ſhall they attempt " any of their towns that are under the Roman protection. " And in caſe they ſhould at any time make ſeizure of ſuch " towns, they ſhall reſtore the ſame to the Romans without " any damage. They ſhall not build either fort or citadel " in the country of the Latins; and in caſe they ſhould at " any time invade their lands in an hoſtile manner, they " ſhall not remain there one night."

THE promonotory here called the Fair Promontory, lay, according to Polybius, north of Carthage and near it. The Carthaginians, as the ſame author obſerves, did not allow the Romans to ſail beyond it, that is, to the ſouthward of it, not caring that their coaſts ſhould lie open to all comers, leſt the fruitfulneſs of the land and the happy ſituation of the cities ſhould tempt them to ſettle there. Such was the firſt treaty Rome made with Carthage at the birth of the republic; and now, when Valerius Corvus and Popilius Lænas were conſuls, the Carthaginians croſſed the ſea, came to Rome, and concluded a ſecond treaty, differing from the former in ſome particulars. It was couched in the following terms: " The Romans and their allies ſhall have friendſhip and con- " federacy with the people of Carthage, the Tyrians, the " inhabitants of Utica, and their allies, on condition that " they exerciſe no hoſtilities, carry on no traffic, build no " towns beyond the Fair Promontory, Maſtia, and Tar- " ſeium. If the Carthaginians ſhall take any town in the " territory of the Latins, which is not under the protection " of the Romans, they ſhall enjoy the pillage thereof; but " the town ſhall be reſtored, and put into the hands of the " Romans. If the Carthaginians ſhall make any captives " among thoſe Latins, who, tho' not ſubject to the Romans, " are in league or amity with them, and ſhall bring ſuch " captives into any Roman port, and theſe captives ſhall be " diſcovered and challenged by any Roman, they ſhall be ſet " at liberty. The Romans ſhall be treated in the ſame " manner in the ports belonging to the Carthaginians. If " the Romans ſhall put in at any port belonging to the Car- " thaginians, to take in water or other neceſſaries, not any " of thoſe, who are compromiſed in this treaty of friend- " ſhip, ſhall offer them any injury or moleſtation; if other- " wiſe, it ſhall be deemed a public breach of the treaty. " As to Sardinia and Africa, the Romans ſhall have no " commerce there; they ſhall neither traffic, build towns, " nor ſo much as attempt to land on thoſe coaſts, unleſs to

" buy

" buy neceſſaries and refit their ſhips. If they ſhall be com-
" pelled by tempeſt, or otherwiſe, to take refuge in ſuch
" ports, they ſhall depart in five days. The Romans ſhall
" be allowed to traffic in any of the towns of Sicily, un-
" der the dominion of the Carthaginians, and in the city
" of Carthage itſelf, where they ſhall enjoy the ſame rights
" and privileges as the Carthaginians themſelves; and the
" Carthaginians ſhall have the like treatment in Rome [h]."

THE whole employment of the preſent conſuls was to negociate this treaty with the Carthaginians. They were ſucceeded by C. Plautius Hypſæus and T. Manlius Torquatus, who had been twice dictator, but now for the firſt time conſul. During their conſulate the republic enjoyed a profound peace, which left them no room to gain themſelves any glory by feats of arms. They therefore endeavoured to promote the public welfare by wiſe regulations: they reduced the intereſt of money from one per cent. to half per cent. and allowed the debtors, by paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to diſcharge the remainder, by annual and equal payments. A new war with the Volſci broke out during the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding conſuls, Valerius Corvus, now a ſecond time conſul, and C. Pætelius Libo. Valerius defeated the enemy, took from them Satricum and burnt it, ſparing only the temple of the goddeſs Matuta. He was honoured with a triumph, in which four thouſand captives marched before his chariot. In this conſulate the ſecular games, which had been inſtituted in the year of Rome 297, were celebrated for the ſecond time. The next year's conſuls, M. Fabius Dorſo and S. Sulpicius Camerinus, named L. Furius Camillus to be dictator a ſecond time, on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci, a petty nation near the confines of Latium, on the coaſt of the Tyrrhenian ſea. Furius overthrew them in battle, and at his return built a temple, which he had vowed during the action, to Juno Moneta. This name had been given to the queen of the Gods a little before the taking of Rome by the Gauls. It was pretended, that from the temple of Juno had come a voice, accompanied with an eathquake, and that the voice had warned the Romans to avert the evils that threatened them, by ſacrificing a ſow with pig. Hence ſhe was called Moneta, from the verb " monere " to warn. This temple was built on the capitol, in the place where the houſe of the rebellious Manlius formerly ſtood, and afterwards became a pub-

The intereſt of money reduced.

Satricum taken from the Volſci.

[h] Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24.

The temple Juno Moneta.

lic mint. Hence the medals, which were ſtamped for current coin in trade, were called moneta, or money. The year following, the Romans imagining, that the goddeſs, agreeable to her name, admoniſhed them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, C. Marcius Rutilus, now conſul a third time, and T. Manlius Imperioſus, a ſecond time, appointed P. Valerius to be dictator for the ſolemnization of the feſtival called feriæ Latinæ.

THE dictator having brought the republic to an interregnum, for ſome reaſon not mentioned by the hiſtorians, the centuries choſe two patricians, as they had done the year before, viz. M. Valerius Corvus, a third time, and Cornelius Coſſus, ſirnamed Arvina. During their adminiſtration, the enmity betwen the Romans and Samnites broke out. A city at that time ſcarce known to the Romans ſowed the ſeeds of diſcord, and changed the alliance between the two nations into laſting hatred. The Sidicini, a people of Auſonia, on the other ſide of the Liris, being attacked by the Samnites, and not able to defend themſelves with their own ſtrength, had recourſe to the people of Campania, who took up arms in favour of their oppreſſed neighbours, it being their intereſt to ſtop the progreſs of ſo powerful an enemy. Hereupon the Samnites, having a proſpect of greater advantages in the conqueſt of the Campanians than of the Sidicini, turned their arms againſt the former; and as they were an effeminate people, defeated them in two pitched battles, and threatened to beſiege the city of Capua, their metropolis. In this diſtreſs the magiſtrates had recourſe to Rome, whither they ſent an embaſſy to implore the aſſiſtance of the republic; but the ſenate returned to their humble addreſs the following anſwer: The ſenate of Rome think you worthy of their protection; but we muſt have regard to our antient friendſhip with the Samnites. We cannot therefore take arms in your favour; but we will entreat the Samnites, our friends, to put an end to their hoſtilities. The Capuan deputies had hitherto ſpoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the Romans; but now, not being ſatisfied with the anſwer they had received, purſuant to the powers with which they had been inveſted, they made this further declaration: Since the Romans ſcruple to attack openly the Samnites, contrary to the faith of their treaties, let them at leaſt not be afraid to defend their own property againſt the unjuſt uſurpations of their enemies; the people

Occaſion of the war between the Samnites and Romans. Year of the flood 2661. Before Chriſt 338. Of Rome 410.

of

of Campania, the city of Capua, our lands, our temples, every thing we have divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you. From this time therefore all our loſſes will be yours. This donation in due form, by embaſſadors authoriſed to make it, was of great weight with the conſcript fathers. They did not think their alliance with the Samnites obliged them to refuſe it; and therefore without delay diſpatched embaſſadors to entreat the Samnites as friends to ſpare a province which belonged to Rome. In caſe the Samnites were not prevailed upon by theſe gentle methods, the embaſſadors were directed to give them notice, in the name of the people and ſenate of Rome, to quit the country immediately. But the Samnites, a proud and warlike people, were ſo far from being intimidated by the majeſty of the Roman name, that ther magiſtrates ſent for the commanders of their troops, and ordered them, in the preſence of the Roman embaſſadors, to go inſtantly and ravage Campania. This inſult filled both the ſenate and the people with indignation. All other buſineſs was laid aſide, that they might apply themſelves wholly to the making of preparations for a war, which was declared with all the ceremonies inſtituted by Numa on ſuch occaſions. Two armies being ſoon raiſed, it fell to the lot of Valerius to march with one into Campania, while Cornelius with the other carried the war into Samnium. The ſtreſs of the war lay at firſt on the brave Valerius, who poſted his troops on mount Gaurus in Campania, and continued in that advantageous ſituation, till his men, by frequently ſkirmiſhing with the Samnites, had learnt their way of managing their arms. At length he aſſembled his troops, and having encouraged them in a long ſpeech not to be afraid of a new enemy, to remember their antient valour, and to gain the honours of a triumph for one deſcended from the great Poplicola, marched out of his camp, and drew up his men in battalia. As the two armies were pretty equal in numbers, the victory was long diſputed, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. The Roman cavalry attempted in vain to break the enemy's battalions. Upon which Valerius putting himſelf at the head of the infantry, and encouraging the legions to tread in his ſteps, threw himſelf into the midſt of the Samnite cohorts, and being followed by his legionaries, made a dreadful havock. The dead lay in heaps round the enemy's ſtandards; yet their cohorts

kept their ground, being reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt. At length Valerius ordered the Roman cavalry to attack the enemy in flank; but they ſtood the ſhock, till night put an end to the conflict. After the battle was over, the Romans owned, that they had never engaged a more ſtubborn or more intrepid enemy; and would not have known that they had gained the victory, had not the Samnites deſerted their camp in the night, and abandoned it to the conquerors.

The Samnites overcome by the Romans.

WHILE the brave Valerius was thus ſignalizing his valour in Campania, his collegue Cornelius, having imprudently left his camp, which was advantageouſly poſted near Saticula on the confines of Samnium, marched his troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, out of which there was but one paſſage, and that through a deep valley, which, as well as the wood, was lined with the enemy's forces; ſo that he found himſelf, when it was not in his power to alter his march, ſurrounded by the Samnites. This threw the conſul into the utmoſt conſternation; but it fortunately happened, that he had a brave officer among his troops, who drew him out of the danger. This was the famous P. Decius Mus, who was yet only a legionary tribune, and who afterwards ſignalized his love for his country in an eminent manner. The prudent tribune, obſerving an eminence at a diſtance, which commanded the camp of the Samnites and had been neglected by them, propoſed to the conſul, that he might be detached with a ſmall body to take poſſeſſion of it. He added, When you ſee me poſted there, be no longer under apprehenſions of the enemy, but continue your march. The Samnites will not dare attack you, or diſpute your paſſage, when expoſed to our darts. As for us, we ſhall, by the aſſiſtance of the Roman valour and the gods our protectors, find means to diſengage ourſelves from the enemy and rejoin you. The general approved of the deſign, and detached a ſmall body of troops, under the command of Decius, who, taking his way through the wood, concealed his march ſo well, that the enemy did not diſcover him, till he was near the poſt which he was going to ſeize; and then the ſight of the Romans climbing up the rock was ſuch a ſurprize to them that they could come to no determination, being in ſuſpenſe, whether they ſhould attack the conſul or Decius. In the mean time, the Roman general, taking advantage of this

The conſul Cornelius delivered out of great difficulties by Decius Mus.

irreſo-

irreſolution, marched out of the valley without moleſtation. Decius did not doubt, but the enemy would either attack him on his hill, or at leaſt ſhut up all the avenues to it; but when he perceived that they neither came to fall upon him, nor attempted to ſurround him and cut off his retreat, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return ſilently to the main body at the ſecond watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-aſſembled, he laid before them the neceſſity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to ſtay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were aſleep. The latter being univerſally approved, Decius put himſelf at the head of his troop, and marched down the rock in great ſilence. They had got half way through the enemy's camp, when a Roman ſoldier, ſtriking his foot againſt the buckler of a Samnite, awaked a centinel, who gave the alarm in that quarter. The Samnites immediately ran to arms, not knowing whether it was Decius and his troop, the conſul and his army, or ſome Samnite of the camp, who had diſturbed their reſt. In the midſt of this univerſal confuſion, Decius ordered his men to give a great ſhout, which doubled the conſternation of the Samnites, while the Romans gained the plain and made their eſcape, none of the Samnites daring to follow or attack them. When Decius came near the conſul's camp, as it was not yet day, he ordered his men to halt, telling them, that they deſerved to enter the camp in a more glorious manner, than in ſilence and darkneſs. The next morning the whole army marched to meet that brave troop, which had ſaved their lives at the peril of their own, and conducted thoſe valiant men in triumph to the general's tent, who, having ſummoned all his ſoldiers to hear his harangue, was beginning to make the panegyric of Decius; but the brave tribune, liking better to give his general good advice, than to hear his own praiſes, adviſed him to march away immediately, without loſing time in harangues, and ſurprize the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had ſent out detachments in queſt of him. This advice was followed; the Romans ſurprized the Samnites rambling about the fields, and purſued them to their camp, which the conſul took and plundered, after having cut in pieces above thirty thouſand of them. As ſoon as Decius returned to the camp, the

Cornelius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

the conſul reſumed his panegyric; but, as words were not a ſufficient acknowledgment of his merit, he honoured him with all the military rewards that were ever given to a ſubaltern. Beſides a crown of gold, he had a preſent of an hundred oxen and a white bull with gilt horns. As for the ſoldiers of his detachment, the conſul aſſigned them a double quantity of corn during their life, and gave each of them two ſaga or military habits. The legions likewiſe ſignalized their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an obſidional crown, which it was cuſtomary among the Romans to beſtow on a general who relieved them when beſieged. This crown was made of the graſs growing in the place, and called corona obſidionalis. And now the detachment itſelf, which Decius had brought ſafe out of the danger into which he had led them, thinking themſelves obliged in gratitude to beſtow ſome mark of diſtinction on their leader, crowned him with a crown of oak-leaves, which was called the civic crown, and thought the moſt honourable of all military rewards. Thus, loaded with three crowns at once, he offered up the white bull in ſacrifice to Mars, by way of thankſgiving, and diſtributed the hundred oxen among the companions of his danger and ſharers of his glory. The reſt of the legions made likewiſe a preſent to the company which had followed Decius, conſiſting of ſome pounds of meal and meaſures of wine [i].

The Samnites defeated again by Valerius.

The campaign did not end with this victory. The Samnites, who had been routed by Valerius, having raiſed new forces, appeared before Sueſſula, a town ſituated between Nola and Capua. Valerius haſtened to the relief of the Sueſſulani; and, in order to deceive the enemy, encamped his troops within as narrow a compaſs as he could, hoping they would attack him in his entrenchments; but the Samnites, judging that the Romans muſt ſoon want proviſions, kept quiet in their camp. Thus both armies continued ſome time inactive; but at length the Samnites themſelves being diſtreſſed the firſt for want of proviſions, Valerius attacked their camp, while the greater part of their forces were diſperſed about the country in queſt of neceſſaries, forced it, and made a great ſlaughter there, while the cavalry chaſed the ſeveral detachments which were abroad foraging. We are told that the Roman ſoldiers brought to their general above forty thouſand of the enemy's bucklers, the

[i] Liv. l. vii. c. 35. Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 6

the Samnites having thrown them away, that they might not incumber them in their flight. One hundred and twenty ſtandards were likewiſe taken from the enemy in this action. Thus both conſuls returned to Rome, where they were honoured with a triumph. The ſucceſſors of this glorious campaign gave new luſtre to the republic, both among the neighbouring and diſtant nations. The Faliſci changed the truce which they had made with the Romans into a treaty of alliance. The Latins, who had taken up arms, with a deſign to employ them againſt the republic, if ſhe had been worſted in this war, turned their hoſtilities againſt the Peligni, a Samnite nation, as it were to aſſiſt the Romans, whom they had really intended to betray. And laſtly, the Carthaginians ſent to compliment the republic on her ſucceſs, and made a preſent of a crown of gold of twenty pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of thankſgiving for her victories. This year ended with a cenſus, by which it appeared, that the number of Romans able to bear arms, amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand. The ceremony cloſed with a luſtrum, which was the twenty-ſecond ſince its firſt inſtitution by king Servius.

THE following year, C. Marcius Rutilus was elected the fourth time to the conſulate, and with him Q. Servilius Ahala. The latter encamped in the neighbourhood of Rome, while the former marched into Campania, where he found a general depravation of manners in ſome cohorts of Roman ſoldiers, who had been left in Capua all winter. He even diſcovered, that they had entered into a plot among themſelves to drive the natives out of Campania, and to ſeize that delicious country for themſelves. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he artfully contrived to ſend the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. At length the ſoldiers ſuſpecting it, and being alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment, one whole cohort deſerted, and, poſting themſelves advantageouſly near Anxur, in a narrow paſs, between the ſea on one ſide and high mountains on the other, were ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the city and the camp. As they were ſtill at a loſs for a leader, they ſurprized by night in his bed one T. Quinctius, an excellent commander, who had retired ſome time ſince from public life to his farm, and forced him to go along with them as their general to Rome. Their approach ſo terrified the city, that a dictator was named to march an

Some Roman ſoldiers enter into a plot to ſeize Campania for themſelves.

army

Valerius Corvus is appointed dictator, and marches againſt them

army againſt the mutineers. The perſon pitched upon was Valerius Corvus, who met them eight miles from Rome, came to a parley with them, and, being extremely beloved by the ſoldiery, prevailed with them to ſubmit. However, the rebels, beſides a general pardon, which was granted by the ſenate and confirmed by the people in comitia, obtained

They ſubmit, but obtain ſome conceſſions from the republic.

ſome conceſſions from the republic. They inſiſted, that the pay of the cavalry, which was then three times as much as the foot received, ſhould be reduced; and this merely out of revenge, becauſe not one ſingle man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some writers tell us, that ſeveral laws were paſſed at the requeſt of the mutineers, viz. 1. That no man, who was a legionary tribune one year, ſhould be a centurion the next. The rebellious ſoldiers preſſed the paſſing of this law, purely to revenge themſelves on one P. Salonius, a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, who had been a legionary tribune and a centurion alternately for ſeveral years together, and had ever oppoſed the ſeditious concils of the revolters. The ſenate therefore refuſed at firſt to conſent to a law, which was wholly dictated by revenge againſt an officer, who had ſo ſtrictly adhered to his duty. But Salonius himſelf earneſtly entreating the conſcript fathers to have more regard to the welfare of the public, than to his honour, at his requeſt the law paſſed. 2. That all uſury ſhould be aboliſhed in Rome, and every Roman forbidden to lend money upon intereſt. 3. That both the conſuls might be choſen out of the plebeians. 4. That no man ſhould bear the ſame office twice within ten years, or hold two different employments the ſame year. If the plebeian faction gained theſe articles at this time, it is evident, that the rebel army muſt have been exceeding numerous and formidable.

The Romans, by theſe condeſcenſions to the rebels, loſt credit among their neighbours. Privernum revolted, but was quickly reduced by C. Plautius Hypſæus, now the ſecond time conſul. His collegue L. Æmilius laid waſte the country of the Samnites, who were ſo weakened by the two late overthrows, that they dared not appear in the field; but ſued for a peace and an alliance with Rome. Theſe being obtained, they turned their arms once more againſt the Sidicini, who, being refuſed ſuccour, even upon the terms of being ſubject to the republic, gave themſelves up to the Latins, already in arms to recover their independence. The Campanians, forgetting the benefits they had received

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ed from the Romans and their engagements with the republic, followed the example of the Sidicini and joined the Latins. An army formed of these three united nations entered Samnium, laying waste all before them; but not being able to bring the Samnites to a battle, soon retired for want of provisions. Their retreat gave the Samnites an opportunity of sending embassadors to Rome to complain of her suffering the Latins and Campanians, her allies and subjects, to commit hostilities in Samnium. The senate did not indeed approve of the hostilities the Latins had committed, but were ashamed to own, that they had no longer power over them. The consul Plautius therefore in the name of the senate returned the following answer: The Campanians are our subjects, and we will therefore force them not to molest you. But as for the Latins, our treaty of alliance with them does not oblige them not to enter into any war without our consent; and therefore we can promise nothing in relation to them. This answer left the Samnites in a melancholy uncertainty, offended the Campanians, and, as it seemed to betray a sense of weakness in the Romans, raised the spirits of the Latins to such a degree, that they imagined they could now demand nothing, which the Romans would dare to refuse them. They secretly combined with the Campanians to fall upon the Romans, though in appearance their preparations were only against the Samnites. But the senate, being informed of their intentions by some friends to Rome among them, resolved to prevent the enemy, and, in order thereto, to bring on the election of new consuls before the usual time. Accordingly, they obliged the present consuls to abdicate; but some religious scruples being raised concerning the holding of the comitia, by consuls deposed before the expiration of their year, the government was reduced to an inter-regnum and two presidents, Valerius Corvus and M. Fabius, were named to govern in the mean time successively, each five days in his turn. While the latter was in office, the people were assembled in the campus Martius; and it being of the utmost importance to chuse two able men to sit at the helm in so tempestuous a season, the centuries pitched upon the famous Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, the former a patrician, and the latter a plebeian. The republic promised herself a continued series of prosperity under the administration of these two illustrious magistrates. Torquatus was

The Latins revolt, and join the Campanians.

a man of an inflexible ſeverity in keeping up the military diſcipline; Decius had a more humane temper; and both collegues were equally famous for great piety towards the gods and a tender love for their country. In the beginning of their conſulate, Alexander, king of Epirus and brother to Olympias the mother of Alexander the Great, came into Italy on the invitation of the Tarentines, to aſſiſt them againſt the Brutians. This prince hoped to have ſubdued all Italy, with the ſame eaſe as his nephew had reduced Perſia; but was not ſo ſucceſsful in his ſcheme, having to do with more warlike nations. He gained indeed ſome ſmall advantages over the Lucanians and Brutians at his firſt coming; but ſoon found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the more powerful nations of Italy, and particularly of the Romans, with whom he concluded an alliance of friendſhip [k].

Ten of the Latin chiefs ſummoned to Rome.

AFTER this the two conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to prevent the revolt of the Latins; and the firſt ſtep they took, in order thereto, was to ſummon ten of the Latin chiefs to appear at Rome, and give an account of their preparations for war. The Latin council ſent one L. Annius, a man of great credit among them, with ten more to Rome, to demand, as a condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that one of the conſuls and half of the ſenate be for the future choſen out of the Latins. This demand was rejected with indignation, and war immediately declared. The conſuls ordered levies to be made, and having formed two armies, conſiſting entirely of Romans, they marched through the territories of the Marſi, entered the country of the Peligni that way, and encamped in Campania at the foot of mount Veſuvius, at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. The night before the battle, which ſoon enſued, both conſuls are ſaid to have dreamt the ſame dream. A man of a gigantic ſtature and majeſtic mein appeared to them, and told them, that the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whoſe general ſhould devote himſelf to the Dii Manes. When it was day the two conſuls communicated their dreams to each other. Perhaps they had courage enough to feign an apparition, which muſt coſt one or the other of them his life, purely to raiſe the courage of their ſoldiers;

The two conſuls march againſt the Latins.

[k] Liv. l. viii. c. 4. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 2.

ſoldiers; for the love of the Romans for their country and their deſire of glory were apt to ſuggeſt to them ſuch ſchemes. But be that as it will, it is pretended, that the aruſpices made ſuch diſcoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon it was agreed in a council of war, that Manlius ſhould command the right wing, and Decius the left, in the enſuing battle; and that he, whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould devote himſelf to ſave his country, and ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions. In the ſame council of war, conſiſting of the two conſuls, all the lieutenant generals, and legionary tribunes, it was likewiſe determined, that the antient diſcipline ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved in the preſent war, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight the enemy without expreſs orders, or out of his rank, upon pain of death. This was done, becauſe the enemy they were now to engage with ſpoke the ſame language, were armed after the ſame manner, obſerved the ſame way of fighting (T), and were perſonally

(T) The order of battle, in which the Romans drew up their army before an engagement, in Manlius's time, was as follows: They formed the whole body of their troops into three lines, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii. The Haſtati, who compoſed the firſt line, were ſo ſtyled from the javelins called Haſtæ, which they bore. The Principes, who made the ſecond line, were ſo called, according to Varro (13), becauſe in more antient times they were placed in the front of the battle and began the attack. They were in thoſe times the richeſt of the Roman youth. The Triarii were ſo named, becauſe they made the third line. They were commonly Veterans, and the main ſtrength of the army. The Principes were armed with ſwords, and the Triarii with javelins, called Pila, whence they borrowed the name of Pilani Milites, and the ſoldiers of the two lines before them that of Milites Antepilani. In after-ages, the Haſtati, Principes, and Triarii, ſeem to have bore much the ſame arms, ſince Polybius has not divided them in his deſcription, but ſpeaks of them all together. Each of theſe three lines was antiently entire, without any intervals between the manipuli or companies that compoſed it. Neither were there any void ſpaces left between the lines; ſo that the whole body of infantry was cloſe and compact, like the Macedonian phalanx. But at the time of this war with the Latins, there

(13) Varro de Ling. Latin. l. iv.

ſonally acquainted with moſt of the Roman officers, having ſerved under them in former wars. It happened ſoon after

there was a ſpace of fifty foot between the firſt and ſecond lines, and of an hundred foot between the ſecond and third. And as ſpaces were left between the lines, ſo likewiſe between the different manipuli, or companies of each line; theſe companies being divided from each other by ſpaces thirty foot wide; ſo that in a line of ten manipuli, there were nine of theſe ſpaces. But theſe openings were not ſo diſpoſed as to yield a direct paſſage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear; The manipuli of the ſecond line ſtood behind the openings of the firſt, and the manipuli of the third behind thoſe of the ſecond; ſo that the order of the whole reſembled that of trees called by gardeners Quincunx, which is elegantly compared to it by Virgil (14). When the Haſtati happened to be overpowered, they retired in good order, ſtill facing the enemy, toward the Principes, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and, together with them, renewed the fight. If the Haſtati and Principes thus joined were too weak to ſuſtain the fury of the onſet, they fell back into the wider intervals of the Triarii, and then all together, being united into one cloſe body, made another effort much more vigorous than any before. If this aſſault proved ineffectual, the day was entirely loſt as to the foot, there being no farther reſerves. The whole ſecret of the Roman art of war lay in diſpoſing their armies after this manner, and leaving theſe ſpaces open in the firſt and ſecond lines. It was almoſt impoſſible, that this method ſhould prove unſucceſsful, if duly obſerved; for fortune in each engagement muſt have failed them three different times, before they could be routed. As for the Roman cavalry, they were always poſted at the wings of the army, and fought ſometimes on foot, ſometimes on horſeback, as occaſion required, like our dragoons. At this time they were not numerous among the Romans, there being but twelve hundred horſe in an army of twenty thouſand men. As to the ſtations of the commanders, the conſuls and lieutenant-generals took their poſts in the middle of the ſpace between the Principes and the Triarii, where the Roman eagles ſtood. The legati and tribunes were uſually poſted by them, unleſs the former were ordered to command the wings, or the others ſome particular part of the army. The centurions ſtood every man at the head of his century or company. The common ſoldiers were placed in ſeveral ranks, at the diſcretion of the centurions, according to their age, ſtrength, and experience, every man

(14) Virg. Georg. l. ii. v. 297.

theſe orders were proclaimed through the camp, that young Manlius, the conſul's ſon, being ſent out at the head of a detachment of horſe to obſerve the enemy's motions, met an advanced ſquadron of the enemy, commanded by one Geminius Metius, who, knowing the conſul's ſon, challenged him to a ſingle combat. Manlius, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late orders of the generals, accepted the challenge. Whereupon both parties drew back, and left the field open for the two champions. They rode full ſpeed againſt each other, and Manlius's lance only glanced upon his adverſary's helmet. Then the two combatants wheeling about returned to the charge, when Manlius wounded Metius's horſe on the head with his lance. The violence of the blow made the horſe rear, and the ſuddenneſs of the ſhock threw Metius to the ground. He endeavoured to raiſe himſelf with his buckler and lance, but Manlius gave him ſo violent a thruſt in the throat, that he drove the point of his lance out at his ſide; and having ſtripped him of his fine armour, returned to the camp full of glory for his victory, but uncertain of the reception he ſhould meet with from the conſuls. He paſſed triumphantly through the midſt of the army, and going ſtrait to his father's tent, accoſted him thus: "Father, I have fol-
" lowed your example; I was challenged like you by an
" inſulting enemy; and here I lay his ſpoils at your feet."
But the conſul, at theſe words turning his back upon his ſon, ordered the troops to be immediately aſſembled, and in their preſence made him this reply: "Since you, Titus Manlius, have been ſo raſh, as to fight the enemy with-
" out my orders, you muſt expiate your crime yourſelf.
" You

man having three foot ſquare allowed him to manage his arms in. The Latin troops being drawn up in the ſame manner as the Romans, it was probable, that the centurions of the two armies would encounter each other. But the Romans not being men of ſo much bodily ſtrength as the Latins, Livy tells us, that the centurions of the Roman legions obtained leave of the conſuls to have each of them a ſub-centurion to defend and aſſiſt him (15).

(15) Liv. l. viii. c. 8.

" You have indeed conquered, and therefore deſerve to " be rewarded. But your diſobedience muſt be puniſhed " with the utmoſt ſeverity. How could you deſpiſe the " authority both of a father and a conſul? How could you " break through that diſcipline, to the ſtrict obſervance of " which Rome has hitherto owed her preſervation? Hard " is the neceſſity you reduce me to, when you force me, " either to forget that I am a father, or that I am a judge. " But neither your grief nor mine ſhall prevail over the " fidelity I owe my country. We ſhall be a melancholy " example to poſterity, but a wholeſome precedent to the " Roman youth. In you I loſe a ſon, endeared to me by " the tender affection of a father and by your late victory. " But alas! ſince I muſt either eſtabliſh the conſular au- " thority by a rigorous act of juſtice, or weaken it by your " impunity, die as bravely as you have conquered. If " you have but one drop of the Manlian blood in your " veins, you will not refuſe to repair the breach you have " made in the military diſcipline, by undergoing the pu- " niſhment due to your offence." This ſaid, he firſt crowned his ſon as a victor, and then ordered the lictors to tie him to a ſtake. All preſent were ſtunned at the cruel ſentence, as if it had been pronounced againſt themſelves; and when the lictor lifted up his ax to ſtrike off the young conqueror's head, a great outcry was raiſed by the whole army, as if the ſtroke had been to fall upon each officer and ſoldier then preſent. However, they offered no violence either to the conſul or the lictor; but, ſeeing the young man's head ſtruck off and his blood guſh out, vented their rage againſt the general in imprecations and invectives. They covered the dead body with the ſpoils of his conquered enemy, and expreſſed their affliction by the moſt pompous obſequies they could perform for him in the field. It is ſcarce to be imagined, how tractable this ſeverity of Manlius made his army for the future: his orders were obſerved and put in execution with all poſſible exactneſs, which greatly contributed to the victory he gained a few days after[1].

But is put to death by his father.

When the day of battle came, both armies drew up in the plains at the foot of mount Veſuvius, in the road leading to the town of Veſeris. As they were pretty equal in numbers

[1] Liv. l. viii. c. 7. Flor. l. i. c. 14. Zonar. l. vi. c. 16.

numbers and quite uniform in their way of fighting, the onſet was furious on both ſides, neither party for ſome time gaining any advantage over the other. At length the left wing of the Romans, commanded by Decius, being vigorouſly preſſed by the Latins, gave ground; ſo that the firſt line was forced to retire, without turning their backs to the enemy, into the intervals of the ſecond line. This diſadvantage put Decius in mind of his agreement with his collegue, viz. that the conſul, whoſe wing firſt gave way, ſhould devote himſelf to the Dii Manes. He therefore called out to Valerius, the pontifex maximus, to perform on him the ceremony of conſecration, that he might devote himſelf in due form. Valerius ordered him to quit his military habit, and put on the robe he wore in the ſenate. Then he covered his head with a veil, ordered him to put up his hand under his robe to his chin, and, ſtanding with both his feet upon his javelin, to repeat after him the following words: "O Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Ro-
" mulus, Bellona, and ye Lares, and Novenſiles (U):
" O all ye heroes, who dwell in heaven, and all ye gods,
" who rule over us and our enemies, eſpecially ye gods of
" hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly entreat
" you to proſper the arms of the Romans, and to transfer
" all fear and terror from them to their enemies; and I do,
" for the ſafety of the Roman people and their legions,
" devote myſelf, and with myſelf the army and auxiliaries
" of the enemy, to the infernal gods and the goddeſs of
" the earth." Decius, having finiſhed this prayer, ordered his lictors to go and acquaint his collegue, that he had devoted himſelf for the ſafety of the army. Then, tucking up his robe and girding it round him, he mounted his horſe, and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions. Both the Romans and Latins were ſurpriſed at this fight. The conſul broke through the firſt line of the

Decius Mus devotes himſelf.

(U) This word Novenſiles is variouſly interpreted; ſome are of opinion, that it ſignifies the new created gods, or thoſe whoſe worſhip had been lately introduced in Rome. Others pretend it ſignified the nine muſes. Varro by the word Novenſiles underſtands the nine deities brought to Rome by the Sabines, viz. Lara, Veſta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Good Faith, Fortune, Chance, and Health. Some read Nonvenſides inſtead of Novenſiles, and underſtand thereby another kind of gods who preſided over novelties.

enemy's army and penetrated to the centre, the Latins being terrified at this new ſight, and ſeeming as if they were thunderſtruck. At length, recovering from their ſurpriſe, they diſcharged a ſhower of darts at the devoted conſul, who fell to the ground with numberleſs wounds. The death of the conſul gave new courage to the Romans. Thoſe who had retired, returned to the charge with more vigour than ever. However, the Latins ſtill kept their ground, and in ſome places had the advantage. When the news was brought to Manlius of his collegue's death, he ſhed ſome tears, giving him the praiſes he deſerved; and then, as he was now left to command alone, he ordered a body of voluntiers to advance into the firſt line, reſerving the triarii, or thoſe of the third line, who were the main ſtrength of the army, to the laſt extremity. The Latins being hard preſſed by theſe freſh troops, and taking them for the Roman triarii, ordered their own triarii to advance; and this miſtake determined the victory, hitherto doubtful, in favour of the Romans. For the Latins being quite tired out, and having for the moſt part broken or blunted their weapons, in repulſing the Romans once more, when they thought themſelves ſure of the victory, the Roman triarii, by order of Manlius, appeared on a ſudden, and having given a ſhout, which diſmayed the enemy, fell upon them, while fatigued, with ſuch fury, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a fourth part of their army remained alive. The Samnites, for whoſe ſake this battle was fought, had no ſhare in it; but continued drawn up in battalia at ſome diſtance from the Roman army at the foot of mount Veſuvius, and only ſerved to keep the enemy a little in fear. The chief honour of the victory undoubtedly belonged to Manlius, both Latins and Romans agreeing afterwards in this, that the former would have conquered, had Manlius been their general[m].

The Latin army routed by the conſul Manlius in two engagements.

The Latins, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, fled to Minturnæ, a little above the mouth of the Liris. There Numicius their general, by cauſing letters to be ſpread about in Latium and the country of the Volſci, repreſenting the flight of the Latins only as an honourable retreat, drew many to his camp, who had not been preſent at the late action. Having thus formed a new army, he took the road

[m] Liv. l. viii. c. 9.

road to Capua, being determined to try the fortune of arms once more with the Romans, and hoping to ſurpriſe them with his ſudden return. But Manlius, being informed of his motions, met him on his march, at a village called Trifana in the neighbourhood of Sinueſſa, gave him a ſecond overthrow, and then entering Latium, laid it waſte without oppoſition. All the Latin cities ſurrendered at diſcretion, as did Privernum in the territory of the Volſci. All Campania, with Capua its capital, was brought into ſubjection to its former maſters. The conſul diſpoſſeſſed the Campanians, Latins, and Privernates of their lands, and diſtributed them among the people of Rome. However, the Laurentini in Latium, and the Campanian knights, who were the flower of the nobility of the country and had not been concerned in the revolt, were continued in their poſſeſſions and privileges; nay, theſe faithful knights, to the number of ſixteen hundred, were made citizens of Rome, but without right of ſuffrage. And that this grant might be the more authentic, it was engraven on braſs and fixed up in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux. An annual penſion of forty-five denarii, that is, 1l. 9s. was alſo aſſigned to each of them out of the public revenues of Campania. It is not to be doubted, but Manlius, after ſo many ſignal conqueſts, obtained the honours of a triumph, notwithſtanding Livy's ſilence on this head. He ſoon after fell ſick, and, as a Roman general was wanted in the field, to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the Antiates, he nominated L. Papirius Craſſus, then prætor, to the dictatorſhip; who, having appointed L. Papirius Curſor his maſter of the horſe, kept his troops ſome months in the enemy's country upon free quarters, and then returned to Rome to preſide at the election of new conſuls for the next year, when Q. Publilius, a plebeian, aud Tib. Æmilius, a patrician, were choſen. During their adminiſtration, the Latins revolted and formed two armies. Publilius, ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, was honoured with a triumph. But Æmilius, having only gained ſome ſlight advantages over the other, was refuſed that honour, which ſo incenſed him, that no tribune of the people ever inveighed more bitterly againſt the nobility, than the patrician conſul did on this occaſion. Hereupon the ſenate, to prevent diſturbances, ordered him to name a dictator. Æmilius obeyed, but in revenge named to

The Latins revolt.

that

that dignity his plebeian collegue, who appointed Brutus Scæva, another plebeian, to be his general of the horſe. The dictator, who was entirely devoted to the people, employed all his power and influence to eſtabliſh their rights on a ſolid foundation. This he effected by three laws, which he either made or revived. The firſt was, that the decrees made by the people, at the requeſt of the tribunes, ſhould bind all the ſubjects of the republic in general. The ſecond, that for the future the laws, which were to be paſſed by the centuries, ſhould be firſt approved by the ſenate, and that the people ſhould put the laſt hand to them. Hitherto the comitia uſed to paſs the laws firſt, and the ſenate had a power of accepting or rejecting them. The third law was, that one of the cenſors ſhould always for the future be a plebeian. The ſenate, to pique Æmilius tender of his honour, ordered the next year's conſuls, L. Furius Camillus, grandſon to the great Camillus, and C. Mænius, a plebeian, to put an end to the war which he had left unfiniſhed. And that the new conſuls might not fail of ſucceſs, they plentifully furniſhed them with men, ammunition, arms, &c. by which means the united forces of the Latins were defeated, the town of Pedum taken by aſſault, and all Latium brought under ſubjection. The conſuls, having finiſhed the war with great glory, returned to Rome, where they were honoured, not only with a triumph, but alſo with two equeſtrian ſtatues erected in the forum[n].

But are defeated anew, and brought under ſubjection.

Year of the flood 2666. Before Chriſt 333. Of Rome 415.

THE conſuls having yet ſome time to continue in their office, employed it in determining the fate of the conquered. Camillus was inclined to inclemency, and adviſed the fathers rather to encreaſe the ſubjects of the republic, by admitting the Latins to the privileges of Roman citizens, than to exterminate them and reduce their country to a deſart. The chief men in the ſenate were for following the conſul's advice. But as ſome cities had been more criminal than others, it was thought proper to make a diſtinction in the treatment of them. Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum, were made Roman Municipia, their ſoldiers had the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, ſhared all the advantages of the Roman ſoldiery, and were no longer upon the foot of auxiliaries. The Tuſculans

[n] Liv. l. viii. c. 13. Eutrop. l. ii. Faſti Capit.

Tuſculans were reſtored to the enjoyment of their antient privileges, the ſenate being unwilling to condemn a whole country for the faults of a few, who had joined the enemies of the republic. Velitræ was razed, and its ſenate and inhabitants removed into another city beyond the Tiber. The Antiates were granted the freedom of Roman citizens; but their fleet, conſiſting of ſix gallies, was partly burnt, and partly carried into the Roman ports. With the braſs beaks of their veſſels, called in Latin Roſtra, the conſul Mænius adorned the pulpit, from whence the Roman magiſtrates harangued the people; and hence it was ever after called the Roſtra. The inhabitants of Tybur and Præneſte were deprived of all their lands, not ſo much on account of their late revolt, as for having formerly aſſiſted the Gauls. And laſtly, all the Latins in general were forbidden to aſſemble their diets as uſual, to marry out of their reſpective tribes, or to have common markets or fairs for trade. As for the cities of Campania, their lands were taken from them, and divided among the Romans. Thus were the two moſt fruitful provinces of Italy ſubdued by the republic, and the Latins, from allies of Rome, made her ſubjects[o].

[o] Liv. ibid. Flor. l. 1. c. 11.

The End of the Eleventh VOLUME.

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AN

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and other TABLES.

VOL. XII.

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From the rebuilding of Rome, *to the firſt* Punic *or* Carthaginian *war*.

IN the following conſulate of C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius Pætus, Publilius, tho' a plebeian, obtained the prætorſhip, the only great dignity which the plebeians had not before ſhared with the nobility. And thus the people being arrived at the height of their deſires, all pretences for faction were entirely taken away. The conſuls of the new year, L. Papirius and Cæſo Duilius, led an army againſt the Sidicini and Auſones, who had invaded the country of the Aurunci, at this time in alliance with Rome, defeated them in the field, and, having obliged them to take ſhelter behind the walls of their cities, returned to [illegible] followi[illegible] conſulate of M. Vale[illegible] rius Cor[illegible] fourth time, [illegible] M. Atilius [illegible] ege[illegible] Cale, [illegible] metropolis of [illegible] [illegible] covered galleries [illegible] [illegible] on this occaſion [illegible] and Calee[illegible] [illegible] carrying on of the [illegible] without moleſtation.

A plebeian prætor.

The Sidicini and Auſones conquered.

both conſuls marched againſt the Sidicini; but their year being expired before they had finiſhed their conqueſt, their ſucceſſors, T. Veturius Calvinus and Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, putting themſelves at the head of the troops which Valerius had commanded, entered the enemy's country and laid it waſte, without oppoſition. Upon the return of the conſuls to Rome, a report being ſpread, that the Sidicini had aſſembled a formidable army and were joined by the Samnites, a dictator, viz. P. Cornelius Rufinus, was appointed to march out againſt them. But his authority did not laſt long; the augurs found his nomination defective in ſome circumſtances, and obliged him to abdicate. Nay, as a plague raged at this time in Rome, the aruſpices, carrying their ſuperſtition ſtill farther, declared, that all the auſpices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, and that the inauguration of the conſuls themſelves had been faulty. On this ſuperſtitious prejudice, the chief magiſtrates of Rome were diſplaced, and the republic reduced to an inter-regnum. The next year the faſces were transferred, according to the Faſti Capitolini, to L. Papirius Curſor and C. Pætelius Libo Viſolus, who, in all likelihood, reduced the Sidicini, for we find no other epoch of their reduction. Livy neither mentions theſe conſuls, nor gives us any account of this year; which is a great omiſſion, and would confound the whole chronology of the republic, were it not for the Faſti Capitolini, which name the above-mentioned conſuls. They were ſucceeded by A. Cornelius, a ſecond time conſul, and Cn. Domitius, who were obliged to name a dictator upon a groundleſs report, that the Gauls were preparing for a war with the republic. Papirius Craſſus was the man they pitched upon, and he choſe Valerius Poplicola for his maſter of the horſe. While the dictator was raiſing an army, more certain news came that all was quiet on that ſide. However, as the Samnites had raiſed a formidable army to oppoſe Alexander king of Epirus, the dictator kept the field, till the Samnites, upon the return of their prince, diſbanded their troops. In the ſame year the number of the Roman citizens being greatly increaſed, four new tribes were added to the

The addition of two new tribes.

[illegible] enjoyed after the reduction [illegible], there ſprung up in her boſom a new kind of monſters more to be dreaded than any foreign enemy. Some women of diſtinction, according to ſome

ſome three hundred and ſixty, according to others a hundred and ſeventy, plotted together, upon what provocation we know not, to take off the husbands by poiſon, and took the opportunity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their wicked deſign in execution. People were ſurpriſed in Rome to ſee ſo many men of note die, and all with the ſame ſymptoms; but had no ſuſpicion of this kind of aſſaſſination, as we may call it, ſo contrary to their manners, that there was then no law againſt it. At length the wickedneſs of theſe furies was diſcovered by a woman, who was in the ſervice of one of theſe criminals, and aſſiſted her in preparing her poiſon. This ſlave applied herſelf to Q. Fabius, who was at that time curule ædile, and having upon promiſe of impunity diſcovered to him the whole myſtery of iniquity, the ædile imparted the ſecret to the conſuls, and the conſuls to the ſenate; by whoſe order the ſlave, attended by ſome officers, went to the houſes of above twenty Roman ladies, who were all found guilty in preparing poiſons. Among theſe were two patrician women, Sergia and Cornelia, who being brought before the aſſembly of the people and there examined, maintained, that they had prepared only medicines for the ſick, in which there were no poiſonous ingredients. Hereupon the ſlave, finding herſelf ſuſpected of calumny, propoſed, that the two ladies ſhould take their own potions. The experiment being, at her requeſt, ordered to be made, Cornelia and Sergia deſired to confer with their accomplices; which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poiſon, and ſo delivered themſelves from a more cruel death. Nothing could be more ſurpriſing to the Romans, than ſuch an exceſs of wickedneſs in a ſex, which had hitherto preſerved its reputation unſullied. The republic aſcribed this unheard-of prodigy to a ſpirit of madneſs, ſent as a puniſhment by the angry gods; and therefore, to appeaſe their wrath, had recourſe to the ceremony which ſhe had formerly practiſed in the time plagues and general calamities. The conſuls to nominate a dictator [illegible] the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitol [illegible] raiſed to that d[illegible]al of the horſe, [illegible]; which was no ſooner [illegible]ent dignity, and gave way [illegible]birius Craſſus, a ſecond time conſul, and L. Plautius Venno. In the beginning of their year, the Privernates, in conjunction with ſome of the inhabitants of Fundi, revolted at the inſtiga-

A plot formed by ſome Roman women to poiſon their husbands.

tion of Vitrius Vaccus, a native of that city, but who enjoyed all the rights of a Roman citizen, and had even made himſelf an inhabitant of Rome. The Privernates, on the approach of the two conſuls, retired into their city. Hereupon Plautius, with one part of the army, entered the territory of Fundi, where he was met by the ſenate of that city, who proteſted that they had no ſhare in the revolt. The conſul wrote to Rome in their favour, and then marched to join his collegue, who had already blocked up Privernum. But while that ſiege was carrying on, one of the conſuls was called back to Rome to preſide in the comitia for electing new conſuls, the city being alarmed at the news of the Gauls being in motion. The new conſuls, L. Æmilius, a ſecond time, and C. Plautius, entered upon their office, the very day they were choſen, though before the uſual time, and drew lots for their commands. It fell to Æmilius to act againſt the Gauls; and to his collegue to carry on the ſiege of Privernum. Æmilius made the levies with the utmoſt vigor, admitted of no excuſe, but put all, without diſtinction, who were able to bear arms, upon the military roll. Such was the terror the very name of the Gauls ſtruck into the Romans. But the great army, raiſed on this occaſion, marched no farther than Veii, where the conſul received certain advice, that all was quiet among the Gauls. He then joined his collegue before Privernum, which, being already fatigued with a long ſiege, ſurrendered, and delivered up Vitrius, the author of the revolt, who was, by an order from the ſenate, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The two conſuls on their return to Rome, were honoured with a triumph, and Æmilius moreover with the ſirname of Privernas. What now remained was to puniſh the Privernates. Such of the ſenators, as had continued in the place after the revolt, were removed beyond the Tiber, and forbad to paſs the river under the penalty of a great fine. As for the innocent multitude and the priſ[illegible] in the war, the conſul Plautius uſed [illegible] his int[illegible] He led the cap[illegible] made a mov[illegible] were divided [illegible] hers to ſeverity [illegible] py men was humble ſupp[illegible] Volſci, that is, a nation as pre[illegible] and capable of as generous ſentiments, as the Romans themſelves. For one of them being aſked by a ſenator, who was for putting them all to death, what puniſh-

Privernum taken.

ment

ment he and his fellow-captives deſerved? anſwered with great intrepidity, We deſerve that puniſhment, which is due to men who are jealous of their liberty, and think themſelves worthy of it. Plaut perceiving that his anſwer exaſperated ſome of the ſenators, endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of it, by putting a milder queſtion to the priſoner. How would you behave, ſaid he, if Rome ſhould pardon you? Our conduct, replied the generous captive, depends upon yours. If the peace you grant us, be an honourable one, you may depend on a conſtant fidelity on our parts: if the terms of it be hard or diſhonourable, lay no ſtreſs on our adherence to you. Some of the judges conſtrued theſe words as menaces, but the wiſer part, finding in them a great deal of magnanimity, cried out, that a nation, whoſe only deſire was liberty, and only fear that of loſing it, was worthy to become Roman. Accordingly, a decree paſſed in favour of the priſoners, and Privernum was declared a municipium. This the bold ſincerity of one man ſaved his countr[illegible] and gained it the privilege of being incorporated into the Roman ſtate [o].

A noble answer given by one of the inhabitants of that ci

The Palæpolitans make an irruption into the Roman territories.

THE next year, in the conſulate of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula, the Romans gave umbrage to the Samnites, by planting a colony in Fregellæ, which ſtood in their neighbourhood, and proved the occaſion of that bloody war, which ſoon after broke out between the two nations. In the mean time, the Palæpolitans, taking advantage of this new diſcontent of the Samnites, committed hoſtilities in the Roman territories. Theſe people were originally Eubæans, who coming into Italy, built Cumæ, and thence ſpreading themſelves farther, founded the city of Naples or Neapolis, that is, The New City. Their confidence was founded upon a report ſpread abroad, that the Samnites would ſoon be at war with the Romans. The news of this unexpected invaſion was brought to Rome, juſt before the comi[illegible] by centuries were aſſembled to appoint new conſul[illegible]d in the comitia by tribes to chuſe new tribun[illegible] of the ſenate order latter choſe one Q. Flavius, a man [illegible] drive a nail into the [illegible] he had been accuſed not lo[illegible]ngly, Cu[illegible]ntilius was diſtinction, a[illegible]as [illegible]nade his generurules ædiles, was [illegible]us ceremonye being clear, fourteen [illegible]ed his grandy voted him guilty, when he accuſed ch[illegible]h great proteſtations,

[o] Liv. ibid.

teſtations that he was innocent. Upon this Valerius, who bore him an irreconcileable hatred, cried out with a louder voice, What is that to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be deſtroyed? The tribes were ſo offended at theſe words, that they immediately acquitted Flavius, tho' evidently guilty, by a great majority of ſuffrages. A few months after he loſt his mother, and, as it was then cuſtomary to offer ſacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than uſual, and diſtributed the fleſh among the people, who had favoured him at his trial. This gratitude proved more beneficial to him than he expected. The people remembered him in the comitia, and choſe him, though abſent, for one of their tribunes [p].

The conſul Publius marches againſt them.

THE comitia by centuries raiſed to the conſulate L. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Publilius Philo, a ſecond time. The latter marched againſt the Palæpolitans, and, in order to cut off their communication with Neapolis, from whence they were ſupplied with men and proviſions, encamped on a narrow tract of ground between thoſe two cities. His collegue poſted himſelf with another army near Capua, to keep the Campanians in awe. In this camp he received undoubted intelligence, that the Samnites, jealous of the progreſs of the Roman arms, had ſolicited the inhabitants of Privernum, Fundi, and Formia to revolt. Upon this the ſenate ſent an embaſſy into Samnium, complaining of a conduct ſo contrary to the faith of treaties. The embaſſadors met with a haughty reception: but, without loſing their temper, after having heard the complaints of the Samnites, which chiefly related to the rebuilding and fortifying of Fregellæ, returned the following anſwer: The injuries you complain of require a great deal of time to be examined. As therefore we have common friends and allies, let us refer our differences to their arbitration. Arbitrators, cried the Samnites, we will have none. Let the gods and our ſwords, Battles will determine our pretenſions better than words. Mars ſhall put an end to our diſputes in the plains of Campania. Go, [illegible]ns, tell your comm[illegible]t we wait for them betwee[illegible]a and [illegible]s will here determine, w[illegible]ght to giv[illegible] law to the reſt [illegible]ors replied, We ſhall [illegible]le ou[illegible], our generals will lead us [illegible]y think fit, and we ſhall follow them.

A new rupture between the Samnites and Romans.

[p] Liv. l. viii. c. 22. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1.

them. In the mean while, the time for the new elections drawing near, the ſenate, without recalling the conſuls, ordered a dictator to be named, to preſide in the comitia. The conſul Cornelius nominated L. Claudius Marcellus, a plebeian, who choſe Sp. Poſthumius Albinus for his maſter of the horſe. But the augurs pretending that the nomination was invalid, Marcellus was obliged to abdicate the dictatorſhip, and Poſthumius the command of the horſe. The people, imagining that the view of the augurs was only to wound the plebeian intereſt, made loud complaints, and murmured at that ambitious college; but in the end ſuperſtition prevailed, and, the government falling into an inter-regnum, C. Pætelius Libo and L. Papirius Mugellinus were choſen conſuls for the enſuing year. Theſe, putting themſelves at the head of the army, which Cornelius had commanded, entered Samnium, and being joined by the Lucanians and Apulians, two nations to which the Romans had been hitherto ſtrangers, penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and ſeized three of their cities, viz. Allifæ, Callifæ, and Ruſtium. On the other hand, Publilius, being continued by the people, at the motion of their tribunes, at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the year before, with the title of proconſul, took at length Palæpolis, by a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens. Four thouſand Samnites and two thouſand of the inhabitants of Nola, a city of Campania, having got into the town before it was inveſted, under pretence of ſtrengthening the garriſon, kept the inhabitants in a cruel ſtate of ſlavery, and committed all ſorts of debaucheries, which they extended even to the wives of that unhappy people and their children of both ſexes. In this diſtreſs the Palæpolitans, having long waited in vain for relief from the Tarentines, reſolved at length to have recourſe to their enemies, in order to deliver themſelves from the oppreſſion of their defenders. * Nymphius and Charilaus, the two chief magiſtrates of the city, took upon them, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, the execution of the enterpriſe. Charilaus [illegible] ferred to the Roman camp, where he impar[illegible] his countrymen had taken. [illegible] and put him at the head of three [illegible] hour, Palæpolis was to attack the town in that part where the Samnites defended it. In the mean time, Nymphius, who had ſtaid in Palæpolis, and all along kept a private correſpondence with

Palæpolis taken by a ſtratagem.

with his collegue, contrived another ſtratagem, and with his Grecian artifice ſo blinded the Samnite commanders, that they fell without any ſuſpicion into the ſnare he had prepared for them. He adviſed them to equip the fleet, which lay in the port, and make a deſcent in the Roman territories, in order to oblige the Romans to quit Samnium and the neighbourhood of Palæpolis. This motion being approved, Nymphius contrived to employ the Samnite troops in the laborious work of ſetting the ſhips afloat, which lay dry on the ſhore. By this means, that part of the wall, which the Romans were to attack, being but weakly guarded, Charilaus, being acquainted therewith by his collegue, advanced at the head of three thouſand Romans, and being favoured by his friends, made himſelf maſter of the place. The Samnites, who were employed on the ſhore, finding themſelves ſhamefully over-reached, fled with precipitation, for fear of falling into the hands of the Romans, and arrived in their own country, without either arms or baggage, where they were expoſed to the ridicule of all their neighbours, who continually reproached them with the equipment of the Palæpolitan fleet [q]. Some writers tell us, that the Samnites, and not the Greeks, delivered the place up to the Romans. But the authors of beſt note relate this adventure as we have done. Beſides, Neapolis, one of the chief cities of Great Greece, entered at this time into an alliance with Rome, a manifeſt proof that the Greeks ſurrendered voluntarily, and not compelled by any foreign force. For this ſucceſs, Publilius, in ſpite of the nobility, obtained a triumph, though he was neither conſul nor dictator. He was the firſt, as Livy obſerves, who was decreed a triumph for exploits performed in an inferior ſtation. But he was a plebeian and the idol of the people, and therefore triumphed in ſight of the conſuls of the year, who were refuſed that honour, though they had made conſiderable conqueſts in Samnium. Thus the plebeians revenged the affront they had received the laſt year, when a plebeian dict[illegible] was by the augurs oblig[illegible] to lay down his office.

The L[illegible]
ians fo[illegible]
ed by t[illegible]
Parentin[illegible]
to a league
with the
Samnites.

THE taking of [illegible] ſtirred [illegible] diſcords againſt the Romans in [illegible] anes, having loſt their protec[illegible]s, and being jealous of the ga[illegible] in[illegible]wer[illegible]y an[illegible]tful ſtratagem ſeduced the Lucanians, who had gone over to the Romans,

[q] Liv. l. viii. c. 23.

Romans, into a league with the Samnites. They bribed a company of young Lucanians of good families to tear their backs with whips, and then ſhew themſelves to the people, pretending, that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the Roman conſuls, to whoſe camp curioſity had led them. The Lucani, who were but a ſtupid people, ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a cheat, immediately convened a national aſſembly, and, without examining into the truth of ſo improbable a fact, decreed, that war ſhould be declared with the Romans, and their antient alliance with the Samnites renewed. Purſuant to this reſolution, an embaſſy was ſent to the latter, who could ſcarce believe the deputation real; and therefore would not hearken to their propoſals, till hoſtages were delivered, and Samnite garriſons put into all their towns. The Lucanians complied with all their demands, without diſcovering the impoſture, till it was too late to repent.

Creditors diſabled from ſeizing the perſons of their debtors.

WHILE the affairs of the republic were proſperous abroad, the poor debtors had the good fortune to ſhake off the only yoke, which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, creditors were empowered to ſeize their inſolvent debtors, and keep them in their houſes, till by their ſervices or labour they had diſcharged the ſum they owed. Theſe poor citizens were in all reſpects ſlaves, except in name. They were called Nexi, that is, bound, their liberty being, as it were, bound and ſuſpended for a time; whereas the ſlaves were called Servi. A young Plebeian of extraordinary beauty and of a good family, by name Publilius, had voluntarily made himſelf a ſlave to one L. Papirius, in order to pay his father's debts. Papirius, conceiving a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and not being able to get the better of his virtue by promiſes and careſſes, cauſed him to be whipped moſt unmercifully. After this cruel treatment, Publilius, having found means to make his eſcape, complained publicly of the inhuman uſage he had met with, and told the occaſion of it. The people, filled with compaſſion for the young plebeian, and with reſentment againſt the maſter, forced the conſuls [illegible] ſence, [illegible]enting Publilius before them [illegible]n or ern, demanded juſtice on [illegible]ly, regard to their cries, and, without [illegible]eeing any [illegible]re againſt Papirius, whoſe crime was not ſufficiently proved, paſſed a decree, which was readily accepted and confirmed in the comitia. It enacted, That for the future no perſon whatſoever ſhould

be held in fetters or other bonds but for ſome crime that deſerved it, and only till the criminal had ſuffered the puniſhment due by law; and that creditors ſhould only have a right to attach the goods, and not ſeize the perſons, of their debtors.

The Veſtini defeated by the conſul Brutus.

In the following conſulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus, the Veſtini, a people on the coaſts of the Adriatic ſea, took arms againſt Rome, but were defeated by Brutus, who took from them the two cities of Cutina and Cinglia. Camillus, who was to act againſt the Samnites, falling ſick named to the dictatorſhip L. Papirius Curſor, who appointed Q. Fabius Rullianus to be his general of the horſe. The dictator took the field againſt the Samnites, but ſoon after returned to Rome, on account of ſome religious ſcruples relating to the auſpices conſulted before his departure. Before he left the army, he forbad Fabius, whom he entruſted with the command of it, to venture a battle in his abſence. But Fabius, diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, notwithſtanding the dictator's prohibition, attacked the Samnites, and gained a complete victory, having killed above twenty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The young conqueror, elated with this ſucceſs, inſtead of lodging the ſpoils of the enemy in the quæſtor's hands, cauſed them all to be burnt, that they might not encreaſe the pomp of the dictator's triumph. Beſides, he did not ſend any account of his victory to the dictator, under whoſe auſpices he had fought, but only to the ſenate. Hereupon the dictator ſet out in all haſte from Rome to puniſh his diſobedient general of the horſe. But Fabius, having timely notice of his coming, and of his deſign, called together the troops, and in a ſeditious harangue committed to them the defence of his life and fortune. His ſpeech was applauded by the legions; they all promiſed him their aſſiſtance, and proteſted, that nothing but death ſhould ſeparate them from a commander, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo ſignal a victory. In the mean time the dictator arrived, and, having aſſembled the troops, ordered the crier to call the general of the horſe to appear before him. Fabius, inſtead of obeying the ſummons, and being queſtioned concerning his diſobedience, returned anſwers full of haughtineſs. As he could offer nothing in defence of ſo bad a cauſe, Papirius ordered the lictors to ſtrip him, and prepare their rods and axes. But while the executioners were tearing off his cloaths, he found means to eſcape out of their hands, and

Q. Fabius engages the Samnites, contrary to the orders of Papirius the dictator, and gains a complete victory

Is condemned by the dictator, but reſcued by the ſoldiers.

to

to retire among the Triarii. A loud ſhout was immediately heard from the place whither Fabius had fled, which was anſwered by the whole army. The ſoldiers all to a man declared in his favour; but expreſſed their ſentiments very differently. Some threatened the dictator; others begged pardon for the offender. Thoſe who ſtood next to the tribunal deſired, in a ſuppliant manner, Papirius to ſpare the life of his general of the horſe, and not condemn all the troops in him. The lieutenant-generals of the army, who ſurrounded the dictator, entreated him to put off the execution till the next day, to give the ſoldiers time to cool, and to take ſome time himſelf to calm his mind. But the dictator continued inflexible; nay, he commanded, with an angry tone, the lieutenant-generals to leave the tribunal. Hereupon the ſedition encreaſed, and the ſoldiers grew more furious. The dictator commanded ſilence, but neither he nor his criers could be heard. The legionaries were ready to offer violence to their general, but night coming on put an end to the tumult. Fabius, not thinking it prudent to ſtand another trial, eſcaped to Rome, where his father immediately got the ſenators aſſembled, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. But Papirius, arriving on a ſudden, took his place in the ſenate, and ordered the lictors to ſeize young Fabius. In vain did the ſenators intercede for the criminal; Papirius was inexorable. Hereupon the father, having no other reſource, appealed to the people in comitia. There had never yet been any inſtance of an appeal from the ſentence of the dictator. But nevertheleſs, Papirius did not think fit to diſallow the ſuperior authority of the people, ſo that the cauſe was brought before the comitia, aſſembled in the forum. Thither repaired the dictator with few attendants; but the Fabii were guarded by all the people of diſtinction in Rome. Both the Fabii aſcended the roſtra with the dictator. The ſon had a right to harangue the people from thence, as general of the horſe; but the father had no right, it being the privilege of magiſtrates only to appear there. Papirius therefore ſternly ordered [illegible] to be pulled down, [illegible] being in office; and alſo the [illegible] as a criminal, who [illegible] forfeited the privileges and [illegible] to his office. [illegible]er, placing himſelf then at [illegible] of the [illegible] out into bitter vectives a[illegible] with the haughtineſs and cruelty of Papirius, cited the [illegible]es of Minucius and L. Furius, who had not been ſo ſeverely puniſhed, though they had fought contrary to the advice of Cincinnatus and the great Camillus, dictator.

The father of Fabius appeals from the dictator to the people.

dictators, and omitted nothing that could be ſaid in ſo bad a cauſe. He clamoured, he complained, he called upon the gods and men for help, and, embracing his ſon, wept a flood of tears. The whole aſſembly, ſays Livy, was on the ſide of the Fabii; but Papirius had on his ſide the military laws, the rules of diſcipline, which were deemed inviolable, the dignity of his office, the dictatorial edicts, &c. He reproached the Romans with a degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which uſed to prevail over all paternal affection and private views; he urged the examples of Manlius and Brutus, who had courage enough to ſacrifice their own children for the ſake of the public good, expatiated on the evil conſequences to the republic of admitting appeals from the dictator to the people, and eſpecially in caſes of diſobedience in war, and concluded with aſking the tribunes, whether they were willing to anſwer thoſe conſequences with their heads. Theſe words threw both the tribunes and the people into great perplexity. They pitied the Fabii; but could not condemn the ſeverity of Papirius. The receiving of appeals from the ſentence of the dictator would indeed encreaſe the power of the plebeians; but they were afraid of the conſequences of ſo dangerous an incroachment on a ſovereign authority. Inſtead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they became interceſſors for the criminal, humbly beſeeching the dictator to pardon his general of the horſe. The Fabii themſelves fell proſtrate at the dictator's feet and implored his clemency. Upon this the dictator, cauſing ſilence to be made, ſpoke thus from the Roſtra: Both military diſcipline and the authority of generals are preſerved inviolate. The temerity of Fabius expoſed both to great dangers: but he has not been judged innocent; only pardon is aſked for him. This I readily grant in deference to the Roman people, and to the interceſſion of their tribunes. They have not pronounc[illegible] him innocent as judges, but intercede for him as friends. Live then, Quintus Fabius, more fortunate in this unanimous conſent of all orders in the [illegible]ublic to ſave you, [illegible]n the victory you lately gained. [illegible]ve, Fabius, thoug[illegible] have dared to commit a crime, [illegible]ich your father [illegible]d he been in my place, would have expiated [illegible] your blood. You ſhall be received again into my favour at your pleaſure. But as to the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, you can never expreſs your gratitude to them better than by punctually

The dictator at the requeſt of the people pardons the offender.

punctually and implicitly obeying, whether in peace or in war, your lawful commanders. Go; you are at liberty. Theſe words were followed by univerſal acclamations, ſome congratulating Fabius, others expreſſing their gratitude to Papirius. Both the dictator and his general of the horſe were conducted back to their houſes by crouds of people of all ranks[r]. The many triumphs, with which we ſhall ſee him hereafter honoured, will prove him worthy of the zeal which Rome ſhewed for his deliverance.

While Papirius ſtaid in Rome, the Samnites, taking advantage of his abſence, inſulted the Roman army, knowing that they would not ſtir out of their camp to engage them, for fear of meeting with the ſame fate as young Fabius. And indeed M. Valerius, one of the lieutenant-generals, ſuffered a detachment of Romans, who were eſcorting a convoy, to be cut in pieces, though he might eaſily have reſcued them, ſaying, that he dreaded the ſeverity of the dictator, more than the enemy's forces. This accident greatly contributed to encreaſe the hatred of the ſoldiery to their general, who ſoon after arriving in the camp, with his new general of the horſe, L. Papirius Craſſus, a relation of his own, found his men ſo exaſperated againſt him, that they loſt all hopes of making any great progreſs. The Samnites, informed of the preſent diſpoſition of the Roman army towards their general, immediately marched out and offered him battle. Papirius, thinking himſelf obliged in honour to accept the challenge, drew up his men, and in order to ſupply the want of affection in his ſoldiers by his ſkill in war, poſted them ſo advantageouſly, that it was not poſſible for them to be entirely defeated. They fought indeed very faintly for fear of encreaſing the glory of their general; but after all they did not loſe the battle, there being more Samnites killed than Romans, though the number of the wounded was much greater on the ſide of the latter. After the battle Papirius acted a part which ſurpriſed every body. Not one officer, or ſoldier, who had behaved negligently in the engagement, was ſo much as reprimanded. Laying aſide the ſeverity and majeſty of a dictator, he went about with his lieutenants, viſited the wounded ſoldiers, put his head into their tents, aſked them how they did, and charged their tribunes to take particular care of them. As in this ſudden change he did not diſcover the leaſt affectation

[r] Liv. l. viii. c. 34.

affectation; the army, which had always had a great eſteem for him, came in a ſhort time to ſhew him a moſt tender affection. The people in the city, being informed of this unexpected alteration, thought fit to continue him ſix months longer in his employment, during which time he gave the enemy a total overthrow, over-ran Samnium, and reduced the enemy to ſue for peace. This the dictator granted them on theſe three preliminary conditions; 1. that they ſhould cloath all his troops: 2. that they ſhould give them a year's pay: and, 3. that they ſhould get the treaty confirmed by the ſenate. Papirius on his return to Rome was decreed a triumph, after which he preſided at the election of the new conſuls, C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulus Cerretanus, and then reſigned his dignity. The Samnites, to whom the ſenate had only granted a year's truce, no ſooner heard that Papirius had quitted the dictatorſhip, than they took the field. As the Apulians declared for them againſt Rome, the forces of the republic were divided between the two conſuls. Aulus marched againſt the Apulians, and Sulpicius againſt the Samnites; b[illegible]le progreſs was made in the war this year, both Samnites and Apulians keeping themſel[illegible] cloſe in their ſtrong-holds. But the next year, when Q. Fabius, who had been general of the horſe to Papirius, and L. Fulvius Corvus were conſuls, the Samnites, having raiſed a formidable army, ſurprized the Romans, commanded by the two conſuls, in a very diſadvantageous poſt, and obliged them to hazard a battle, which laſted many hours without either ſide's giving way. At length the imprudence of the Samnite cavalry turned the fortune of the day in favour of the Romans. For the conſuls, having deſignedly ſent away the baggage of the army under a ſmall guard, the enemy's horſe, not being aware of the ſnare, wheeled off to ſeize it. But when they had put themſelves into diſorder, and loaded their horſes with the plunder, the conſuls detached all the Roman cavalry with orders to fall upon them; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that few of them eſcaped. Then the Roman cavalry, marching a[illegible] way about, fell on the rear of the Samnite infan[illegible]ich had not yet given ground. This unexpected attack ſtruck them with terror, and threw them into confuſion. The Romans, purſuing their advantage, cut all thoſe Samnites who kept th[illegible] ground, in pieces. Thoſe who fled were for the moſt part put to the ſword by the horſe, and among the reſt the general himſelf.

Papirius defeats the Samnites, and obliges them to ſue for peace.

The conſuls Q. Fabius and L. Fulvius Corvus gain a complete victory over them.

ſelf. The Samnites, after this defeat, repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavoured to pacify the Romans, by making eſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the treaty. They likewiſe paſſed a decree, that Brutulus Papius, a man of diſtinction among them, but the chief author of the breach, ſhould be delivered up to the Romans. But he having laid violent hands on himſelf, his dead body was carried to Rome with all the captives and ſpoil taken in the time of the truce. After this the conſul Fulvius returned to Rome; but his collegue led an army into Apulia, where he muſt have been attended with ſucceſs, ſince he is ſaid in the Faſti Capitolini to have triumphed over the Samnites and Apulians, and his collegue Fulvius over the Samnites only. One A. Cornelius was choſen dictator this year to preſide at the games in the abſence of the conſuls, and during the ſickneſs of the prætor for the year. And hence comes the miſtake of ſome memoirs, which Livy followed. That writer, finding that the government was in the hands of a dictator at the time of the defeat of the Samnites, aſcribes to him all the glory of that exploit. But the Faſti Capitolini inform us better, and, upon their authority, we have rectified the miſtake of the Latin hiſtorians[s].

The Samnites, being refuſed a peace, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction they had made for the breach of the truce, made the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. They appointed one Pontius, an able and experienced officer, to command their troops. He was the ſon of Herennius, who had been at the head of their armies in his younger days, but now led a private life, and was on account of his wiſdom looked upon as a kind of oracle. On the other hand, the Romans in their comitia choſe T. Veturius and Sp. Poſthumius conſuls, who, putting themſelves at the head of the army, took their rout to Calatia, a city of Campania. When they arrived at that place, Pontius, who had encamped among the woods and mountains, in the neighbourhood of Caudium, a little town in Samnium, about a league from Calatia, cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the Samnite army was laying ſiege to Lucera in Apulia; and to more effectually to deceive them, he ſent ten of his ſoldiers in the habit of herdſmen to lead flocks into different parts between Caudium

[s] Faſti Capitol. Vell. Paterc. l. i. & Liv. l. viii. c. 3.

dium and Calatia, with inſtructions to agree all in the ſame report, when taken by the enemy. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect; and the Romans in a council of war reſolved to march into Apulia and relieve Luceria. Some were for marching the fartheſt way about, through the open country; others, fearing leſt the place ſhould in the mean time fall into the enemy's hands, preferred the ſhorteſt way to the ſafeſt; and their opinion prevailing, the army began to march through narrow paſſes, and climb up rocks, which ſeemed inacceſſible. At length they came to the fatal place, which has been ſince known by the name of the Caudine Forks. The conſuls marched their troops through a narrow hollow way, having on each ſide thick foreſts; and from thence deſcended into a valley, ſo ſurrounded with hills that it looked like an amphitheatre. The hills were ſo covered with trees and briars, as to be abſolutely unſurmountable. The valley itſelf was very marſhy, being continually watered by torrents, rolling down from the rocks, and frequent ſprings. There was but one way out of it, which was narrow and ſteep; and the Samnites had taken care to ſtop it with huge ſtones and trees laid acroſs. The conſuls gave orders to clear it; but finding it quite impracticable, and diſcovering at the ſame time great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences, they began to fear an ambuſcade. To avoid therefore being inveſted, they inſtantly turned back, and endeavoured to get out of the valley by the hollow way, through which they had entered it. But in vain, for the Samnites had already blocked up the paſſage with trees cut down in haſte and vaſt heaps of large ſtones. The legions, finding themſelves thus ſhut in, without a poſſibility of eſcaping, ſtood immoveable, fixing their eyes on one another, and wiſhing to diſcover ſome ſigns of hopes in their companions faces. The conſuls, to put a good face upon the affair, pitched their tent, and ordered fortifications to be raiſed, as if they had a mind to continue there. The ſoldiers laughed at this fruitleſs precaution, but nevertheleſs raiſed a rampart along the water, though they were all the while ſcoffed at and inſulted by the enemy from the tops of the eminences. As ſoon as the army was encamped, the chief officers repaired of their own accord to the conſuls tent; but the time of the conſultation was rather ſpent in lamentations, than in finding out wholeſome expedients, the gods themſelves not being able, as Livy ſays, to deliver them without a miracle. In the mean time, night came on,

The Caudine Forks.

The Roman army ſurrounded by the enemy.

on, which the ſoldiers, inſtead of taking their reſt, ſpent in diſcourſing about the unhappy ſituation of their affairs. On the other hand, the Samnites, elated with this ſurpriſing ſucceſs, could not agree among themſelves what uſe to make of it. In this irreſolution, it was unanimouſly agreed in a council of war to conſult old Herennius, the general's father and the oracle of the nation. A meſſenger was therefore diſpatched to him with a letter, informing him of the extremity, to which his ſon had, by his addreſs, reduced the Roman army, and deſiring him to adviſe them how they ſhould treat an army, hitherto invincible, but now entirely at their mercy. The wiſe old man returned by the meſſenger the following anſwer: I adviſe my ſon to open a paſſage for the Romans, and to let them return home without doing them the leaſt harm. The officers, ſurpriſed at this anſwer, and imagining the meſſenger had miſunderſtood Herennius, ſent him back to him; and then the old man gave a very different anſwer from the former: Tell the council, ſaid he, that I would not have them ſpare the life of one Roman; let them be all put to the ſword without diſtinction. The ſtrange difference between theſe two anſwers made the Samnites imagine, that there was ſome myſtery in the matter, and preſs Pontius to have his father brought to the camp to explain himſelf. When the wiſe Herennius was come and introduced to the council, he told them, that Rome was a powerful ſtate, from whoſe affection they might promiſe themſelves the greateſt benefits, and from whoſe enmity they had reaſon to fear the greateſt misfortunes. If we gain her affection, ſaid he, by a ſignal act of generoſity, we ſecure to ourſelves a happy and laſting tranquillity. On the other hand, if we cut off all the flower of her youth at one blow, we ſhall be ſafe in at leaſt for a time. In good policy, there is no medium between theſe two extremes. Either ſave the Romans in ſuch manner as to make them your friends, or deſtroy them ſo effectually as to render them leſs formidable enemies. But Pontius and his officers, rejecting this advice, choſe a middle way, not ſo generous as the former, nor quite ſo rigorous as the latter. They ſpared their lives, but at the ſame time treated them as conquered enemies.

While the Samnites were thus deliberating about the fate of the Romans, the ſcarcity of proviſions encreaſed daily in the inveſted camp; and no hopes of relief appeared, nor poſſibility of eſcaping. Some ſoldiers indeed attempted to get out of the ſnare, but were met and driven back by the

the enemy's parties. In this deſperate condition, the conſuls ſent a deputation to the Samnites to deſire a peace upon equitable terms, and in caſe of refuſal to invite them to a battle. Pontius, with a haughty air, gave the deputies the following anſwer: We have no battles to fight; the victory is already gained. Not a man of your legions ſhall eſcape, till you have all been diſarmed, and paſſed one by one under the yoke. This is a preliminary, which I abſolutely inſiſt upon. Beſides this, the Romans ſhall leave Samnium, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities which they have taken from us. Tell the conſuls this from me; and, if they do not accept the terms propoſed, appear no more in my preſence. This anſwer occaſioned as great a conſternation in the camp, as if they had received advice that they muſt die. Nothing was heard but ſighs and lamentations. The conſuls, ſtruck dumb, durſt not declare themſelves for ſo ſhameful a treaty, and yet could not reject it in the extremity to which they were reduced. While they were thus heſitating, L. Lentulus, an officer of diſtinction, who by his wiſe conduct had raiſed himſelf to one of the chief poſts in the army, and had been at the head of the deputation to the Samnites, broke ſilence, and in a long harangue ſhewed the neceſſity of complying with the conditions impoſed, if they deſired to ſave their own lives, or had any regard to the preſervation of Rome. His advice was followed; and the conſuls ſignified to the Samnite general, that they conſented to lay down their arms and paſs under the yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. In this interview, Pontius deſired to conclude a treaty of peace and friendſhip with Rome; but the conſuls declared, that they could not conclude any that would be binding, without the approbation of the people and the miniſtry of the Feciales. Our power, ſaid they, extends no farther than to make promiſes, which we are ready to ſtrengthen by giving hoſtages. The ſtipulation was accepted, and, on the day appointed, the conſuls, lieutenant generals, quæſtors, and military tribunes went to the camp of the Samnites to ſign it. They promiſed to quit Samnium, evacuate the places where they had planted colonies, and ſuffer the Samnites to live in peace, according to their own laws. To ſecure the performance of this convention, the Samnites demanded ſix hundred Roman knights as hoſtages, with this condition, that they might cut off their heads, if the republic did not perform the conſuls promiſes. Upon the return of the conſuls, ſorrow and

rage

rage filled the hearts of the Roman ſoldiers. They could ſcarce refrain themſelves from offering violence to their generals, and cutting them in pieces. They formed dreadful ideas of their future diſhonour, and were ready to eſcape it, by laying violent hands on themſelves, and periſhing by each others ſwords. At length the fatal hour came. The ſix hundred knights marched firſt out of the camp, unarmed and with their under garment only. Theſe were put into the enemy's hands, who conducted them to a place of ſafety. The two conſuls appeared next, and were ordered to pull off their paludamenta, or military clokes, the enſigns of their dignity. At this ſight the ſoldiers, though full of rage againſt their generals, turned away their eyes, and changed their anger into compaſſion. They could not ſee officers of ſo high a rank treated with with ſo much indignity, without the utmoſt concern. While the legions were lamenting their hard fate, the conſuls paſſed firſt under the yoke, ſtripped of their habi s and half naked; the inferior officers followed according to their rank, and at laſt the ſoldiers, one by one. The Samnites inſulted them as they paſſed; and if any Roman returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed. When they had all paſſed thus under the yoke, they were allowed to depart, and might have reached Capua the ſame day; but, partly out of diſtruſt of that city, though allied to Rome, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo miſerable a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground at ſome diſtance from that city, with a deſign to paſs the night in the open air, without food or refreſhment. But the Capuans, being informed of their misfortune and forlorn condition, immediately ſent cloaths, horſes, arms, and even lictors and faſces to the conſuls, with great plenty of proviſions for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the ſenate and people went out to meet them, with all demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs. But the conſuls and their troops, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with the friendly hoſpitality. With their eyes fixed on the ground they perſiſted in ſilence and ſhunned all diſcourſe. They were attended by the flower of the Campanian nobility to the frontiers of their country; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind; which made the Capuans conclude, that the Roman courage was for ever loſt, and paved the way for a revolt. One

The Roman army paſſes under the yoke.

of them, however, a venerable old man, by name Oſilius Calavius, judged differently of the dull confuſion of the Romans. Their eyes, ſaid he, fixed on the ground, ſhew much they are bent on revenge; and their refuſing to be comforted is a proof, that they will never forgive the affront they have received.

At Rome the people began to be in pain for the conſular army. News had been brought thither, that it was ſurrounded by the enemy, and ſome levies had been made to march to their aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the ſenate receiving an account of the ſhameful peace, a ſtop was put to all further preparations. The people, as ſoon as it was communicated to them, put on the deepeſt mourning, without waiting for orders from the ſenate. The adminiſtration of juſtice was neglected; the ſhops in the forum were ſhut up; the Roman matrons laid aſide their jewels and gold-rings, the magiſtrates their robes, &c. In ſhort the city was in as gr at conſternation as the army. Every one made moſt bitt invectives againſt the cowards, as they ſtiled them, and the authors of ſo ſhameful a treaty. The multitude were even for ſhutting them out of the city, as wretches that did not deſerve to ſee their native country again. But the indignation of the Roman people was ſoon turned into pity. For their unhappy countrymen no ſooner appeared at the gates, but the whole city flocked out to ſee them, every one lamenting with tears in their eyes the misfortunes of thoſe unhappy men. However, they did not enter the city till night, and then every one ſtole home, and hid himſelf in his own houſe. Even the conſuls, looking upon themſelves as diſgraced and in a manner degraded, baniſhed themſelves from public ſociety, and only performed one function of their office, which was indiſpenſable: that is, they named a dictator to preſide in the comitia for the election of new conſuls, thinking themſelves unworthy to appear at the head of the republic in the Campus Martius. The dictator they nominated was Q. Fabius Ambuſtus, who chose Aelius Pœtus for his general of the horſe; but, ſome omen being found in his nomination, Æmilius Papus was ſubſtituted in his room; and the general of the horſe he choſe was Valerius Flaccus. But the people were ſo diſſatisfied with all the magiſtrates of this unfortunate year, that the latter promotion was as much diſliked as the former. Whence it was thought expedient to let the republic fall into an inter-regnum, in order to have

have a more fortunate preſident of the comitia than either of the dictators, whom ſuch cowardly conſuls had named. And now two of the greateſt men in the republic were unanimouſly choſen, viz. Papirius Curſor, a ſecond time, and Publilius Philo, a third time. They entered upon their office the very day of their election, which was a ſort of degradation to their predeceſſors, who had deſerved this affront by their ill conduct. The firſt buſineſs of the new conſuls was, to get themſelves inveſted in their office by a decree of the ſenate, declaring, that in point of religion there had been no defect in their inauguration. After this the treaty with the Samnites being laid before the ſenate, Poſthumius, one of the conſuls who had been parties to it, declared, that the Roman people were not bound by it, as not being made by their order. He added, that the honour of the republic would be ſaved, by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the officers concerned in the treaty to the Samnites; which he moved might be forthwith done. The ſenators were ſtruck with admiration at the generoſity of Poſthumius, and ſhewed no leſs compaſſion for him than eſteem. However they approved of the propoſal and paſſed it into a decree. Two tribunes of the people, who had been raiſed to that office ſince their return from the Caudine Forks, oppoſed at firſt the decree, maintaining that the ſatisfaction deſigned for the Samnites was no ways ſufficient to diſcharge the demands they had upon Rome, and that as to themſelves, they were ſacroſanct magiſtrates, inviolable, and, though concerned in the treaty, not to be delivered up to the enemy. But Poſthumius offered ſuch arguments, to prove the invalidity of the Caudine convention and the ſufficiency of the deſigned ſatisfaction, that the two tribunes conſented at laſt to follow the fate of their companions, and with that view laid down their office. The Romans talked of nothing now but Poſthumius; they compared his devotement to that of Decius, and thinking that their republic was obliged in juſtice to nothing more than to deliver up into the hands of the Samnites those who had ſigned the treaty, thus began to make the neceſſary preparations for a new war. There needed no orders to raiſe troops; an army was ſoon formed almoſt wholly of volunteers, the Roman youth burning with rage againſt the Samnites. The Caudine legions were again enrolled, and a powerful army, marching from Rome in a few days, arrived in the neighbourhood of Caudium.

The treaty with the Samnites declared null.

The conſuls, who had made the treaty, delivered up to the Samnites.

As the Samnites were encamped at a ſmall diſtance, preparations were made for ſurrendering up the Roman officers in due form by a fecialis. Cornelius Arvina, who was deputed by the republic to perform the ceremony, began with commanding Poſthumius's hands to be tied. But the officer, who was to do it, not tying the cord hard enough, out of reſpect to ſo great a man, the generous Poſthumius reproved him. Why do you ſpare me, ſaid he? Tie me in ſuch a manner, that the enemy may have nothing to ſuſpect in my ſurrender. In this captive ſtate, the Roman officers were led to the Samnite camp, and preſented to Pontius by the fecialis, who expreſſed himſelf in theſe words as he had been directed: Since theſe men undertook to conclude a peace with you without any commiſſion, and committed a crime in ſo doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourſelves from any ſhare in the puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved. Upon this Poſthumius, as offended at what the fecialis ſaid, immediately gave him a blow on the thigh with his knee, and ſternly ſaid, I am now a Samnite and you an embaſſador of Rome. I have therefore by this blow violated the law of nations; and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us. But this little, low artifice ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the Samnite general, who laid before the fecialis a Poſthumius the injuſtice and baſeneſs of their proceedings. He told them, that they were obliged in juſtice either to obſerve the treaty, or ſend the Roman army again to the Caudine Forks. There, ſaid he, your conſuls may reject the peace, if they diſlike it. Your honour will then be untainted, and your fidelity, as well as the law of nations, will be preſerved inviolate. But ſhall the lives of your troops be ſaved, and you enjoy all the advantages of the peace, while we reap no benefit from our conventions? Are theſe the equitable maxims upon which your feciales are ordered to act? Is this the juſtice with which you proceed in treating with foreign nations? As for you, Poſthumius, do you think the gods will take you for a Samnite, and conſider the blow you have given, as an inſult offered to the Roman people by our nation? Is it thus that you ſport with religion and the faith of treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the gravity of a conſul and the dignity of a great nation? Lictors untie the priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe [t].

POSTHUMIUS

[t] Liv. l. ix. c. 8—12.

Poſthumius and his company returned ſafe to the camp, where all things were getting ready to enter upon action. On the other hand, the Samnites kept cloſe within their entrenchments, having, as Livy ſays, a foreboding of the misfortunes which afterwards befel them. They repented, but too late, of their not having hearkened to the wiſe counſels of Herennius. So that Pontius, though conqueror, loſt in great meaſure his reputation, while Poſtumius, tho' conquered and obliged to paſs under the yoke, gained immortal glory among his countrymen. For the Romans looked on the liberty he had gained them of making war as a certain victory. Not long after the inhabitants of Satricum revolted from the Romans, and, being ſupported by a detachment of Samnites, ſurprized Fregellæ a Roman colony. The Fregellani, running to arms, attempted to drive the enemy out of their city. All the inhabitants, women and children not excepted, ſtood up in defence of their lands, their altars, and their houſhold gods, and from the tops of their houſes made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy. The Samnites and Satricani, fearing they ſhould be obliged to abandon the city, cauſed a proclamation to be made, offering quarter to all thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms. Upon this many ſubmitted; but the Samnites, not thinking themſelves obliged to keep their word with any of the Roman name, cauſed all, who had ſurrendered, to be burnt alive. Only a ſmall number of the Fregellani, who had not hearkened to the enemy's promiſes, retired fighting, and with their ſwords cut themſelves a way through the midſt of the Samnite troops. At the ſame time ſome of the chief citizens of Capua entered into a ſecret plot to ſhake off the Roman yoke. Theſe commotions induced the republic to have recourſe to the uſual remedy in times of great danger; a dictator was named, viz. C. Mœnius, who appointed M. Foſſius, ſurnamed Flaccinator, to be his general of the horſe. The dictator's commiſſion was, contrary to cuſtom, confined to enquiring into crimes againſt the ſtate and puniſhing them. The error of a judge, from whom there lay no appeal, ſo terrified the heads of the conſpiracy at Capua, that they kill themſelves to avoid a more ſevere death. As it is common for perſons, who charged with an extraordinary commiſſion, to ſtretch their power to the utmoſt extent, the dictator pretended, that this authority extended not only to the traiterous practices of the Capuans, but to all conſpiracies, whatſoever, and wherefoever formed againſt the Roman ſtate. By con-

Fregellæ ſurprized by the Samnites

C. Mœnius

ſpiracies

ſpiracies the dictator, who was a plebeian, as well as his general of the horſe, meant all intriguing and canvaſſing for offices; and accordingly ſummoned ſeveral of the patricians to appear before him on accuſations of that kind. Hereupon, not only the accuſed, but the whole body of the nobility, taking the alarm, threatened to proſecute the dictator and his general of the horſe, as ſoon as their magiſtracy ſhould be expired, for the ſame crime which was laid to their charge. Our birth alone, ſaid they, leads us to the higheſt poſts. It is only for the common people, and ſuch upſtarts, as the dictator and his general of the horſe, to raiſe themſelves by intrigues. Mœnius, tho' free from guilt, yet fearing leſt his reputation ſhould ſuffer by the reports that began to be ſpread abroad, aſſembled the people, and having laid before them the uprightneſs of his intentions, abdicated the dictatorſhip, that he might be brought to a trial. Foſſius likewiſe reſigned his office for the ſame purpoſe. The ſenate by a ſpecial commiſſion appointed the conſuls to be their judges. Thoſe of the nobility, who appeared againſt them, were examined; and upon a full hearing the accuſed were acquitted in a very honourable manner[u].

It appears from ſeveral paſſages in Livy and from the Faſti Capitolini, that the operations of the campaign this year were carried on by Cornelius Lentulus, dictator, and Papirius Curſor, not in quality of conſul, but of general of the horſe to Cornelius. Theſe two divided their forces; Cornelius, at the head of the troops that had paſſed under the yoke, encamped near Caudium; while Papirius marched with the reſt of the army to Luceria in Apulia, where the ſix hundred Roman knights, who had been delivered up to the Samnites as hoſtages, were kept. Pontius would have willingly marched to the relief of Luceria; but on the other hand, he could not leave his own country open to the Romans; and beſides, he was afraid the dictator would fall on his rear. He therefore reſolved to put all to the iſſue of a battle, and accordingly, marching out of his intrenchments, he drew up his men. As ſoon as the Samnites appeared in order of battle, the dictator aſſembled his men, in order to exhort them, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, to behave themſelves valiantly. But the ſoldiers, animated with an eager deſire of revenge, demanded a battle with ſuch clamours, that the general's harangue could not

[u] Liv. l. ix. c. 12.

not be heard. When they drew near the Samnites, they preſſed their ſtandard-bearers to march faſter, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch fury, as cannot be expreſſed. It was then uſual to begin general actions with ſome diſcharges of darts and ſtones; but the ardor of the Romans was ſo great, that they threw down the darts they had in their hands, and without orders drew their ſwords, and ruſhed upon the enemy with an impetuoſity, that ſeemed a kind of madneſs. This irregular animoſity, or rather rage, did more than could have been expected from the wiſeſt conduct. Nothing could ſtand before them; the Samnite army was put to the rout at the firſt onſet, and their camp taken and plundered. All the Samnites found in the camp were put to the ſword, and as great a ſlaughter of them was made there as in the battle.

Cornelius Lentulus gives the Samnites a great overthrow.

AFTER this victory the dictator marched his army into Apulia, to aſſiſt his general of the horſe in the reduction of Luceria. And indeed the arrival of the victorious army proved very ſeaſonable, Papirius being greatly ſtreightened for want of proviſions. The dictator diſperſed his legions about the country, and by that means facilitated the bringing of proviſions to the camp, and at the ſame time intercepted the convoys that were ſent to the beſieged. The Samnites, who had likewiſe an army near Luceria, finding it impoſſible for the beſieged to hold out long, reſolved to give the beſiegers battle, which Papirius did not decline. But while every thing was getting ready for a general action, embaſſadors arrived from Tarentum, ordering both parties to put a ſtop to all further hoſtilities, and proteſting, that their ſtate would declare againſt that nation, which ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in carrying on the war. Papirius was not a man to be terrified with the threatenings of the Tarentines. But nevertheleſs, he pretended to pay a regard to them, and anſwered the embaſſadors, that he would confer with the dictator. And indeed the two generals had a conference; but it was only about the moſt proper meaſures to be taken with relation to the engagement. While the Romans were ſacrificing, as was ſummary before a battle, the embaſſadors came for their anſwer. Papirius accoſted them, and with an air, which ſhewed how little account Rome made of the menaces of ſo inſignificant a people, The chickens, ſaid he, feed perfectly well: the gods too are much pleaſed with our ſacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive. He then led his troops out of the camp,

in

The Samnites defeated in Apulia.

in order to engage the enemy. But the Samnites, being ſeized with a ſudden fright at their approach, declared, that they would keep themſelves within their camp upon the defenſive, out of reſpect to the Tarentines. The legionaries, encouraged by this timorouſneſs of the enemy, attacked their intrenchments with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that they ſoon forced them, and put all to the ſword, who came in their way, ſparing neither men, children, ſlaves, nor even the beaſts of burden. Scarce any of the Samnites would have eſcaped, had not the generals reſtrained the fury of the ſoldiers, thirſty of blood, in regard to the ſix hundred knights in Luceria, whom the beſieged, if reduced to deſpair, might put to death, for the ſake of having the barbarous pleaſure of ſacrificing them, before they periſhed themſelves [w].

NOTHING now remained, in order to put a glorious end to the campaign, but the reducing of Luceria, which was vigorouſly defended both by the inhabitants, and by thoſe Samnites, who had eſcaped from the battle and taken refuge in the beſiged city; among whom was, as ſome authors tell us [x], Pontius himſelf. But notwithſtanding this reinforcement, the garriſon, being greatly diſtreſſed by famine, offered to capitulate, and to releaſe the ſix hundred hoſtages, on condition that the Romans would raiſe the ſiege. But Papirius peremptorily inſiſted, that all the ſoldiers in the place, to the number of ſeven thouſand, ſhould, unarmed, and with one garment each, paſs under the yoke, and Pontius at the head of them. Theſe conditions were accepted, and the Romans had the pleaſure of retaliating upon Pontius and his Samnites the ignominy, which he had made them and their conſuls undergo at the Caudine Forks. But their greateſt ſatisfaction was the recovery of the hoſtages, which had been delivered up to the Samnites, as ſecurities for the execution of a ſhameful treaty.

Luceria taken by Papirius Curſor.

THE next year Papirius was raiſed to the conſulate, a third time, and Q. Aulius Cerretanus, a ſecond time. The latter defeated the Samnites in Apulia, and made himſelf maſter of Ferentum, which was either ſubject to, or in alliance with them. The former reduced Satricum, and put all the Samnites, who were there in garriſon, to the ſword. The chief authors of the revolt were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded, and a ſtrong body of troops was left in the place to keep the inhabitants in awe. Papirius, after the

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 14. [x] Oros. l. iii. c. 15.

the reduction of this important place, returned to Rome, where he received the honours of a triumph, which he had not obtained the preceding year for far greater exploits, becauſe he had acted under the auſpices of a ſuperior magiſtrate. The people were overjoyed to ſee him enter Rome, with all the pomp due to a man, who had recovered the luſtre of the Roman name. Livy repreſents Papirius as a hero who would have been a match for Alexander the Great, had he attempted the conqueſt of Italy. But be that as it will, it is certain, that no general in Italy equalled him in military ſkill, or ſurpaſſed him in courage. He was very remarkable for his ſtrength of body and wonderful ſwiftneſs in running, whence he had the ſurname of Curſor. He was a man of a tall ſtature and majeſtic mein, indefatigable in military labours, and always in motion, ſharing with the common ſoldiers t' ſevereſt toils of war; and whether it was owing to his r uſt conſtitution, or continual exerciſe, no man exceeded him in eating and drinking. No general ever kept his troops to harder ſervice. We are told, that his cavalry having one day deſired a little relaxation from their fatigues, after they were returned from a ſucceſsful expedition, he pleaſantly anſwered; Yes, by all means, nothing is more juſt: when you alight from your horſes, I excuſe you from the trouble of ſtroaking their backs. Such was the character of the famous Papirius, a man greatly celebrated by all the Latin writers[y].

His character.

In the following conſulate of L. Plautius and M. Foſli- The Samnites obtain a two years truce.
us, many of the Samnite cities ſent deputies to the Roman ſenate to aſk peace; but could only obtain a two years truce. In Apulia the conſul Plautius ſpread ſo much terror, that the cities of Teanum and Canuſium ſurrendered and gave hoſtages. At this time Capua was ſo divided by inteſtine broils, that the inhabitants deſired the Romans to give them a governor and new laws to keep them in order; and it was on this occaſion, that the Romans turned Campania into a præfecture, and ſent thither a præfect. Two new tribes were formed this year, one in Campania, perhaps to make the Campanians ſome ſort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up: was called the Falernian tribe, no doubt from the hill Falernus. The other was eſtabliſhed in the country watered by the Ufens on the confines of Latium, and therefore called Tribus Ufentina; ſo that the Romans had now thirty-

Campania turned into a præfecture.

one

[y] Vide Liv. l. ix. c. 19. & Aurel. Vict. de Viris. Illuſtr.

one tribes, all with the right of ſuffrage in the comitia by tribes [z]. This year ended with a cenſus, taken by L. Papirius Craſſus and C. Mœnius, cenſors; by which it appeared, that the number of men in Rome fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred and fifty thouſand.

All Apulia ſubdued.

THE next year, Q. Æmilius and C. Junius being conſuls, all Apulia was ſubdued; ſo that this year proved no leſs proſperous for the republic than the former. At the ſame time Antium followed the example of Capua, in having recourſe to Rome for a governor and laws, which the republic readily granted (W). The ſucceeding conſuls, Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, no ſooner entered upon their office, but they were obliged by the ſenate to nominate, contrary to cuſtom, a dictator to carry on the war. Perhaps the people had but an indifferent opinion of their ability in warlike affairs. At leaſt, it is certain, that they did not appear at the head of the army, but continued at Rome the whole time of their adminiſtration. L. Æmilius, who was appointed dictator and choſe L. Fulvius for his general of the horſe, received the command of the legions from the preceding conſuls, and with thoſe troops began the campaign, by laying ſiege to Siticula, a city of Campania in alliance with the Samnites, who came with a very numerous army to relieve the place. But the dictator defeated them in a pitched battle, after which they abandoned their camp in the night, and left the Saticulans without any hopes of relief. However, the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that the dictatorſhip of Æmilius expired, before he could make himſelf maſter of the place. The new conſuls were the famous Papirius Curſor and Publilius Philo, both choſen the fourth time. They had both triumphed more than once over the Samnites, were men of diſtinguiſhed merit, and the greateſt and moſt experienced generals the Romans had. But nevertheleſs, they had the mortification to ſee the carrying on of the war committed to another general, while they continued inglorious and in a manner out of office at Rome. Such mortifications are often

[z] Liv. l. ix. c. 20. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx.

(W) Antium was not made a Præfecture, nor was any ſingle magiſtrate ſent thither to give her laws. This was left to the patrons of the colony, it being then cuſtomary, not only for private families, but for cities and whole provinces to have patrons, who were often of the chief nobility of Rome. The patrons of the municipia were generally of the families of thoſe conſuls and generals who had conquered them; and the patrons of the colonies were the children of thoſe who had received the commiſſion to plant them.

often given to men of the greateſt merit in popular governments. The people obliged the conſuls of the preceding year to raiſe to the dictatorſhip Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been formerly general of the horſe to Papirius, and ever ſince his implacable enemy. The new dictator immediately ſet out for Saticula, where he received the command of the legions, not from the conſuls, but from Æmilius the dictator, whoſe office was expiring. No ſooner had the Roman army changed its general, but the Samnites, who after their defeat had laid ſiege to Pliſtia, a city in alliance with Rome, returned to Saticula, in order to try their ſtrength with the new general. Fabius, without being alarmed in the leaſt at the great number of their troops, continued his attacks with the infantry, while his cavalry guarded the camp, under the command of Aulius Cerretanus his general of the horſe. The Samnites having one day advanced to the very gates of the camp, and there inſulted the Roman cavalry, Aulius, without conſulting the dictator, ſallied out with the Roman knights. This was a breach of diſcipline, like that which Fabius himſelf had been formerly guilty of. Aulius at firſt repulſed the enemy, but the Samnite general rallied his troops, revived their courage, and led them back to the charge. Aulius diſcovering him, ruſhed on him and laid him dead on the ground with one blow. The Samnites, not in the leaſt diſheartened at the death of their general, thought of nothing but revenge. Aulius, having penetrated too far into the enemy's ſquadrons, could not retire. Whereupon the Samnites, having ſurrounded him on all ſides, called upon their general's brother, that he might have the glory of revenging his death. Accordingly, he diſmounted Aulius, and, full of rage, ſtabbed him as he lay on the ground. It was then thought a ſingular honour to get poſſeſſion of the body of a general, who had been ſlain in battle. The Samnites therefore exerted their utmoſt efforts to carry off the body of Aulius. Hereupon the Roman knights alighted from their horſes to recover it, and free Rome from ſo terrible a reproach. The example of the Roman cavalry was followed by the Samnites; ſo that a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the Romans at length prevailed, and carried back to the camp the body of their general. After the loſs of the battle, the Samnites returned to the ſiege of Pliſtia, which they took by aſſault. Fabius purſued that of Saticula, which at length capitulated. From Saticula the dictator, without loſs of time, marched

The Samnites defeated by Fabius, dictator, and Saticula taken.

to

to beſiege Sora, a city in the country of the Volſci, which had declared for the Samnites, after having maſſacred a Roman colony ſettled in their territory. The Samnites, after the reduction of Pliſtia, followed him; which Fabius no ſooner underſtood, than he turned back to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow paſs of Lentulæ, not far from the Pomptin marſhes. Night put an end to it before either party could claim the victory; and both armies next day continued their march to Sora, the one to attack, the other to defend, it. In the mean time, the dictator having choſen a new general of the horſe, L. Fabius, a relation of his own, he ordered him to go to Rome, to bring freſh levies from thence, and, concealing his march from the enemy, to wait, in ſome ſecure place near Sora, the ſignal for entering upon action. The dictator's orders were obeyed: and Fabius ſoon arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement. Hereupon the dictator, pretending fear, kept cloſe in his intrenchments, in order to draw the enemy's army near his camp. Accordingly, the Samnites marched up to the very rampart, when the Roman general all on a ſudden, without informing his legions of the ſuccours Rome had ſent him, hung out a red ſtandard over his tent, which was the ſignal for battle. By the fright the dictator ſhewed and his ſudden reſolution of giving battle, the ſoldiers thought themſelves in great danger, and imagined they had no remedy left but to make a briſk ſally on the enemy. The dictator confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them, that their caſe was ſuch, that they muſt either conquer or periſh; that he had ordered fire to be ſet to their baggage and tents; but that they might ſoon make up the loſs by the plunder of the cities, which had ſhaken off the Roman yoke and ſided with the enemy. However, he gave private orders to ſet fire to thoſe tents only which were next to the ramparts; and this was the ſignal for the general of the horſe to put his troops in motion, and fall upon the enemy's rear. As every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, the enemy was at the ſame time attacked on the front and the rear with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give way, and leave the Romans, not only maſters of the field, but alſo of their camp, which was taken and plundered. After this the dictator led his troops back to their own camp, where, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found that only a ſmall number of their tents had been burnt. After this victory, Fabius laid ſiege to Sora, which was continued by his ſucceſſors

The Samnites more ed by bius,

ſors in the command of the army, M. Pætilius Libo and C. Sulpicius Longus, the new conſuls. We know not what motives could induce the public to diſappoint Fabius of the honours of a triumph, which he had well deſerved, but did not obtain on his return to Rome. The two conſuls encamped cloſe to the walls of the beſieged city, in order to keep the garriſon continually in play. But the inhabitants, not in the leaſt intimidated, either by the nearneſs of the Romans, the number of their troops, or the late defeat of the Samnites, defended themſelves with incredible bravery. While the conſuls were under great perplexity, as not knowing in what part to make their attacks, the walls being every-where well guarded, a deſerter from the town came to the Roman camp, and offered to put the place into their hands with the help of ten choſen men only. The conſuls, having examined and approved of his ſcheme, removed by his advice their camp ſome miles from the city, which brought the garriſon into a kind of ſecurity. Then the deſerter, at the head of his ten men, ſtealing in the night time into a part of the upper city, where the wall was unguarded, becauſe thought inacceſſible, placed them in a narrow ſteep path, leading from the citadel to the lower town. This done he ran down into the lower town, crying, To arms, to arms; the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. The inhabitants, ſeized with fear, thought of nothing but ſaving their lives by flight; men and women, leaving their houſes, ruſhed in confuſion out at the gates, which the Romans on their approach finding open, entered the city without reſiſtance, and put all thoſe to the ſword whom they met in the ſtreets. The conſuls ſent the authors of the revolt and of the maſſacre of the Roman colony to Rome, where they were all, to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, by an order from the ſenate, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. From Sora the conſuls marched into the country of the Auſones, and upon an accuſation, without proof of their having formed any deſign to revolt, ſent detachments to ſurprize their three chief cities, Auſona, Minturnæ, and Veſcia. As the troops employed in this enterprize were out of their commanders ſight, they ſet no bounds to their fury. The three cities were taken, on the ſame day and at the ſame hour; the Roman ſoldiers, having got into them under various diſguiſes, put all the inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age; and this upon the bare ſuſpicion of a rebellion. Luceria, which had revolted and

Sora taken.

Three cities of the Auſones ſurprized in one day.

Luceria retaken.

and maſſacred the colony which Rome had ſent thither, was taken th ſame year by aſſualt; and both the inhabitants and ' nnites, who defended it, put to the ſword. The ſenate was at firſt inclined to raze a city, which had ſo often revolted; but it was afterwards reſolved, that a colony of two thouſand five hundred men ſhould be ſent thither from Rome, to ſecure that important city, which kept all Apulia in awe [a].

THE Campanians, notwithſtanding theſe examples of ſeverity, prepared once more, as they were a reſtleſs and factious people, to ſhake off the Roman yoke. Rome therefore thought fit to name a dictator to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, by arms and the fear of an abſolute magiſtrate.

C. Mœnius dictator.

C. Mœnius was raiſed to that dignity the ſecond time; and he choſe the ſame general of the ' ſe, M. Foſſius, whom he named to that poſt in his fo. ner dictatorſhip. The dictator entered Campania, and encamped near Capua, while the conſul Sulpicius, at the head of another army, drew near Caudium, where the Samnites waited for the inſurrection of the Campanians. The two armies came ſoon to an engagement, in which the Samnites gained at firſt the advantage; but, by the prudent conduct of the conſul Sulpicius, were in the end entirely defeated, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men killed or taken. After this victory the conſul marched to Bovianum, one of the chief cities of Samnium, and, having poſted his troops round it in quarters of refreſhment, returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph [b].

The Samnites overthrown with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.

THE enſuing year L. Papirius Curſor, a fifth time, and C. Junius Brutus, a ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. But nevertheleſs, a dictator was nominated to carry on the war againſt the Samnites. The perſon honoured with that dignity was C. Pœtilius Libo, ſirnamed Viſolus, ...o, having choſen Pœtilius Libo, one of the laſt year's ...ſuls, for his general of the horſe, ſet out for Bovianum, ...re the legions were cantoned; but in a ſhort time ...ted that poſt to retake E...læ, which the enemy ...ndoned at his app...ch. After he had placed a ſtrong garriſon in it, he led his army againſt Nola, which he quickly reduced, as he did likewiſe the cities of Atina and Calatia, both in the ſame province. The following year, when M. Valerius Maximus and P. Decius Mus were in the

[a] Liv. l. ix. c. 23—26. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. [b] Liv. ibid. Faſti Capitolini.

the conſulate, the Romans, being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all Hetruria, appoin[illegible]C. Sulpicius Longus dictator to conduct it. But, the H[illegible]urians continuing quiet within their own bounds, no hoſtilities enſued on either ſide, the dictator being unwilling to ſtir up new enemies againſt his republic.

At home the city was greatly diſturbed by the innovations of Appius Claudius, at this time cenſor. He was a man extremely wedded to his own opinion, and had boldneſs enough to undertake any thing, and ſteadineſs to maintain whatever he undertook. He was [illegible] able civilian, and looked upon as the oracle of Rome in all knotty points of law; but a lover of reformations, and one who took delight in overturning the moſt antient inſtitutions and ſetting up for a legiſlator. This great man, for he was really ſo notwithſtanding ſom[illegible] faults, in his cenſorſhip took upon him to humble the pride of the ſenate. It belonged to the cenſors to draw up and read, after every luſtrum, a liſt of thoſe citizens, who had a right to ſit and vote in the ſenate. Hitherto none but patricians, or the moſt conſiderable among the plebeians, had been admitted into it. But Appius introduced the libertini, that is, the ſons of thoſe who, having been ſlaves, had obtained their liberty. Having thus debaſed the ſenate, he attacked the prieſthood, which was confined to the nobility alone. The moſt antient prieſthood in Rome was that of the temple of Hercules, and of the altar, which had been conſecrated to him under the name of Ara Maxima by Evander, in memory of his victory over Cacus. This prieſthood, when firſt inſtituted, had been conferred upon a venerable old man of the Aborigines, named Potitius, and had continued ever ſince in his family. But Appius prevailed upon the Potitii to reſign this venerable prieſthood to the ſlaves belonging to th[illegible] public, a moſt contemptible race of men. By this mea[illegible] he gave the nobility a fatal blow, the prieſthood being t[illegible] only dignity which the plebeians at this time did not ſha[illegible] with the patricians. L[illegible], who has affected to fill [illegible] hiſtory with wonderful events, ſpeaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the Potitii, conſiſting of twelve families, in which were thirty perſons, at or paſt the age of puberty, periſhed within the year, Hercules thus revenging himſelf on the family which had deſpiſed him. The ſame author adds, that Appius was ſtruck blind ſome years after by the angry gods, as a puniſhment for his profaneneſs. But Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Appius confined himſelf to

Appius Claudius cenſor admits the ſons of freedmen into the ſenate, and debaſes the prieſthood.

his houſe, and that he only pretended to be blind, leſt, if he appeared in public, he ſhould be reproached by the patricians, when he had highly exaſperated [c]. Thus Appius brought a blemiſh on the ſenate and prieſthood; but made his country amends by the uſeful works he undertook with ſucceſs. For, by an aqueduct ſeven miles long, he ſupplied Rome with plenty of wholſome water, which it wanted before, and made the famous road from Rome to Capua, which laſted entire above eight hundred years. The remains of this wonderful work are the admiration of all the nations in Europe to this day (X).

His aqueduct and high-way.

THE

[c] Liv. l. ix. c. 29. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Feſt. voce Potitius.

(X) The aqueduct of Appius began ſeven miles from Rome, and, after having run a great way under ground, diſcharged part of its waters between the great Capena and Trigemina, and conveyed the reſt quite to the campus Martius. It was dug underground and laid very deep, ſays (16) Frontinus, either becauſe the art of levelling was not then brought to perfection; or becauſe the Roman territory was yet too much expoſed to the incurſion of her enemies, who might have deſtroyed the ſtately arches, and intercepted the water. This water was for many ages called Aqua Appia from the cenſor's name. The other work he undertook was equally uſeful to the republic. The Road from Rome to Capua was almoſt impaſſable, eſpecially for the Roman armies, which were often obliged to croſs the Pomptin marſhes to make war in Samnium and in the eaſt of Italy. The cenſor therefore levelled a way through rocks and hills, and built bridges over the rivulets and marſhes for the conveniency of the troops and of travellers. This road was called the Appian way, and alſo the queen of roads. Procopius gives us the following deſcription of it (17): This way was made, ſays he, nine hundred years ago, by the order and direction of Appius Claudius, who then cenſor. It reached from Rome to Capua, that is, about hundred and forty two miles. It was broad enough for two riots to go abreaſt without incommoding each other. The es, which Appius employed in th great work, were brought om a great diſtance, and as hard as flints. Theſe great pieces of ock were ſquared and ſmoothed by the moſt ſkilful workmen. The ſtones were ſo artfully joined together without any cement, that they looked like one ſingle ſtone for ſeveral miles together. This vaſt work continues entire to this day without having received

(16) Frontin. de Aquæductibus. (17) Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. i.

THE ſucceeding conſuls, C. Junius Brutus a third time, and Q. Æmilius Barbula, a ſecond time, elled, with the conſent and approbation of the people, new liſt of ſenators, which Appius had nade, and reſtored that venerable body to its former luſtre. This ſame year the people recovered a privilege, which the conſuls and dictators had uſurped from them. A law had been formerly made, by which the people aſſembled in the comitia were empowered to chuſe ſix legionary tribunes (Y), out of the twenty-four in the conſular armies conſiſting of four legions.

ceived the leaſt injury from carts and carriages. Thus far Procopius. This famous road began at the gate Capena, and did not for a great while reach fa her than Capua, though the author of the lives of illuſtrious men gives Appius the honour of carrying it from Rome quite Brunduſium, in the extreme parts of Italy on the Adriatic ſea. But that writer is herein certainly miſtaken, the provinces through which he muſt have carried this work, in order to bring it to the ſea, not being at that time ſubject to the Romans. In the beginning of Auguſtus's reign it reached indeed to Brunduſium, that is, two hundred thirty-eight miles further. But no hiſtorian tells us who was the author or manager of this ſecond work. Moſt writers gueſs, that it was done by Julius Cæſar; for Plutarch tells us, that the Roman people committed the inſpection of the Appian way to him, and that he ſpent great ſums of money upon that work. The Appian way is ſtill in many places for ſeveral miles together as entire as when it was firſt made (18). It was paved with ſeveral beds of great ſtones, and bounded on each ſide with a deep ditch to receive and carry off the water.

(Y) There were, generally ſpeaking, ſix legionary tribunes in each legion, which they commanded by turns; that is, firſt, two of theſe tribunes commanded in chief at a time, and then were ſucceeded by two others, and ſo round. Varro tells us, that theſe officers were called tribunes from the beginning of the monarchy, becauſe a legion then conſiſted of three thouſand men only, and had but three tribunes, there being as many legionary tribunes as thouſands of men in each legion. Polybius tells us, that of the twenty-four tribunes, who were in each conſular army conſiſting of two legions, fourteen were choſen out of the equites or knights, who had ſerved five years, and the other ten out of ſuch as had ſerved in the foot full ten years. The former were called Tribuni Juniores, and the latter, Tribuni Seniores. But theſe qualifications were not rigorouſly inſiſted on till the latter ages, when the Roman diſcipline became more regular.

(18) See Dr. Burnet's letters, letter 4.

Each conſul had two legions under his command, which made a conſular army; and each legion was commanded by ſix tribunes. The generals had for ſome time taken upon them to nominate all the legionary tribunes, without any regard to the right of the people. L. Attilius therefore and C. Marcius, two tribunes of the people, got a decree paſſed in the comitia, empowering the people, not only to chuſe ſix tribunes, as formerly, but ſixteen out of the twenty-four. But this law was not of long duration. Though the republic at this time ſtood in no need of a fleet, having no wars to maintain but with the Samnites and Hetrurians, yet the people, at the motion of Decius Mus, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers, ſtiled by the Latin hiſtorians Duumviri Navales, to take upon them the care of naval affairs [d].

Duumviri Navales.

In the mean time, the two conſuls took the field, Brutus againſt the Samnites, and Æmilius againſt the Hetrurians. The latter found the enemy ready to lay ſiege to Sutrium with a very numerous army, all the leucumonies, except that of Arretium, having furniſhed their contingents of troops. The conſul no ſooner appeared, but the Hetrurians, depending on their numbers, offered him battle, which Æmilius did not decline. Both Romans and Hetrurians behaved with extraordinary courage and reſolution. The latter, being obſtinately bent to conquer or die, fell in great numbers about their colours, without giving ground or being put into diſorder. The battle laſted till night put an end to it, when both armies retired in good order to their reſpective camps. But as the Hetrurians had loſt more men than the Romans, they thought fit to retire in the night, and leave the conſul maſter of the field. Livy robs Æmilius of the glory of a triumph for this victory, which he repreſents as very inconſiderable; but it is certain from the Capitoline marbles, that he entered Rome triumphantly on the ides of the month Sextilis [e]; whence we are inclined to think, that this victory was more complete than that writer makes it. As for the other conſul, he took from the Samnites firſt Cluvia, and then Boviaſium. All thoſe in the former, who were able to bear arms, were put to the ſword; the latter was given up to be plundered by the ſoldiers, but the lives of the citizens were ſpared. And now the Samnites had no refuge but in artifice; they endeavoured to draw the Romans into new

The Romans and Hetrurians come to an engagement.



Cluvia and Bovianum taken from the Samnites.

Caudine

[d] Liv. l. ix. c. 30. [e] Faſti Capitol.

Caudine Forks, and with this view ſpread a report in the Roman camp by their emiſſaries, that they had conveyed all their proviſions and effects into the for[illegible] of Avernus, between Cumæ and Pute[illegible] in Campania. The Roman troops, allured by the ho[illegible] of booty, entered the foreſt, where they were all on a ſudden ſurrounded by the enemy's forces, who lay concealed among the buſhes. But the legions, rallying in an inſtant, threw all their baggage in a heap, and, without waiting for the word of command, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the enemy, obliged them to ſeek an aſylum in thoſe very woods, which they intended to have rendered fatal [illegible] the Romans. As the Samnites could not eaſily retire on account of the brambles and thickneſs of the foreſt, the Romans maſſacred them without mer[illegible], and left twenty thouſand of them dead upon the ſpot. For this victory Junius Brutus enjoyed the hor[illegible]rs of a triumph, though Livy does not mention it, on the nones of the month Sextilis [f]. During the adminiſtration of the following conſuls, Q. Fabius, a ſecond time, and C. Marcius, the cenſor Appius obſtinately refuſed to quit his office, th[illegible]gh his eighteen months, the legal time for its duration, were expired, preſuming on the favour of the people, who were greatly pleaſed with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheleſs, Sempronius Sophus cited him to appear before the people for this infraction of the law. Seven of the tribunes were for committing him to priſon; but the other three taking him under their protection, he carried his point, and kept the cenſorſhip alone, his collegue having reſigned it in compliance with the law, more than three years longer.

Junius Brutus gives the Samnites a great overthrow.

DURING theſe diſturbances, the Hetrurians, having drawn together all their forces, encamped in the neighbourhood of Sutrium. But the conſul Fabius falling u[illegible]n them gave them a total overthrow, took thirty-eight ſta[illegible]ards from them, and made himſelf maſter of their cam[illegible] and all their baggage. Thoſe, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, took refuge in the Ciminian foreſt. Whereupon Fabius propoſed in a council of war to purſue the conquered, ev[illegible] into the moſt impenetrable parts of the wood. But [illegible] one officer was for marching in queſt of the Hetrurians, [illegible] the hazard of finding the Caudine Forks of Samnium in Hetruria. And indeed the Ciminian Foreſt, ſays Livy, was at that time more impaſſable and dreadful than the

Q. Fabius gives the Hetrurians total overthrow and penetrates into the Ciminian foreſt.

[f] Faſti Capitol.

Hercynian foreſt in Germany. No body, not even the merchants, had ever attempted to paſs through it. However, Fabius reſolved to enter it, thinking his victory was not compleat, ſo long as the enemy could conceal themſelves in this thick foreſt. He had then with him a near relation, by name Cæſo Fabius, who, knowing perfectly well the Hetrurian language, as he had been brought up at Cære, undertook to examine the foreſt and places about it. He took only one ſlave with him, who, having been brought up with him, had learnt the language of the country, as well as himſelf. Before they ſet out, they diſguiſed themſelves in the habit of ſhepherds, bearing each a hatchet and two javelins, after the manner of the peaſants. But their chief ſecurity againſt a diſcovery was, the general notion that no ſtranger would dare to enter that foreſt. In this diſguiſe they ſet out, and travelled as far as Camerinum in Umbria; where Fabius diſcovering himſelf to be a Roman, treated with the magiſtrates of the place in the name of the conſul, and obtained a promiſe, that if the Roman army ſhould come into thoſe parts, they would ſupply it with a reinforcement of men and thirty days proviſions. Upon the report made by Fabius at his return, the conſul reſolved to enter the foreſt, and carry the war that way into the very heart of Hetruria, and executed his deſign with a great deal of addreſs. He ordered all his baggage to be removed out of the camp in the evening, and the infantry to follow it to the place where he deſigned to enter the foreſt. He continued himſelf in the intrenchments with the cavalry, which he marched early in the morning to the ſkirts of the wood, where the enemy had placed ſome centinels. Having by this means kept the enemy in play, he returned, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, to his camp; but ſoon marched out of it again by another gate to join his infantry, which he came up with before night, and together with them entered the narrow paſſes on the oppoſite ſide to the enemy. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill Ciminus, which gave name to the foreſt. From thence he ſurveyed with pleaſure the vaſt and fruitful plains of Hetruria; was charmed that he had broke through a barrier, which had been hitherto impenetrable to the Romans, and promiſed himſelf much ſpoil and great conqueſts. From mount Ciminus he ſent a detachment of legionaries, who not only brought off an immenſe booty, but defeated a tumultuous army, that had got together to reſcue it out of their hands. After this expedition

pedition Fabius returned to his camp, where he found two tribunes of the people ſent thither to forbid him, in the name both of the ſenate and people, to venture upon ſo dangerous an expedition. But the tribunes, extremely pleaſed to find that the prohibition was come too late, and that the ſucceſs of the project had put an end to the public fears, returned to Rome, with the joyful tidings that a way was opened into Hetruria.

THE detachments, which Fabius had ſent out to plunder, having alarmed all Hetruria and the people on the confines of Hetruria, theſe nations took the field together, and came to the camp before Sutrium, where they drew up in the plain, and offered the Romans battle. But Fabius, pretending fear, kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and having by this means lulled the enemy into a falſe ſecurity, he drew up his men, about the fourth watch of the night, within the intrenchment of the camp, cauſed the ramparts to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled, and then marched out and ſurpriſed the enemy, while half aſleep and lying ſcattered over the plain. Of the Hetrurians were ſixty thouſand men ſlain, or taken priſoners. Their camp was ſeized and plundered, thoſe, who had the good luck to eſcape, flying to the wood. Hiſtorians do not agree about the place where this important victory was gained, ſome contending that it was beyond mount Ciminus near Perufia. But be that as it will, this overthrow was ſo great, that the three leucumonies of Cortona, Arretium, and Perufia immediately ſent deputies to Rome to deſire a ſuſpenſion of arms, which they obtained for thirty years.

The Hetrurians overcome by Fabius.

THE conſul Marcius was not attended with the ſame ſucceſs againſt the Samnites. For, though at firſt he gained ſome advantages over them, and took Allifæ, a conſiderable place on the Vulturnus, with ſeveral other caſtles and villages, he had the mortification to hear of the misfortune which befel the Roman fleet, the firſt Rome had ever put to ſea. It was commanded by P. Cornelius, who having made a deſcent at Pompeii beyond cape Palinurus, ſuffered his troops to penetrate too far into the country, and thereby gave the inhabitants time to aſſemble and cut off their retreat. The Romans were forced to relinquiſh their booty; ſeveral of them were ſlain, and thoſe who eſcaped were driven to their ſhips. This news, with a report ſpread among the Samnites, that Fabius had met with the Caudine Forks in the Cimini foreſt, revived their courage to ſuch a degree, that they gave Marcius battle, which

The Samnites gain conſiderable advantages over the Romans.

is

is allowed by all hiſtorians to have been a very bloody one, and to have coſt both parties very dear. At Rome the Romans were thought to have loſt it. A great number of the Roman knights and ſeveral legionary tribunes were killed; one of the lieutenant-generals was left dead upon the ſpot, and the conſul himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. In order therefore to prevent the misfortunes which were thought imminent, the republic judged it neceſſary to chuſe a dictator, and caſt her eyes on Papirius Curſor, whoſe fate it was to be the refuge of his country in times of public danger. The difficulty was how to get him nominated. It was doubted whether the conſul Marcius was alive; and beſides, the Samnites had ſtopt up all the avenues to his camp. As for Fabius, it was much queſtioned whether he could be prevailed upon to raiſe his mortal enemy to the dictatorſhip, and whether Papirius would accept of that dignity from the hands of his old rival in glory. Under theſe difficulties the ſenate thought fit to paſs a decree, commanding Fabius to nominate Papirius to the dictatorſhip, and enjoining Papirius to accept it. This decree was ſent by the ſenate to Fabius's camp at Sutrium, with a deputation of their own body, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as had all been conſuls. When they read to him the decree of the ſenate, he was ſtruck with ſurpriſe and confuſion; but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination. At length his love for his country getting the better of his private reſentment, at midnight, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom, he declared Papirius dictator; which having appointed C. Junius Bubulcus to be his maſter of the horſe, without loſs of time marched away with an army, which had been ſuddenly raiſed upon the alarm of Fabius's danger in paſſing the Ciminian foreſt, and arrived at Longula on the frontiers of the Volſci, where Marcius delivered up to him the troops under his command. Papirius offered the enemy battle, but they declining it, both armies continued ſome days quiet in their camps watching each other.

Papirius Curſor dictator.

In the mean time, Fabius, who was continued in the command of the army in Hetruria with the title of proconſul, carried the war into Umbria, at that time in alliance with the Hetrurians, and gained a complete victory over the Umbrians, who no more appeared in the field. While Fabius was waging war in Umbria, the Hetrurians aſſembled the moſt numerous army they had ever raiſed, on the banks of a little lake called Vadimonius. All the ſoldiers, who

who compoſed it, had made a vow to conquer or die. At leaſt this is ſuppoſed to be the meaning of their ſacred law, by which they are ſaid to have bound themſelves. But, whatever we underſtand by it, it is certain, that the Hetrurians ſhewed by their obſtinacy in maintaining the fight, how much power their ſacred law had over their minds. What helped to promote unanimity and create emulation among their troops was, the leave which was given to every private man to chuſe himſelf a companion to fight by him. But Fabius was not afraid to engage an enemy who had even made it a point of religion not to give way. Both armies were ſo warmly bent on trying each other's ſtrength, that, as ſoon as they drew near, they ruſhed upon one another ſword in hand, without loſing time in throwing darts, as was uſual, by way of prelude to the battle. The ſucceſs was long doubtful, and this uncertainty encreaſed the ardor of both parties. The Romans could ſcarce believe, that they were contending with the ſame people they had ſo often conquered. On the ſide of the Romans, their firſt line was cut in pieces and ſecond repulſed; ſo that the proconſul was obliged to bring his triarii to the charge, which was never done, but in the utmoſt extremity. Nor was even this ſufficient; it became neceſſary for the Roman cavalry to diſmount and ſupport the foot. But when the Roman knights, who were quite freſh, paſſing over heaps of dead bodies, had placed themſelves in the front of the battle, they fell upon the enemy with ſuch fury, that the Hetrurians began at length to give way. Hereupon the legions, ſhattered and fatigued as they were, returned to the charge, overpowered the enemy, and obliged their whole army to fly in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. The Hetrurians loſt the flower of their youth in this action; their camp was taken and plundered, and their whole nation thrown into the utmoſt confuſion [g].

The Hetrurians overcome by Papirius.

THE dictator Papirius was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the Samnites, whoſe general, to raiſe the courage of his men, had given them finer arms than uſual. He divided his army into two bodies, one of which he cloathed in ſtuff of various colours and furniſhed with gilt bucklers; the other was armed with ſilvered bucklers and clad in white habits. That this novelty might not ſurpriſe the Roman ſoldiers, their officers put them in mind, that true glory conſiſted in martial courage, that gold and ſilver were of no uſe in battle but

[g] Liv. l. ix. c. 39. Flor. l. i.

but to enrich the conquerors, and that thoſe, who at the beginning of an engagement were the pooreſt, often proved the richeſt at the end of it. The officers having thus raiſed the courage of their men with the hopes of booty, Papirius drew up his army in the plain. He commanded the right wing himſelf, and his general of the horſe, Junius Bubulcus, the left, which faced the white battalions. Bubulcus, advancing with his legions, cried out, I devote all theſe white men to the black Pluto; and immediately falling upon them, forced them to give ground; which the dictator obſerving, cried out, What! will you, who have a dictator at your head, ſuffer the chief glory of the action to be gained by another? This ſaid, he preſſed his ſoldiers to advance, and encouraged them with his example. At the ſame time his two lieutenants, M. Valerius on the right and P. Decius on the left, who had both commanded armies in chief as conſuls, putting themſelves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own ſide, attacked with great fury the enemy in flank. Then the Samnites, ſeized with terror, broke their ranks and fled with all ſpeed to their camp. All the plain was covered with gilt and ſilvered arms, and dead bodies in white cloth and ſtuffs of various colours.

Papirius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

The victory was ſo complete, that the Samnites abandoned their camp, which before night was taken and burnt. Papirius, having thus retrieved the glory of the Roman arms in Samnium, returned to Rome, where he was decreed a triumph, which was embelliſhed with the fine arms he had taken from the Samnites. About the ſame time Fabius arrived from Hetruria, and triumphed the ſame year as the dictator; the former on the ides of November, and the latter on the ides of October [h]. Papirius, after his triumph, retired for the reſt of his life from public buſineſs; whence we ſhall not ſee him appear on the ſtage any more. The circumſtances and time of his death are unknown; but all agree, that in him Rome loſt one of the greateſt generals ſhe ever had.

Nuceria taken from the Samnites.

When Papirius's dictatorſhip was expired, Q. Fabius, the third time, and Decius Mus, the ſecond time, were raiſed to the conſulate. Samnium fell by lot to the former, and Hetruria to the latter. Fabius took Nuceria, which had ſome time ſince joined the Samnites; whom he defeated afterwards in a battle, but without gaining any great advantage over them. As for Decius, he was attended with

[h] Liv. ibid. Faſti Capitol.

with ſuch ſucceſs in Hetruria, that the whole nation deſired an alliance with Rome. But as the way was now open for making the conqueſt of this rich country, the conſul granted them only a truce for one year; and even that coſt them dear: for Decius made them pay his troops, and furniſh every ſoldier with two ſuits of cloaths. While all was quiet in Hetruria, the Umbrians, having armed all their youth, without concerning themſelves about the conſul who was in Hetruria, formed a deſign of marching directly to Rome. This put both the conſuls in motion. The prudent Decius, leaving Hetruria, by long marches came and encamped in a place called the Pupinian field, lying in the way between Umbria and Rome, and there quietly waited for the arrival of the enemy. But the bold and enterpriſing Fabius no ſooner received orders from the ſenate to cover Latium, than he left Samnium, croſſed Sabinia, and entering Umbria, encamped in the very heart of the country near a city called Mevania, on the banks of the Clitumnus. His ſudden and unexpected appearance among them ſo terrified them, that ſome retired into their ſtrong-holds, and others fled to the woods. However, a conſiderable body of the moſt reſolute had courage enough to offer the conſul battle, in which they behaved more like women than men. The Romans ruſhing upon them, beat them down with their bucklers, without making any uſe of their ſwords. They took the ſtandards from thoſe who guarded them, and carried the ſtandard-bearers to the conſul. They even ſurrounded whole bodies of troops, and made them priſoners without ſtriking a blow. For the words, Lay down your arms, were no ſooner heard in the ranks, but they all obeyed, and even delivered up to Fabius the authors of the war. So that little or no blood was ſpilt, but the whole army were made priſoners, and the reſt of the nation ſoon after ſubmitted to Rome. After this Fabius haſtened back to Samnium, to oppoſe the enterpriſes of that warlike people[i].

The Umbrians vanquiſhed.

When the time came for the electing new conſuls, Appius Claudius, who had kept the cenſorſhip five years in direct defiance to the laws, ſtood candidate for the conſulate. He was no ſoldier, and it ſeemed very improper at that time to beſtow the faſces upon any but great commanders. However, Appius, being ſupported by the

Appius Claudius choſen conſul.

[i] Liv. l. ix. c. 41. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.

the people, carried his point, and was promoted to the conſulate the firſt time with L. Volumnius Flamma. But, as he was not qualified for the command of the army, the ſenate obliged him to continue in the city, and left Fabius in quality of proconſul at the head of the army, which he had commanded the year before. Appius, upon what motives we know not, did all that lay in his power to prevent Fabius from having the ſole command of the army, and adviſed the ſenate to appoint him a collegue. But his propoſal was rejected; and Fabius continued without any aſſociate in the command of all the troops in Samnium, where he made the campaign with great ſucceſs. The Samnites had advanced as far as Allifæ on the banks of the Vulturnus, and there the proconſul attacked them and gained a complete victory. The conquered fled to their camp, which Fabius, as the day was already far ſpent, did not attack then, but kept it inveſted all night. Early next morning, while he was preparing to force it, the Samnites thought fit to capitulate and ſurrender upon articles; the chief of which was, that all the natives of Samnium ſhould have their lives ſpared and be ſent home; but that they ſhould march out of the camp with only one garment, and paſs under the yoke. As for the allies of the Samnites, the proconſul made no terms with them; ſo that they were all, to the number of ſeven thouſand, made ſlaves and ſold by auction. The Hernici were ſeparated from the reſt, and ſent to Rome to be examined, whether they had joined the Samnites as voluntiers, or by a public order of their nation. The conſcript fathers, after having examined them, kept them as ſlaves, and diſtributed them about in the villages and municipal towns near Rome [a].

Q. Fabius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

WHILE Fabius was thus employed againſt the Samnites, the conſul Volumnius made war on the Salentines in the [illegible]heſt part of Italy; with whom he fought ſome battle with ſucceſs, and paved the way for his ſucceſſors to make an entire conqueſt of that fruitful country. In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, the faſces were transferred to Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina, and at the ſame time Appius was created prætor, a poſt, which, as he was an able civilian and eloquent orator, well ſuited his talents. Marcius marched againſt the

[a] Liv. l. ix. c. 42.

the Hernici, who had taken up arms, provoked at the ſevere treatment which ſome of their countrymen, made priſoners in the late battle with the Samnites, had met with at Rome. The Hernici, formerly ſo formidable, were now, it ſeems, become a contemptible people. For Marcius in a few days took three different camps from them, and obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion. The conſul, having ended this war, haſtened to join his collegue, who ſtood in great want of his aſſiſtance, having ſuffered himſelf to be inveſted by the Samnites in narrow paſſes, where all his convoys were intercepted. The enemy, hearing of his march, went to meet him, and gave him battle, while his troops were fatigued with long marches and in ſome diſorder. The battle began with the uſual fury of men under a neceſſity of conquering or dying; both the Samnites and Romans fighting with incredible reſolution. As the attack was made not far from the camp of Cornelius, by the ſhouts he heard and the clouds of duſt which were raiſed, he judged that his collegue was engaged with the enemy. Whereupon he immediately ordered his troops to arms, marched out of his intrenchments, and falling upon the enemy in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, and ſet fire to it. At the ſight of the flames the Samnites were ſo diſcouraged, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, every man ſhifting for himſelf in the beſt manner he could. The Romans purſued them, cutting them in pieces, till they were tired with ſlaughter, and then returned to their camp. In this action the Samnites loſt thirty thouſand men. While the Roman generals were congratulating each other on their victory, news was brought that a new body of Samnites appeared near the field of battle. Theſe were new levies raiſed all over Samnium, and ſent to recruit the army. They no ſooner appeared, than the victorious legions forgetting the fatigues they had already undergone, aſſembled before they had received the conſuls orders, drew up in battalia, and falling upon the new-comers, diſperſed them with great ſlaughter. The Samnites, now quite diſheartened, ſent deputies to the conſuls to ſue for peace. The conſuls referred the ſuppliants to Rome, after having obliged the vanquiſhed to ſupply, by way of preliminary, the two armies with three months proviſions, to give them a year's pay, and furniſh each ſoldier with one habit [1].

The Hernici ſubdued.

THE

[1] Liv. l. ix. c. 43.

THE two consuls being in the field, when the time came for electing new magistrates, P. Cornelius, surnamed Barbatus, was appointed dictator to preside in the comitia. He chose Decius Mus for his general of the horse, and the people Posthumius Megillus and Tib. Minucius Augurinus for their next year's consuls. At the same time the senate determined the fate of the Hernici. The cities of Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulum, which had continued faithful to the Romans, were allowed to chuse, whether they would be governed by their own laws, or have the right of Roman citizens; and they preferred the former. The inhabitants of the other cities were obliged to be governed by the laws of Rome, and declared Roman citizens, but without the right of suffrage. They were forbid to hold any assemblies, or t[illegible]rry out of their own cities. This law the Romans used to impose on conquered nations to prevent a too strict union among them. At this time deputies arrived from Carthage with a compliment and presents, which the republic accepted, and made others in return. The new consuls were both ordered into Samnium, each at the head of a consular army, that is, of an army consisting of two legions. The Samnites, notwithstanding their losses, had entered Campania and laid waste the fruitful country of Falernum. Marcius therefore encamped in the neighbourhood of Bovianum, and Posthumius took his rout towards Tifernum. The latter came to an engagement with the Samnites, the success of which being equal, Posthumius pretended to be worsted, and, in order to deceive the enemy, decamped in the night-time and retired to the mountains. The Samnites followed him, and posted themselves within two miles of his camp. Hereupon Posthumius, having finished his intrenchments with the utmost dispatch, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, marched out at midnight with the rest of his army, and joined his collegue Minucius, who lay in sight of another body of Samnites. Minucius, being thus reinforced, marched with his two legions alone into the plain, and offered the enemy battle; which they accepted, not knowing that the other consul was arrived. The victory was disputed wish great warmth on both sides. But when the Samnites were much fatigued, Posthumius and his troops falling upon them with fresh vigour, they could no longer hold out, but were forced to save themselves by flight. The Romans made a dreadful slaughter of them,

The fate of the Hernici determined.

The Samnites enter Campania;

But are defeated in two battles.

and

and took one and twenty enſigns. After this victory the conſuls without delay led their victorious troops to Poſthumius's camp, and from thence ſallied out upon the body of Samnites, which was poſted there. This battle was more bloody than the former; the conſul Minucius was killed in it, and Statius Gellius, the Samnite general, made priſoner. At length the Romans carried the day, and took twenty-ſix enſigns from the enemy. Upon the news of Minucius's death the people at Rome immediately appointed Fulvius Curvus to ſucceed him, who took Bovianum and other cities, for which he triumphed on his return to Rome. Why Poſthumius, who ſeems to have deſerved the ſame honour, did not triumph with him, we know not. The Faſti Capitolini do not allow him this honour, though Livy does; as that author makes him triumph with Minucius, who was killed in the battle, we choſe to follow the Faſti [m]. In the ſucceeding conſulate of Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnites, quite exhauſted with the war, ſent deputies to Rome to deſire a renewal of their antient confederacy with the republic. The ſenate granted them their requeſt, after they had given certain proofs of their ſincerity, by receiving every-where the conſular army under the command of Sempronius with marks of reſpect, and ſupplied the troops with all ſorts of proviſions. The conſuls, being now diſengaged from the Samnitic war, marched againſt the Æqui, who, ſeduced by the bad example of the Hernici, had declared againſt Rome and joined the Samnites. They were no more that formidable nation, which had often ſtruck terror into the Roman legions; long inaction had enervated them, ſo that they had not courage enough to keep the field, but ſheltered themſelves behind the walls of their cities, which the two conſular armies inveſted, over-running their country, and laying it every-where waſte. The conquerors made themſelves maſters of forty-one towns in fifty days, moſt of which they razed or burnt, and thereby almoſt exterminated the whole nation of the Æqui. Theſe rapid conqueſts ſpread ſuch terror among the neighbouring nations, that the Marſi, Peligni, Frentani, and Marrucini, ſent to demand an alliance with Rome, which they eaſily obtained. By this memorable expedition the conſuls merited, and obtained, the honours of a triumph.

Minucius the conſul killed.

The Samnites obtain a renewal of their antient alliance with Rome.

Æqui ſubdued.

THE

[m] Liv. l. ix. c. 45.

THE renowned Q. Fabius, being this year cenſor with P. Dec[illegible] Mus, reformed an abuſe introduced by Appius, who h[illegible] diſperſed great numbers of freedmen and the meaneſt of the people among the country-tribes, and by that means had got a great influence in all elections, thoſe men being entirely devoted to him. Fabius re-incorporated into the four city tribes the rabble Appius had taken from thence, ſo that for the future they could influence no more than four tribes, and in theſe their party was not the ſtrongeſt. This reformation was ſo agreeable to the republic, that the Romans gave Fabius for this ſingle act the ſurname of Maximus, a title which he had not acquired by ſubduing the Hetrurians, the Samnites, and the Umbrians. This ſurname was ever after pre rved in his branch of the Fabian family. The next year [illegible]n Cornelius Lentulus and L. Genucius were con[illegible] w[illegible]pent chiefly in ſending colonies to the conq[illegible]cities. In the ſucceeding conſulate of Livius Denter and Æmilius Paulus, the art of painting was introduced at Rome by C. Fabius afterwards conſul, who painted the walls of a new temple dedicated to the goddeſs of Health, and thence got the ſurname of Pictor, or, The Painter. The following year the republic had no conſuls, but was governed by two dictators ſucceſſively created, Q. Fabius and Valerius Corvus. The former marched an army againſt the Marſi, who had revolted, and by one ſingle victory brought them back to their duty. The latter was created dictator to conduct a war againſt the Hetrurians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, though fluſhed with the advantage which they had gained a few days before over Sempronius Sophus his general of the horſe, who had fallen into an ambuſh, and loſt a great number of men and ſome ſtandards. The Hetrurians, humbled by this overthrow, ſued for peace, but could obtain only a truce for two years. Valerius on his return entered Rome in triumph the fourth time, on the tenth of the calends of December.

Q. Fabius, being cenſor, acquires the ſurname of Maximus.

The Marſi reduced, and the Hetrurians defeated.

AT the next election Valerius Corvus was promoted a fifth time to the conſulate, and Q. Apulius Panſa appointed to be his collegue. During their adminiſtration, all being quiet abroad, two tribunes of the people of the ſame family, and probably brothers, endeavoured to ſtir up the people againſt the nobility. The one was named Quintus Ogulnius, and the other Cneius Ogulnius. Theſe two complained, that all the pontifices and augurs were created out of the patricians, and urged, that the plebeians might alſo partake

partake of thoſe offices. The nobility were highly offended with this propoſal, which tended to deprive them of the only diſtinction between them and the plebeians; but made no great oppoſition to this new incroachment, knowing that their attempts to exclude them from theſe dignities would prove fruitleſs, the people having carried their point in all their ſtruggles with the nobility. However the famous Appius Claudius, though wholly devoted to the plebeian party, became on this occaſion, no doubt out of pure caprice, a moſt zealous defender of the nobility. He had debaſed the ſenate by introducing the ſons of freedmen into it, and profaned the prieſthood by lodging it in the hands of the public ſlaves. But now he exerted all his eloquence in favour of the nobility. On the other hand, P. Decius Mus, a plebeian of great diſtinction, who had been twice conſul, once dictator, and once cenſor, ſpoke in behalf of the people, with all the weight of dignity, which his employments, his credit, and the reputation of his virtue gave him. The debate was in the aſſembly of the curiæ; but the tribes being afterwards ſummoned, the affair was almoſt unanimouſly determined by them in favour of the plebeians, and a decree paſſed for chuſing four new pontifices and five new augurs out of the plebeians; ſo that the college of the pontifices was now made to conſiſt of eight perſons, and that of the augurs of nine; which regulation continued to the dictatorſhip of Sylla, who encreaſed the number both of the pontifices and augurs to fifteen. Decius Mus was choſen one of the new pontifices.

Plebeians admitted to the pontificate and augurate.

THE Ogulnian law was the work of the tribunes: but the conſul Valerius undertook to revive another law, which had been made by Valerius Poplicola, and had afterwards been revived by another of his anceſtors. By this law it was enacted, that in capital cauſes the accuſed ſhould have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people. The patricians had by their intereſt rendered this law ineffectual, and often prevented the execution of it; ſo that it was become obſolete. Valerius therefore now reſtored it once more, and drew it up in more diſtinct terms than before. But the only puniſhment denounced againſt the tranſgreſſors of it was, that they ſhould be deemed guilty of a diſhoneſt action. A ſlight puniſhment indeed for a more corrupt age, but ſufficient at this time to reſtrain the Romans, who piqued themſelves on their virtue, and

Other laws revived in favour of the people.

[n] Liv. l. x, c. 8.

were never choſen for great employments, unleſs they had preſerved their reputation pure and untainted.

THE conſuls choſen for the new year were M. Fulvius Pætinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. The former marched into Umbria to carry on the ſiege of Nequinium, which Apuleius, one of the former conſuls, had begun. This city was, with regard to its ſituation, one of the ſtrongeſt in Italy. It was built upon the edge of a ſteep rock, and ſurrounded in great part by the river Nar. But the treachery of two Nequinians facilitated the taking of a place, which was deemed impregnable. Theſe traitors from their houſes, which were near the ramparts, dug by dint of hand-labour a paſſage under-ground, quite to the advanced-guard of the Romans, on the ſide of the [illegible] where there were no rocks. The conſul before whom they appeared quite unexpected, after having examined them, detained one of them as an hoſtage, and ſent the other back to the city through the ſubterraneous paſſage with two Roman ſoldiers. Theſe upon their return made ſuch a report as encreaſed the confidence of the conſul, who ordered three hundred choſen men to follow them, and inlarge the way underground; which they did accordingly, and, having entered the city in the night, ſeized [illegible] of the gates, and let in the reſt of the army. The [illegible]ſul having by this means made himſelf maſter of the city without ſtriking a blow,

Nequinium taken from the Umbrians.

for the Nequinians immediately threw down their arms, obliged the inhabitants to receive a Roman colony, which might keep the reſt of Umbria in awe. This was the only puniſhment he inflicted upon them. The colony changed the infamous name of Nequinium, derived from Nequitia roguery, into that of Narnia from the river Nar. For this exploit Fulvius was rewarded with a triumph which he obtained on the ſeventh of the calends of October [o]. In the ſame conſulate the Hetrurians broke their truce with Rome; but, while they were preparing to enter the Roman territories, they were obliged by an irruption of the Gauls to ſuſpend the execution of their deſign. However, their animoſity againſt the republic was ſo great, that they choſe rather to gain over theſe new enemies by money than to repel them by force. Accordingly, they paid them large ſums, on condition that they ſhould not only forbear pillaging Hetruria, but join them againſt Rome. The Gaul

[o] Liv. l. x. c. 10. Flor. epit. 89. Frontin. ſtrat. l. xi. Faſ. Capit.

Gauls accepted the offers made them, took the money, and left Hetruria in tranquillity. But when they were to march towards Rome, they excuſed themſelves, unleſs the Hetrurians would ſecure them a retreat in their country, by aſſigning them lands to ſettle on. This the Hetrurians abſolutely refuſed. The Romans, being informed of theſe negotiations between the Hetrurians and Gauls, ordered the conſul Manlius to march into Hetruria, and puniſh the inhabitants for their breach of faith. But Manlius being killed by a fall from his horſe, the centuries met to appoint him a ſucceſſor; and all to a man, which had never happened ſince the foundation of Rome, gave their ſuffrages in favour of Valerius Corvus, who was now the ſixth time raiſed to the conſulate. The Hetrurians no ſooner underſtood that the formidable Valerius was marching againſt them, then they quitted the field, aud retired within the walls of their cities. The brave conſul over-ran the whole country, committing every-where great devaſtations, in order to draw the enemy into the field. But they, more concerned about preſerving their lives than their eſtates, kept cloſe within their ſtrong-holds. This was a kind of victory, which brought great glory to Valerius, and was the laſt of his exploits. On his return to Rome, as he was now in a very advanced age, he retired to enjoy the tranquillity of a private life, after ſo many labours and ſo plentiful a harveſt of glory. In what year he ended his days is not known; but it is certain, that he lived above an hundred years. He was a true pattern of the zeal men in public ſtations owe their country. He was twenty-one times promoted to offices, that intitled him to ſit in the curule chair, which can be ſaid of no Roman but himſelf. When the republic ſeemed to forget him, he took advantage of thoſe intervals of reſt to improve his paternal eſtate and manure his lands. He was great in peace, and greater in war, and may be ſaid to have appeared eminent among thoſe heroes, whom Rome produced in her moſt glorious and virtuous age [P].

Valerius Corvus overruns Hetruria.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year, the republic, whether by the death of Valerius or ſome other accident is unknown, fell into an inter-regnum. When the comitia were aſſembled to elect new magiſtrates, Appius took it into his head to prevent any plebeian from being choſen to

[P] Plin. l. 7. c. 48. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13. Cic. in Cat. Major. Plut. in Mario.

the conſulate. But Curius Dentatus, one of the tribunes, withſtood the eloquence and authority of Appius, and obliged the ſenate to confirm the cuſtom of chuſing one of the conſuls out of the plebeians; ſo that L. Cornelius Scipio and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, a plebeian, were raiſed to that dignity. During their adminiſtration, the republic was engaged in a war with the two moſt formidable nations in her neighbourhood, the Hetrurians, who had broken the truce, and the Samnites, who, notwithſtanding their treaty of alliance, had openly declared war. Scipio marched againſt the Hetrurians, who met and engaged him in the plains of Volaterræ. The battle laſted all day, and when night put an end to it, the victory was ſtill doubtful. But an unaccountable terror ſeizing the enemy, they retired in the night-time in ſmall companies to their reſpective leucumonies. Hereupon the conſul plundered and laid waſte the whole country. This is the account Livy gives of the campaign in Hetruria. But a more authentic monument than Livy's hiſtory aſcribes the defeat of the Hetrurians to Fulvius the plebeian conſul; and adds, that having finiſhed his expedition againſt the Hetrurians, he haſtened into Samnium, and there obtained a complete victory over thoſe antient en[redacted] of his republic, while his colleague Scipio continued in [redacted]at Rome. On his return a triumph was decreed him [redacted]ving conquered the Samnites and Hetrurians. He triumphed on the ides of November [q]. A report being ſpread, before the comitia aſſembled for electing new conſuls, that both the Hetrurians and Samnites were making mighty preparations to repair their loſſes, the firſt care of the Romans was to chuſe conſuls of valour and experience, to diſappoint the deſigns of the two nations, more enraged againſt Rome than ever. The centuries immediately caſt their eyes upon Fabius; but he, from what motive is hard to gueſs, declined the honour, and would not accept of it, till he was in a manner forced by the people and their tribunes. He then deſired, that they would oblige him ſo far, as to give him a collegue to his own mind, and propoſed to them Decius Mus, who was at his requeſt unanimouſly choſen. While the two new conſuls were preparing to take the field, the Hetrurians came to a reſolution to aſk a peace. Hereupon the conſuls marched both into Samnium, Fabius by the territory of Sora, and Decius through the country of the Sadicini.

The Hetrurians and Samnites renew the war; but are defeated

[q] Faſt. Capit.

cini. Fabius was informed on his march, that the Samnites lay in an ambuſh on the banks of the Tifernus, and there waited for his coming into a deep valley, with a deſign to attack him from the hills. This advice did not make the brave Fabius change his rout: he choſe to ſurpriſe and attack the enemy in their ambuſcade. Accordingly, having lodged his baggage in a ſafe place, he marched with his troops in battle-array towards the enemy, who, finding their projects diſcovered, left their ambuſh and drew up in the plain. Their firſt onſet was terrible: they had aſſembled all the forces of their country, and, looking upon this battle as the deciſive ſtroke, exerted their utmoſt efforts. The brave reſiſtance of the enemy gave Fabius no ſmall uneaſineſs. He therefore commanded the cavalry to ruſh full ſpeed on their battalions. But this proved ineffectual, the Samnite infantry ſtill keeping their poſts without loſing an inch of ground. Fabius, finding he could not by force break thoſe impenetrable battalions, had recourſe to ſtratagem, and ordered Scipio, one of his lieutenants, to march with the haſtati ſilently round the top of a neighbouring hill, and from thence to fall on the enemy's rear. The conſul's orders were executed with ſuch addreſs, that neither the Samnites nor Romans perceived this motion. In the mean time, the former, proud of having repulſed the Roman cavalry, took new courage, and obliged the firſt line of the conſular army to give way, and retire through the ſpaces of the ſecond line. Then the principes, who formed that line, engaged in their turn, and, as they were quite freſh, put a ſtop to the impetuoſity of the Samnites for ſome time. But they likewiſe were obliged in the end to give way. When the Samnites thought themſelves ſecure of the victory, they diſcovered at a diſtance the enſigns of a body of troops, which advanced in good order to the field of battle. This was the detachment commanded by Scipio, coming down the hill to attack the enemy's rear. The conſul, in ſeeing it, cried out, What unexpected good Fortune! I ſee my collegue Decius haſtening to our aſſiſtance. The general's words paſſing from legion to legion, were ſoon carried through the whole army, and heard by the enemy's battalions. The Romans took freſh courage; but the Samnites, already tired with fighting and afraid to engage another conſular army, were ſo diſcouraged, that, without waiting for their general's orders, they diſperſed and fled in confuſion, leaving only three thouſand four hundred men dead upon the

Fabius by a ſtratagem gains a complete victor over the Samnites.

plain, a very inconſiderable loſs. The Romans took twenty-three ſtandards. On the other hand, Decius gained a conſiderable victory over the Apulians, as they were marching to join the Samnites. After this the two conſular armies entering Samnium, laid the whole country waſte. Decius changed his camp forty-five times, and Fabius his eighty-ſix. By this means the fields were every-where laid waſte, and the country, which had been in a flouriſhing condition during a pretty long interval of peace, utterly ruined. Fabius took alſo the city of Cimetra and razed it. Two thouſand four hundred priſoners were taken in theſe expeditions, and all the inhabitants, who were found with arms, put to the ſword.

Samnium laid waſte.

THE campaign being ended, Fabius was recalled to preſide in the comitia for the election new conſuls. Upon his arrival he found, that Appius had once more formed a ſcheme to exclude the plebeians, and confine the conſulate to the patricians. In order to this, having ſecured his own election beyond a poſſibility of failing, he engaged the centuries to continue Fabius in his office for the enſuing year. As the Romans, eſpecially the patricians, had a great eſteem and veneration for that able commander, the firſt centuries, conſiſting chiefly of the nobility, unanimouſly voted in his favour. [redacted] Fabius himſelf oppoſed his election, proteſting, that he would never give the republic ſo pernicious a precedent, as to ſuffer himſelf to be elected in the comitia where he preſided. The whole body of the patricians ſurrounded his tribunal, conjuring him to reſtore the conſulate to its antient luſtre. But Fabius could not by any means be prevailed upon to fall into Appius's ſcheme; ſo that Volumnius Flamma, a plebeian, was joined with Appius in the conſulate. However, Fabius and his collegue Decius were continued, with the title of proconſuls, in the command of the armies in Samnium for ſix months longer; which Fabius ſpent in keeping in awe the Lucanians, who had revolted, and preventing them from joining the Samnites. As for Decius, after having laid waſte all Samnium, he purſued the ſmall army that unhappy people had ſtill on foot from place to place, in order to draw them to a battle, and ſo harraſſed them, that they were at length obliged to diſband and retire into the neighbouring countries. Then Decius, having no enemy in the field to contend with, laid ſiege to their cities, and made himſelf maſter of Murgantia, Romulea, and Ferentinum, three important cities; in the firſt he made two thouſand

Appius attempts to exclude the plebeians from the conſulate.

Several cities taken from the Samnites.

thouſand one hundred and ten priſoners; in the ſecond he put two thouſand three hundred of the inhabitants to the ſword and took ſix thouſand; in the third about three thouſand men, who defended the place, and made a deſperate reſiſtance, were killed upon the ramparts. Thus Samnium was reduced to the laſt extremity; and, to complete the deſtruction of this unhappy country, the new conſul Volumnius entered it with another army of two legions and fifteen hundred auxiliaries [r].

THE Samnites, being thus driven out of their own country, took refuge in Hetruria; where, in a diet held at their requeſt, they prevailed upon the ſeveral leucomonies to join in a war againſt Rome, and offered to ſerve under them at their own expence. The Hetrurians, looking upon this reinforcement as ſent them from heaven, raiſed a formidable army, and even engaged with ſums of money ſome troops of Gauls to join them. The ſenate being informed of theſe motions, diſpatched Appius, to whom Hetruria had fallen by lot, to make head againſt ſo poweful an enemy, with an army conſiſting of two legions and twelve thouſand auxiliaries. Appius came and poſted himſelf within reach of the enemy. But, as he neither knew how to time a battle nor to chuſe his ground, he was worſted in every ſkirmiſh and fight action, in which he ventured to engage. Theſe ſmall advantages encreaſed the enemy's confidence, and gave them certain hopes of victory in a general action. In ſhort, things were come to that paſs, that the ſoldiers diſtruſted their general, and the general his ſoldiers. In this extremity, Appius is ſaid [s], for the fact is not abſolutely certain, to have written to his collegue, begging him to leave Samnium, and haſten to his aſſiſtance. Volumnius, upon the receipt of the letter, immediately came and joined him, to the inexpreſſible joy of the troops of Appius. But Appius himſelf, pretending to be ſurprized, aſked his collegue ſternly, what had brought him from Samnium, diſowned his letter, and told him, that he had acted a diſhonourable part in quitting his own province, in order to gain credit by giving aſſiſtance to others, who did not want it. Hereupon Volumnius was for returning immediately into Samnium; but the officers of both armies prevailed upon him to ſtay in Hetruria, where the common cauſe called for his aſſiſtance, and to deſpiſe the reproaches and unaccountable behaviour of Appius. At the requeſt of

Appius reduced to great ſtraits in Hetruria.

[r] Liv. l. x, c. 16. [s] Tres. annales citati a Livio, l. x. c. 18.

of the officers the two conſuls afterwards had an interview, in that part of the camp where the generals uſed to harangue their ſoldiers, and there in the preſence of the army made their complaints of each other. Volumnius, though naturally no orator, ſpoke on this occaſion with great eloquence; for he had the better cauſe. Upon which Appius, who had had Volumnius for his collegue in the conſulſhip ten years before, could not forbear rallying him: Wonderful indeed! ſaid he, I have made a dumb man ſpeak, Volumnius in our firſt conſulate ſcarce opened his mouth for ſome months. He had then no tongue; but now is become eloquent, a perfect maſter of oratory. What a miraculous change have I wrought in him! Since you have taught me to ſpeak, replied Volumnius, I wiſh I could in return for your kindneſs, teach you to fight. In our preſent ſituation it is of ſmall importance to be able to talk well. If you have a mind to know which of us underſtands beſt the conduct of an army, we have wars to carry on in two places, Samnium and Hetruria; make your choice; it is indifferent to me in which province I command. At theſe words the ſoldiers cried out with one voice, that both conſuls ſhould carry on the war in Hetruria. Volumnius anſwered, that he was willing to ſtay, but deſired the troops to ſignify to him their inclinations by a general ſhout. Inſtantly the army made ſuch loud acclamations, as were heard in the enemy's camp, who, taking the alarm, drew up in order of battle. Volumnius immediately marched out with his troops to engage them. But Appius was for ſome time in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould join in the battle or not; and nothing determined him but the fear of being deſerted by his troops, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to follow Volumnius, in defiance of their general's orders. It fell to Volumnius to engage the Hetrurians, and to his collegue to oppoſe the Samnites, who, full of rage, advanced againſt him. Emulation for glory and the ſhame of being obſcured by a rival rouzed Appius to ſuch a degree, that he behaved himſelf with more courage than could have been expected. He gave his orders like a good commander, fought with intrepidity, inſpired his men with ardor, and in ſhort equalled his collegue both in bravery and conduct. The united Samnites and Hetrurians, not being able to withſtand two conſular armies, were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. The enemy left ſeven thouſand three hundred men dead upon the field of battle, and two thouſand of them were made priſoners. it muſt be owned, that

Appius and Volumnius defeat the united Hetrurians and Samnites.

Appius

Appius bore a good ſhare in this glorious action, and that if he inſpired Volumnius with eloquence, Volumnius inſpired him with courage. After this victory, which put an end to the miſunderſtanding between the two conſuls, Volumnius was obliged to return into his own province and oppoſe the Samnites, who, notwithſtanding their late loſſes, had raiſed a new army and were actually ravaging Campania. Volumnius ſurpriſed them near the Vulturnus, ſlew ſix thouſand of them, and recovered all the ſpoil they had taken [1].

THE republic, being alarmed by accounts from Appius of the vaſt preparations for war, which the Hetrurians and their allies, the Umbrians, Gauls, and Samnites, were making, turned their eyes again upon Fabius, and in the comitia, which were held ſoon after, raiſed him the fifth time to the conſulate. The collegue they deſigned to give him was Volumnius who preſided in the comitia; but Fabius refuſing to accept the office, unleſs he had again Decius for his collegue, Volumnius, though the firſt tribes had already voted for him, approved of Fabius's requeſt; and making a fine elogium upon Decius, exhorted the tribes to chuſe him; which they did accordingly, beſtowing that honour upon him a fourth time. Appius, who was then in Hetruria, was appointed p[illegible]or; and Volumnius continued in the command of the army in Samnium, with the title of proconſul. It was cuſtomary for the new conſuls to draw lots for their reſpective provinces; but it was natural to ſuppoſe, that Decius would compliment Fabius with the command in Hetruria, where the ſtreſs of the war lay, induced thereunto by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit of his collegue: and this he was very willing to do; but the patricians making it a point of honour not to permit any other than Fabius to have the conduct of the Hetrurian war, the plebeians would not ſuffer him to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, fearing leſt the patrician conſul ſhould, for the future, claim a right of chuſing his province. How difficult is it for a man to avoid being carried away by the ſtream of a party in which he once engages! The pacific Decius was compelled, contrary to his temper and inclination, to go with the current of his party, and inſiſt on its being determined by lot, whether he or Fabius ſhould command in Hetruria. The affair was firſt brought before the ſenate, where it was determined in favour

[1] Liv. l. x. c. 20.

favour of Fabius. Hereupon Decius appealed to the people; and the comitia being aſſembled, the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe, more like ſoldiers than orators. When they had both done ſpeaking, the people began to vote, when Fabius riſing up again, deſired them in a few words, to hear Appius's letters read, before they decided on the preſent diſpute. Appius, in the letters he had lately written from Hetruria, had painted the danger with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours, and given a very particular account of the four armies which were to fall upon Rome. The bare relation of the danger determined the people to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy; and Fabius was inſtantly appointed to command the army in Hetruria. And now all the Roman youth were eager to ſerve under ſo great a commander; but he would carry with him no larger a reinforcement than four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. At the head of this ſmall body he marched towards the camp, which the fearful Appius was ſtill ſtrengthening with new fortifications. As he drew near it, he met a detachment ſent to cut wood in a neighbouring foreſt. Whither are you going, fellow-ſoldiers? ſaid Fabius. The ſoldiers anſwered, To cut wood to fortify our camp. What! replied the general, is it not already fortified? We are already ſurrounded, returned the ſoldiers, with a double ditch and a double rampart, and yet we are ſtill afraid. Since that is the caſe ſaid Fabius, return to the camp and level the firſt rampart. The detachment immediately returned, and put their new general's orders in execution; which greatly alarmed Appius: but Fabius arrived the ſame day, to the inexpreſſible joy of the army, every one hoping affairs would take a better turn under ſo able a general. The next day Appius ſet out for Rome, to take upon him the prætorſhip, which had been aſſigned him, and better ſuited his talents than the conduct of an army. Fabius, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within lines, which, he ſaid, betrayed fear, kept them in conſtant motion, by frequent marches and counter-marches; but, before he entered upon action, he returned to Rome, for what reaſon is uncertain. Upon his arrival, the ſenate, alarmed at the dreadful repreſentation, which Appius had made of the enemy's forces, judged it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army. Fabius, when this was firſt propoſed to him, told the conſcript fathers, that he ſhould acquieſce in what they thought proper, on account of the fears of others, not his own; but deſired, that, if another general

Fabius ſent againſt the united forces of the Hetrurians, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls.

general was to be joined with him, Decius might be the perſon, ſhewing thereby, that his late conteſt with him had not leſſened the eſteem he had for ſo great a man. The ſenate and people readily granted him his requeſt; and then the two conſuls, before they left Rome, made the following regulations: they ſent the proconſul Volumnius with two legions into Samnium, and, in order to cover the city on the ſide of Hetruria, directed two camps to be pitched, one near Rome on the hill Vaticanus, and the other on the banks of the Tiber in the country of the Faliſci. After theſe regulations, the two conſuls ſet out for the camp in Hetruria. Upon the road they were informed, that a legion, which Fabius had left under the command of Scipio, had been entirely cut off by the Gauls called Senones. However, the two generals, without being diſcouraged by this accident, continued their march; and as their army conſiſted of four legions, a good number of Roman knights, a thouſand Campanian horſe, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than all the Roman forces, they divided it into two parts, and encamped ſeparately, but within reach of each other, in the plain of Sentinum, about four miles from the enemy. We are told, that the forces of the Gauls and Samnites, who encamped together, amounted to one hundred and forty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty foot and forty-ſix thouſand horſe. What the number was of Hetrurians and Umbrians, who jointly made another camp, we find no-where recorded. As theſe confederates were ſeparated in their camps, they agreed, that the Gauls and Samnites ſhould engage the Romans, while the Hetrurians and Umbrians attacked their two camps in the heat of the action. Fabius, being informed of this deſign by deſerters, immediately ſent orders to the two proprætors, Fulvius and Poſthumius, who commanded in the camps that covered Rome, to enter Hetruria without delay and lay it waſte. Hereupon the Hetrurians and Umbrians haſtened to the relief of the unfortunate people, whoſe houſes were burnt and land ravaged. Fabius, having thus obliged the enemy to divide their forces, took advantage of the diverſion he had made, and, in the abſence of the Hetrurians and Umbrians, brought the Gauls and Samnites to a battle. Fabius commanded the right wing, which faced the Samnites, and Decius the left, which engaged the Gauls. Both parties ſuſtained the firſt onſet with equal bravery, and the reſiſtance of the enemy made the Romans

ſenſible, that they could never have withſtood the four armies, had they all engaged at once. The advantage firſt appeared in favour of the Gauls, who ſurprized the Romans, ſoon after the action began, with a new way of fighting, never heretofore uſed in the wars of Italy. They drove full ſpeed armed chariots againſt the Roman cavalry, which, with the noiſe of the wheels and the novelty of the ſight, frightened the horſes and put them into diſorder. They fell afterwards on the firſt line of the infantry and broke into the ranks, carrying every-where terror and confuſion. The conſul Decius, having in vain endeavoured to rally his terrified ſoldiers, reſolved to follow the example of his father, and in the ſame manner devote himſelf to the dii manes. Purſuant to this reſolution, he commanded the pontifex M. Livius to pronounce the words uſed in devotements; and, having repeated them after him, rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemy's battalions, where he was killed, after having received numberleſs wounds. How great is the power of credulity and ſuperſtition! The Romans, after the death of their general, looking upon the enemy as devoted to deſtruction, took new courage and returned to the charge, as it were to put the decrees of the gods in execution. The pontifex Livius, who was himſelf an able commander, taking advantage of their prejudi[illegible] put himſelf at their head, crying out, We have c[illegible]ered: the death of Decius has ſecured to us the victo[illegible] the Samnites and the Gauls are devoted to the manes, [illegible] muſt inevitably periſh. Having thus ſpoke, he renewed the battle with great fury, and being ſeconded by ſome troops ſent by Fabius from the rear, under the command of L. Cornelius and C. Marcius, he ſoon changed the fortune of the day in favour of the Romans in the left wing.

Decius devotes himſelf.

In the right wing Fabius had attacked the Samnites but faintly, or rather kept himſelf upon the defenſive, till the enemy had quite ſpent their ſtrength and were exhauſted; and then becoming in his turn the aggreſſor, he ordered his cavalry to wheel about and flank the wings of the enemy, while he, at the head of the legions attacked them in front. All the troops being thus put in motion at once, the ſhock was ſo violent, that the Samnites not being able to ſtand it, fled in diſorder to their camp, leaving the Gauls to ſhift for themſelves. Theſe brave men, not diſheartened at the rout of their allies, ſtill kept their ground, and covering their heads with

The Samnites and Gauls defeated.

with their bucklers, formed a tortoiſe. Fabius therefore, to break theſe impenetrable troops, detached a body of five hundred Campanian horſe to fall upon their rear, ordering the principes to follow the detachment, and penetrate into their battalions, when once broken. This motion ſucceeded ſo well, that the Gauls were at length obliged to retire, which they ſeem to have done in good order; for Livy does not tell us, that they were put into confuſion, but only that they gave way, and left the Romans maſters of the field. Fabius did not purſue them; but led his forces againſt the camp of the Samnites, where he made a dreadful ſlaughter. Twenty-five thouſand of the Samnites and Gauls were killed in this action, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was Gellius Egnatius, an eminent commander of the Samnites, who had negotiated the alliance of the four nations. On the ſide of the Romans, the number of the dead in the left wing amounted to ſeven thouſand; but in the right, where Fabius commanded, only twelve hundred were killed. As for the two proprætors, Fulvius and Poſthumius, they gained no ſmall advantages over the Hetrurians and Umbrians; and the ſame year the proconſul Volumnius defeated the Samnites in a pitched battle at the foot of mount Tifernus. After all theſe ſucceſſes, Fabius returned to Rome, and triumphed the day before the nones of September. He had ſcarce left the country, when the Hetrurians raiſed a new army, which obliged him to lead his troops thither again. Upon his arrival, he attacked the Hetrurians, killed four thouſand five hundred of them on the ſpot, took one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty priſoners, and ſtruck the reſt with ſuch terror, that they made no further attempts that year. This was the laſt exploit of a hero, who did not leave off conquering, till age diſabled him from ſerving his country. He had a ſon, ſurnamed Gurges, that is, the gulph, on account of his exceſſive intemperance in his youth. After he had ſquandered away immenſe ſums in debauchery, he corrected his way of living, and became a zealous reformer of manners, in order to wipe off the ſhame of his paſt exceſſes. In his ædileſhip, he accuſed before the people a great many patrician women of adultery, and having convicted them, perpetuated the ſhame of the criminals, by building with the money accruing from their fines a temple to Venus, as a laſting monument of their infamy [u].

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[u] Liv. l. x. c. 24—30. Faſt. Capit. Macrob. ſat. l. ii. c. 9.

In the mean time, the Samnites, notwithſtanding their loſſes, brought two new armies into the field. With one they encamped on the banks of the Vulturnus; with the other they entered Campania and pillaged the territories of Veſcia and Formiæ. Hereupon Appius the prætor was ordered into Samnium, at the head of the army which Decius had commanded. The proconſul Volumnius, who was already on the ſpot, joined his forces to thoſe of Appius; and both theſe generals, by purſuing the Samnites from place to place, obliged them to unite their two armies in the Campi Stellates, between the Vulturnus and the Savo. There the Samnites reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle; and, as they looked upon it as a deciſive ſtroke, they behaved with extraordinary courage ond reſolution: but the Romans at length prevailed, after having loſt two thouſand ſeven hundred men. Of the Samnites there fell in the battle and purſuit ſixteen thouſand three hundred.

The Samnites again defeated.

Rome had now made war with the Samnites for forty years, almoſt without interruption, and always with ſucceſs. The laſt campaign ſeemed enough of itſelf to extinguiſh their martial ardor. They had loſt four battles in one year; the braveſt of their generals had been killed; all the flower of their youth cut off; the Hetrurians, Umbrians, and Gauls, wh m they had drawn into a confederacy, were not now in a condition to lend them any aſſiſtance. However, they were not ſo far diſcouraged, as to loſe all hopes of being able one day to conquer. They made great preparations to take the field once more. The ſenate being alarmed ordered the two new conſuls, L. Poſthumius Megillus, who was raiſed to that dignity a ſecond time, and M. Attilius Regulus, to carry the war jointly into Samnium; but Poſthumius falling ſick; the whole management of affairs was committed to Attilius, who, haſtening into Samnium, met the Samnites on the confines of Campania. The conſul was no ſoonet encamped, than the enemy, tho' ſo often vanquiſhed, undertook to execute what the Romans themſelves would ſcarce have attempted; they formed a deſign of forcing the conſul's lines, and marching out of their camp undiſcovered, by means of a thick fog, ſurpriſed the advanced guards, made themſelves maſters of the Decuman gate, and penetrated to the quæſtor's tent, where the military cheſt was kept. In the mean time the alarm ſpreading to the general's quarters, he put himſelf

But take the field anew.

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at the head of ſome manipuli, and obliged the enemy to retire by the gate through which they had entered. The Romans would have purſued them; but Attilius, fearing ſome ambuſcade, would not ſuffer them to march out of their entrenchments. The Samnites, not doubting but fortune would favour their bold attempts another time, encamped cloſe to the Roman lines, and kept the conſular army ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they could not enter Samnium, to live upon free quarter there as they had deſigned; but were obliged to bring th[illegible]viſions from the countries behind them, to which alone they had acceſs.

THE ſenate and people of Rome, alarmed at this diſadvantageous ſituation of the army, diſpatched Poſthumius, tho' not yet perfectly recovered, with another conſular army, to the aſſiſtance of his collegue. Upon his arrival, the Samnites, who were not in a condition to make head againſt two conſular armies, decamped in haſte and left their country a prey to the enemy. Hereupon the two generals ſeparated, to pillage and lay waſte the whole country. Poſthumius, having committed every-where great devaſtations, made himſelf maſter of Milionia and Triven- Some of the cities taken.
tum, two places of great ſtrength. The former was taken by aſſault, after a vigorous defence, and given up to be plundered by the ſoldi[illegible]; three thouſand two hundred Samnites were cut in piec[illegible] on the ramparts, and four thouſand two hundred made priſoners. Triventum was abandoned by the inhabitants; ſo that the conſul made himſelf maſter of it without ſtriking a blow [w].

WHILE Poſthumius was thus employed, Attilius marched to the relief of Luceria in Apulia, beſieged, as he was told, by the Samnites. On his march he met the enemy and came to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which was ſuch, that neither army cared to try a ſecond engagement. The Samnites were wholly bent on decamping the next day and returning home; but as the place where they were encamped was a kind of defile, and the Romans were between them and Samnium, after much deliberation, they reſolved to march directly to the Roman camp, take their rout by the ſide of it, and thence advance into the plain. The conſul no ſooner perceived them, than he gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, not doubting but they were coming to attack him. But now Attilius perceived how much the action of the day before had diſcou-

[w] Liv. l. 10. c. 32.

raged his troops; his officers told him, that they were ready to obey his orders; but that the ſoldiers were extremely fatigued and intimidated, and that they would certainly be overcome as ſoon as attacked. This gave Attilius great uneaſineſs; he went in perſon to viſit them in their tents, and endeavoured by ſoft words to rouſe their courage; but all to no purpoſe: he could not by any means prevail upon them to ſtir. In the mean time, the Samnites drawing near, the Romans obſerved, that they were loaded with ſtakes and faſcines. Whereupon the conſul, believing they deſigned to ſhut him up in his camp, proteſted, that he would march out and meet the enemy alone; and that, if he were cut in pieces, he ſhould at leaſt eſcape the mortification of ſeeing his camp at the mercy of a people ſo often conquered. His words and the ſhame of abandoning their general induced them at length to take to their arms and march out; which they did with great reluctance, and very ſlowly, the battalions not being cloſe, but broken in ſeveral places. This motion of the Romans was a great diſappointment to the Samnites, who were no leſs afraid than they, and equally deſirous to avoid a battle; but when they found it was neceſſary to fight, they acted like brave men, threw down all their baggage in a heap, and, placing it in the centre, drew up in battalia. When the two armies drew near, they both betrayed ſo little inclination to fight, that they would have retired without action, had they not feared, that the firſt which drew off would be attacked in the rear by the other. However, they charged at length each other, but in a very faint manner, and without drawing ſo near as to come to a cloſe engagement. The Romans ſoon began to give ground, which ſo encouraged the Samnites, that they now exerted their uſual vigour, and preſſing upon the legions, drove them back quite to their entrenchments, which they would have entered and left the Samnites maſters of the field, had not Attilius ordered a body of horſe to advance to the gate of the camp, with directions to kill every Roman who ſhould attempt to enter it. By this means the run-aways being obliged to return to the charge, rallied, and renewed the fight with ſuch vigour, that the Samnites, who purſued them, were forced to fly in their turn. Thus the victory fell in the end to the Romans, after they had loſt ſeven thouſand three hundred men. Four thouſand eight hundred of the Samnites were killed upon the ſpot, and ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, whom the conſul made all paſs under the yoke.

Attilius gains a complete victory over the Samnites.

The

The conſul Attilius would have gained but little honour this campaign, had he not repaired his loſſes by a new advantage; for, on his march homewards, having accidentally fallen in with a body of Samnites, loaded with the booty which they had made in the country of the Volſci, he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and releaſed many Roman priſoners, whom they had taken in the incurſion. After this, he left his army in winter-quarters, and returned to Rome, to preſide at the elections. In the mean time, Poſthumius, uneaſy to find nothing to do in Samnium, left that country, without orders from the ſenate, and marching into Hetrutria, where there was more booty and more glory to be gained, defeated the Hetrurians, took Ruſſellæ, and obliged the three leucumonies of Volſinii, Peruſia, and Arretium to ſue for peace. Nevertheleſs the ſenate, on his return, refuſed him a triumph, on account of his irregular proceedings; but he appealed to the people, who, in ſpite of the ſenate, decreed him a triumph, for his victories over the Samnites and Hetrurians [x].

The Hetrurians overcome by Poſthumius.

In the new conſulate of L. Papirius Curſor, ſon of the famous Papirius, and Sp. Corvilius, Samnium became again the ſeat of war. That martial nation reſolved to make a new and more vigorous effort than ever. They publiſhed a law, commanding all, who were of age to bear arms, to appear upon the firſt ſummons from the general of their nation, upon pain of death. The heads of thoſe who diſobeyed this law were dedicated to Jupiter, and it was lawful for any one to kill them, where-ever they were found. The general rendezvous was appointed in the neighbourhood of Aquilonia, a city of Hirpinia, whither fear brought all the youth of the country, to the number of forty thouſand and upwards. In order to inſpire them with courage, the heads of the nation obliged ſixteen thouſand of the braveſt men among them to take the following oath, which was adminiſtered to them with great ſolemnity; "May all the curſes of the gods fall upon me and my poſterity, if I do not follow my generals where-ever they ſhall lead me; if I ever turn my back, or do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee attempting to fly." Thoſe, who heſitated at loading themſelves and their poſterity with ſuch imprecations, were immediately ſtabbed, and their bodies thrown amoug the carcaſes of the many victims that

The Samnites raiſe a new army.

[x] Liv. l. x. c. 31. Faſt. Capit.

were ſacrificed on this occaſion. Thoſe who took the oath were called legio linteata, or the linen legion, becauſe they had bound themſelves by it under a canopy or covering of linen. Magnificent bucklers were given them, and, that they might the better be diſtinguiſhed in an engagement, their helmets were adorned with ſtately creſts. In the mean time, the conſul Corvilius, having left Rome, and put himſelf at the head of the army which Attilius had commanded, took his way towards Samnium, which he entered without oppoſition, the enemy not having yet finiſhed their preparations. His firſt exploit was the taking of Amiternum, a city in Sabinia but ſubject to the Samnites, where he cut in pieces two thouſand eight hundred men, and made four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy priſoners. On the other hand, Papirius, having haſtened his levies in Rome, took the field, made himſelf maſter of Furconia, in the neighbourhood of Amiternum, and then joined his collegue. After they had laid waſte that part of the Volſcian territory which was ſubject to the Samnites, they parted again, Corvilius turning off towards Cominium, on the confines of the eaſtern part of Samnium, with a deſign to beſiege it; and Papirius marching towards Aquilonia, the place of the enemy's general rendezvous. The latter encamped within ſight of the enemy, and tried their ſtrength and courage in ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes before he came to a general action; which he at length reſolved to venture, and therefore ſent an expreſs to his collegue, deſiring him to preſs the ſiege of Cominium, leſt the enemy ſhould ſend detachments from thence to reinforce their army near Aquilonia. He then called his troops together, and ſo animated them, that they all cried out to him, that they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them. From the general to the meaneſt ſoldier all were equally eager to engage; they were only uneaſy to ſee the battle put off to the next day. Even the augur, whoſe buſineſs it was to obſerve the preſages, choſe rather to make a falſe report, than to check this general ardor. It was then cuſtomary to judge of the ſucceſs of battles before-hand, by the haſte or ſlowneſs with which the ſacred chickens picked up their food. The augur obſerved, that the chickens fed but ſlowly, which was a bad omen; but, as the miniſters of religion are not always the moſt ſcrupulous, or the moſt credulous, the augur, depending more on the ardor of the ſoldiers, than the greedineſs of his chickens, declared, that they had fed greedily. Papirius heard the augury with joy

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and immediately ordered his men to prepare for battle; but the next day, when the army was ready to march out and engage, the report being ſpread among the troops, that the preſages were not favourable, the Roman knights, thinking it a matter of ſuch importance as ought to be communicated to the general, prevailed upon young Papirius, the conſul's nephew, to diſcover to him the error he was in concerning the auguries. Be of good courage, anſwered the general, and behave yourſelf in the action like a brave man. If the augur has made me a falſe report, he has drawn the vengeance of the gods upon himſelf by his irreligion. As for me, I conclude the augury to be favourable, ſince it was ſo declared. Thus ſpoke Papirius, and then ordered the unfaithful keeper of the ſacred chickens to be placed at the head of the firſt line, where he was killed by an unknown hand, before the two armies came to a cloſe engagement. He was probably killed by order of the conſul, who, pretending to look upon his death as a ſtroke from heaven, cried out, when the news was brought him, The vengeance of the gods has ſpent itſelf on the perſon who deſerved it. We have nothing more to fear from their anger. In the beginning of the action, the linen legion, which lay under the moſt ſacred engagements not to give way, made a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Romans, kept their ground, till all on a ſudden they diſcovered, at ſome diſtance, a cloud of duſt, ſuch as is raiſed by the marching of an army, but was now occaſioned by the ſervants and muleteers of the Roman camp, whom the conſul had mounted upon mules and other beaſts of burden, ordering them to appear in the heat of the action, and raiſe as great a cloud of duſt as poſſible. Papirius, though the author of the ſtratagem, ſeemed to be ſurprized at this new ſight. As the ſervants of the army had provided themſelves with branches of trees, which they trailed on the ground to raiſe the greater duſt, nothing could be ſeen but the tops of ſome ſtandards and lances, and ſomething like cavalry, which ſeemed to flank a body of infantry. While both armies were under no ſmall apprehenſion of this freſh body of troops, Papirius all on a ſudden cried out with an air of joy, Cominium is taken, and my collegue is coming to my aſſiſtance. Courage, fellow-ſoldiers; let us gain the victory ourſelves, before another army comes to ſhare with us the glory and the ſpoils. At theſe words, both the infantry and cavalry fell with new vigor on the linen legion, which was at length obliged to give

The Samnites totally defeated.

give way, the fear of the enemy, who had penetrated into the midſt of their battalions, not ſuffering them to attend to any other apprehenſions. Their example was followed by the reſt of the Samnite army; their foot in the left wing retired to Aquilonia, and thoſe in the right regained the camp; but their horſe, which conſiſted of the nobility of the country, fled to Bovianum, a city which was a great way from the field of battle. Twelve thouſand of the Samnites, according to Oroſius, were ſlain in this battle; but, according to Livy, above thirty thouſand. Their camp was taken, and ſoon after the city of Aquilonia, where moſt of the fugitives had taken ſhelter [y].

Cominium taken, with many other cities.

In the mean time, Corvilius made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and important city of Cominium. The beſieged, after having made a vigorous defence, were at length obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, to the number of fifteen thouſand four hundred, after four thouſand three hundred and eighty had been ſlain in the attacks. After this, the two conſuls joined their forces to complete the deſtruction of the Samnites, who had no army to oppoſe them. Their ſcheme being approved by the ſenate, Corvilius took Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum, all cities of great note. Papirius made himſelf maſter of Sepinum, a town ſituated at the foot of the Appennines, and deemed impregnable. But, in the mean time, the Hetrurians taking arms again, it was thought neceſſary to recal one of the conſuls with his army from Samnium. They were accordingly ordered to caſt lots for the conduct of the Hetrurian war, which fell to Corvilius, who thereupon haſtened to Rome, which he entered in triumph, and thence continued his march into Hetruria, where he took Troſſulum by aſſault, and obliged the Faliſci to ſue for peace, but granted them only a year's truce, for which he made them pay three hundred and ninety thouſand aſſes of braſs; after this he returned to Rome. Papirius arrived much about the ſame time from Samnium, and obtained a triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the ſpoils taken from the Samnites, eſpecially from the linen legion [z] (Z).

The Faliſci ſue for a peace.

In

[y] Liv. l. x. c. 41. Front. ſtrat. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. [z] Liv. ibid. & Faſt. Capit.

(Z) Papirius, on his return to Rome, dedicated a temple to Quirinus, which his father, when dictator, had vowed. Upon thi

In the next election of conſuls, the perſons choſen by the centuries were Fabius Gurges, the ſon of Fabius Maximus, and Junius Brutus, ſurnamed Scæva, of an illuſtrious, though plebeian, family. It is undoubted, that Fabius the father, who was then prince of the ſenate, oppoſed the promotion of his ſon. Perhaps he did not think him well qualified for ſo high a ſtation, or was induced thereunto, as Valerius Maximus is of opinion [a], by a republican principle, judging it a pernicious precedent to heap ſo many honours on one family; for he himſelf had been five times conſul, and his father and grandfather had been likewiſe promoted to that dignity. Junius Brutus, the other conſul, was no better qualified for the conſulate than his collegue; ſo that now the government of the republic was in the hands of two perſons of ſmall abilities, eſpecially for war; which was at this time a very impolitic choice. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the Faliſci in Hetruria, encouraged by a plague which raged in Rome, broke their truce; and the old enemies of Rome the Samnites, taking arms again, entered Campania. The conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Hetruria fell to Brutus, and Samnium to Fabius. The former, being aſſiſted by Corvilius, whom the republic appointed to be his lieutenant, over-ran Hetruria, defeated the Faliſci, and returned to Rome, loaded with ſpoils. But, on the other hand, Fabius, having raſhly, and even without drawing up his troops, attacked the Samnites, was by them put to flight, after he had loſt three thouſand men in the action. The number of the wounded was greater, and moſt of them died for want of attendance, the conſul having left the ſervants of the army and the baggage a great way behind him. The news of an action ſo ill conducted exaſperated the people and ſenate to ſuch a degree, that the conſul was recalled,

The conſul Fabius Gurges defeated by the Samnites.

[a] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

this temple was fixed a ſun-dial, the firſt that had ever been ſeen at Rome. The Romans, for ſome ages, marked only the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; afterwards they obſerved the hour of noon, but in a very groſs manner. When the ſun ſhone between the roſtra and the houſe appointed for the reception of embaſſadors, one of the conſuls heralds uſed to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day; but now they could mark the ſeveral hours of the day: and the water-clock, invented ſoon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

recalled, and would have been depoſed, had not his father ſpoke in his behalf, with all the dignity of a man of his age, merit, and employments, and even offered to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the campaign, in quality of his lieutenant. This offer was immediately accepted, and Fabius ſet out with his ſon for Samnium, which they had ſcarce entered, when they were met by the enemy, who offered them battle. The Samnites, whom no adverſe fortune could diſcourage, made their firſt onſet with ſuch vigor, that the Romans could ſcarce withſtand them. Pontius Herennius, their general elated with his firſt victory, made incredible efforts to gain a ſecond. On the other hand, the conſul, to wipe off the ſhame of his late defeat, fought as a private ſoldier in the firſt line. But Pontius, having broke through the troop which covered young Fabius, was ſurrounding him on all ſides; which the father perceiving, threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, and by his example animated the legions to exert themſelves with ſuch vigor, that Gurges was reſcued, and the enemy put to the rout. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners. Among the latter was Pontius himſelf, who had done in this fatal engagement all that could be expected from an experienced commander and gallant ſoldier. Rome would have been more ſenſibly affected with this victory at any other time; but the plague, which made a dreadful havock of her citizens, much damped her joy. To appeaſe the wrath of the gods, recourſe was had to the uſual remedy, ſuperſtition. The Sibylline books were conſulted, and there it was read, that, to put a ſtop to the plague, the god Æſculapius ſhould be brought to Rome from Epidaurus, a city of Peloponneſus, where he was worſhipped under the figure of a ſerpent. An embaſſy was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe [b].

But Fabius Maximus gives them a dreadful overthrow.

The conſular year being near expired, and the two conſuls buſied in carrying on the war in their reſpective provinces, a dictator was appointed to ſupply their room; but his nomination proving defective, the republic fell into an inter-regnum, when L. Poſthumius, one of the magiſtrates named to govern the ſtate till the new election, held the comitia, and, by his intrigues, got himſelf elected the third time. His collegue was Junius Brutus, ſurnamed Bubulcus.

[b] Liv. l. x. c. 47. Oros. l. viii. c. 22. Zonar. l. viii. Flor. epit. 11.

cus. Poſthumius, who was a man of a haughty, enterPriſing, and untractable temper, aſſumed to himſelf the command of the war in Samnium, without drawing lots with his collegue, or waiting for a decree of the ſenate in his favour. About this time the god Æſculapius, who had been expected a whole year, arrived from Epidaurus, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is ſaid to have ceaſed ſoon after (A). The two conſuls ſet out for their reſpective

Æſculapius brought to Rome.

(A) Æſculapius was a native of Meſſene, a city of Peloponneſus. As ſoon as he was born, his parents expoſed him, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe times, in a foreſt, where he was found by ſome hunters, who, touched with compaſſion, cauſed him to be ſuckled by a bitch. When he became capable of inſtruction, he was committed to the care of the famous Chiron, who taught him phyſic or ſurgery; for theſe two arts were then confounded. The diſciple ſoon excelled his maſter, and, being grown an able phyſician, ſettled at Epidaurus, a city of Argos, and practiſed his art there. He made ſome diſcoveries in the cure of diſeaſes and wounds; for he is ſaid to have invented the probe, to have firſt made uſe of bandages, and to have been the firſt who invented purges and the art of drawing teeth. For theſe diſcoveries the people were pleaſed to call him the ſon of Apollo, and, after his death to rank him among the gods. He had a temple erected to him in Epidaurus; and the prieſts, who preſided over the worſhip of this new god, bred one of thoſe ſnakes, which were eaſily tamed and taught to follow any perſons where they pleaſed. This ſnake the ſilly vulgar honoured as the god himſelf. His uſual hole was under the fine marble ſtatue of Æſculapius, which the famous ſculptor Thraſymedes of Paros had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was underſtood to prognoſtic the cure of the ſick perſon. The Roman envoys were brought into the temple, and it is probable, that the Epidaurians made them pay dear for the relief they deſired, their reputation and intereſt being then very ſmall in Greece. But however that be, the Epidaurians ſuffered them to carry away the ſnake, which drew all the people in the neighbourhood into the city. We are told, that the ſnake came out of its hole, while the embaſſadors were viewing the ſtatue of Æſculapius, left the temple of its own accord, paſſed all through the city, went directly to the port, where the Roman ſhip was at anchor, and entering the veſſel, curled himſelf into ſeveral circles in the cabbin of Ogulnius, who was at the head of the embaſſy, and continued quietly there. The other adventures of the pretended Æſculapius, in his paſſage from Epidaurus to Rome, have been celebrated both by the poets and hiſtorians. It is pretended, that the voyage was exceeding proſperous

reſpective provinces, Brutus for Hetruria, and Poſthumius for Samnium. The former performed nothing which hiſtorians

perous and happy, till the veſſel approached the coaſts of Italy, when a violent ſtorm, ariſing all on a ſudden, forced the mariners to put in at the port of Antium, where there was a temple dedicated to Æſculapius. The ſnake, which had hitherto confined himſelf to Ogulnius's cabbin, here made his eſcape, and gliding along came to the court of the ſanctuary where he was worſhipped. As the place was planted with myrtles and palm-trees, the pretended Æſculapius got upon one of the largeſt of them, and twiſting his long body round it, continued there three days. At length he returned to the galley of his own accord, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried to the place intended. The joy the Romans ſhewed upon the arrival of this ſalutary god is not to be expreſſed. Altars were erected all along the banks of the Tiber, and numberleſs ſacrifices offered. The Romans deſigned to receive him within their walls, and there build him a temple; but the god is ſaid to have choſe his own abode in the midſt of the Tiber, or an iſland formed in the infancy of the republic by ſtraw, trunks of trees, ſand, and the rubbiſh of the city. Thither the ſerpent retired, ſwimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the iſland of Æſculapius, and a temple was ſoon erected to him there, and enriched with numberleſs preſents. It was built in the ſhape of a ſhip, the higher part of it reſembling the ſtern, and the lower the prow. Pliny tells us, that the Romans, who had an averſion to phyſicians and their art, would not ſuffer Æſculapius to be brought within their wall; and indeed it muſt be owned, that the Romans had not that regard for phyſic, which an art of that importance deſerves. For a long courſe of years they left the practice of it wholly to perſons of a ſervile condition or freedmen. This contempt for phyſicians was chiefly owing to the roguery and ignorance of the empirics or quacks, who under the title of phyſicians, abuſed the credulity of the people, made their market of them, and at the ſame time much endangered the ſick under their care. However, the temple of the god of health was much frequented by the common people at Rome. The ſick came and paſſed a night in it; and either imagination, or the ſtrength of nature, ſometimes wrought cures there, which were aſcribed to the power of the god. Thoſe who recovered ſacrificed to the god by way of thankſgiving a cock; for this bird was ſacrificed to Æſculapius, and a ſymbol of the vigilance, which is neceſſary for the cure of diſeaſes. It was in alluſion to this, that Socrates when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the evils and diſtempers attending this life, ordered a cock to be ſacrificed to Æſculapius.

torians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. In Samnium the two Fabii gained great advantages, and were actually beſieging Cominium, which the Samnites had rebuilt, when Poſthumius arrived with a new conſular army. Fabius Gurges had been continued in the command of the army in quality of proconſul; but nevertheleſs Poſthumius ſent him orders to deſiſt from the ſiege and leave that enterprize to him. Fabius had recourſe to the ſenate, acquainting the conſcript fathers with the orders he had received from the conſul; whereupon the ſenate immediately d ſ tched a meſſenger to Poſthumius, injoining him to bend his forces another way, and not diſturb Fabius in the enterprize he was carrying on; but Poſthumius, without paying any regard to the authority of the ſenate, gave their meſſenger this haughty anſwer, Tell the conſcript fathers, that it is their duty to obey their conſul, and not his to ſubmit to their commands. He then marched towards Cominium, reſolved to give the Fabii battle, if they did not yield to his obſtinate humour. Young Fabius, being warranted by the authority of the ſenate, was for ſuſtaining the attack of the raſh aggreſſor; but his father prevailed upon him, for the ſake of the public good, to give way to his imperious rival. Then Poſthumius, having a clear ſtage, preſſed Cominium with ſuch vigor, that he made himſelf maſter of it in a few days. From thence he turned his arms a- Cominium retaken from the Samnites.
gainſt Venuſium, an important place on the confines of Apulia, Lucania, and Samnium, and brought it under ſubjection to the Romans. He then wrote to the ſenate, giving them an account of his conqueſt, which, he hoped, would have reconciled the conſcript fathers to him, and made them forget his diſobedience. In the ſame letter he propoſed, that a colony might be ſent to Venuſium, to keep the neighbouring provinces in awe. His propoſal was approved, but occaſion taken from it to mortify him, and make him ſenſible, that the ſenate preferred obedience to valour. It was cuſtomary for the conqueror of a city to be one of the tr mviri ſent thither to ſettle a colony; but,

Æſculapius. There were ſome remains of the antient temple of Æſculapius to be ſeen in the ſixteenth century, near the church of St. Bartholomew in the iſland of the Tiber (19).

(19) Cic. de nat. deor. l. iii. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Ovid. Metamor. l. xv. Plin. l. xix. c. 1.

but, in the caſe of Venuſium, the ſenate, without any regard to Poſthumius, named three others, allowing him no ſhare in that honour. Nor was this all; to humble the proud Poſthumius yet more, they granted the honours of a triumph to young Fabius his rival, who entered Rome triumphantly on the calends of the month Sextilis. The brave Pontius, famous for having ſurprized the Roman legions and made them paſs under the yoke at the Caudine Forks, followed the chariot of the conqueror, and, by an act of inhumanity unworthy of a civilized nation, was condemned to loſe his head. While young Fabius was riding in his triumphal chariot, his father followed him on horſeback. He had formerly in his firſt triumphs, carried his ſon in his chariot with him, and was now overjoyed to march after him, to mingle in the crowd, and to hear the acclamations of the people, and the ſongs of the ſoldiers, in praiſe of the triumphant victor; however, the ſpectators did him juſtice, ſaying, that the ſon was honoured with a triumph, but that the father deſerved it [c].

Pontius, the famous Samnite general, put to death at Rome.

Posthumius, ſeeing his rival thus honoured, and himſelf treated with ſo much contempt, vented his rage in bitter invectives againſt the ſenate, and invented a new kind of revenge, which was to diſtribute among his ſoldiers all the booty he had taken in the two conquered cities, without lodging any part of it in the public treaſury. He then out of ſpite diſbanded his troops, before his ſucceſſor could arrive. His collegue Brutus preſided in the comitia, when P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus were choſen. Poſthumius was no ſooner out of office, than he was brought to a trial before the comitia by tribes. Before he left Rome, he had employed a detachment of his troops in the ſervile work of grubbing up a foreſt in his own eſtate. His accuſation chiefly turned on his employing in ſo mean an office men of free condition, and who owed no ſervice but to the public. As this crime offended the people more than his diſobedience to the ſenate, they condemned him to pay a conſiderable fine [d].

The war with the Samnites had already furniſhed the Roman generals with matter for twenty-four triumphs, but had coſt the conquerors a great deal of blood, many fatigues, and vaſt expences; ſo that the republic was quite tired

[c] Liv. epit. 11. Faſt. Capit. Plut. in Fab. & Val. Max. l. ix. c. 7.
[d] Dio Hal. in excerpt. Valeſii. Liv. epit. 11.

tired with engaging every year the ſame enemy. In order therefore to put an end to this tedious war, both conſuls were ordered into Samnium, where they acted ſeparately, each at the head of a conſular army, ravaged the country, took ſeveral cities, gained ſome battles, and at length obliged that gallant nation, which after the loſs of their brave general and able governor Pontius, was no longer in a condition to oppoſe the progreſs of their arms, to ſue for peace. The republic readily conſented to enter into an alliance with them for the fourth time; but left the ſettling of the articles to Curius Dentatus, a man of great probity, and who, without any vanity or oſtentation, lived in that voluntary poverty and unaffected contempt of riches, which the philoſophers of thoſe times cried up and recommended. The Samnite deputies found him ſitting on a poor wooden ſeat near the fire, dreſſing his own dinner, which conſiſted of a few roots, and offered him a large ſum of money; but Curius expreſſed his indignation with a diſdainful ſmile. Without doubt, ſaid he, my poverty inſpires you with hopes of corrupting me; but your attempts are vain. I had rather command the rich, than be rich myſelf. Carry back with you this fatal metal, which men make uſe of only for their deſtruction; and tell your countrymen, that they will find it as difficult a matter to corrupt, as to conquer me. The conditions Curius impoſed upon them are not known; but it is probable they were no-ways favourable to that warlike and reſtleſs nation. The treaty was no ſooner concluded, than the conſul returned to Rome, where he triumphed, to the unexpreſſible joy of the people, who found themſelves diſburdened of a war, which had laſted forty-nine years, and given the republic more trouble, than their wars with all the other ſtates of Italy together.

The republic enters into an alliance with the Samnites. Year after the flood, 2714. Before Chriſt, 285. Of Rome 463.

AND now the conqueſt of Samnium drew after it the entire reduction of the Sabines, whoſe confederacy with Rome was as antient as the city itſelf; but, notwithſtanding their alliance with the republic, they had joined the Samnites. Curius being therefore ſent againſt them, brought the whole country under ſubjection; but as they were old allies, and had not aggravated their offences by any long revolt or obſtinate hatred, the weight of the yoke was leſſened, and the right of Roman citizenſhip beſtowed upon them, but without the right of ſuffrage. For the conqueſt of the Sabines Curius had a ſecond triumph decreed him the

The Sabines reduced.

ſame

ſame year, an honour which no general before him had ever enjoyed. As Curius was by birth a plebeian, ſome patricians attempted to caſt a ſtain upon his reputation, accuſing him of appropriating to himſelf part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy. As the proofs were not clear, Curius was put to his oath, and then he confeſſed, that he had kept a little wooden oil veſſel for making libations to the gods; but proteſted that he had reſerved nothing more. Such was the character of his diſintereſtedneſs that he was believed, the malice of his accu..rs ſerving only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue [e].

In the following conſulate of M. Valerius Corvinus and Q. Cædicius Noctua, Curius Dentatus was ſent into Lucania, in quality of proconſul, to aſſiſt the Thurini againſt the Lucanians, who had invaded their territory. In this expedition, being attended with his uſual ſucceſs, he defeated the Lucanians, and obliged them to retire into their own country. The two conſuls ſpent their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending colonies to the conquered cities; namely to Adria, a maritime town, which is ſaid to have given name to the Adriatic ſea; to Caſtrum in Picenum, and to Sena, another city on the Adriatic, at the mouth of the Seno, in the country of the Senones. As men were grown more vicious, and the number of malefactors daily encreaſed, as is uſual in time of peace, three new judges were appointed to relieve the prætor and try criminals. The puniſhments theſe judges could inflict were confined to pecuniary fines; but nevertheleſs they were

Triumviri capitales.

ſtyled triumviri capitales, becauſe the care of the priſons, where the greateſt criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the direction of their execution. Theſe new magiſtrates were choſen annually in the comitia by tribes; and from their ſentence there lay no appeal. The time of this general peace was alſo thought a proper ſeaſon to take a cenſus of the Roman people, by which it appeared, that the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand [f].

The debtors murmur againſt the uſurers.

The fruit of this new peace was, trouble abroad, and diſſenſion at home. The people, oppreſſed by the uſuries of the rich citizens, revived a quarrel, which had begun near two hundred years before. They kept themſelves at firſt within bounds, only demanding, that ſome abuſes ſhould

[e] Flor. in epit. 11. Auth. de illuſt. viris.

[f] Liv. epit. 11. Feſt. Pomp. l. xvii.

ſhould be reformed with reſpect to contracts, whereby creditors exacted an immoderate intereſt for money lent. But the year enſuing, when Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina were conſuls a ſecond time, a new accident drove them to extremities. T. Veturius, one of thoſe unfortunate conſuls who had been ſurprized in the Caudine Forks, died inſolvent; and his ſon, who had been educated with great care and formed to virtue, borrowed a conſiderable ſum of one C. Plotius, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. Plotius, ho had alſo lent great ſums to the father, ſoon after preſſed the ſon to pay both his father's debts and that which he had lately contracted himſelf. Young Veturius, having neither money nor credit, was forced to ſubmit to ſlavery, and work for his creditor, till he had diſcharged the whole debt. He bore his ſervitude with great conſtancy, and made it his ſtudy to pleaſe his creditor in every thing, till that infamous wretch ſolicited him, as he was a youth of great beauty, to gratify a brutal paſſion he had conceived for him; but then Veturius, remembring his birth and the leſſons he had been taught in his earlieſt infancy, rejected his ſhameful addreſſes with the utmoſt indignation. His conſtancy was immoveable, tho' his cruel maſter treated him moſt unmercifully for his virtuous reſiſtance. One day, being covered all over with blood and torn with ſtripes, he made his eſcape out of the houſe, appeared in the forum, and there ſhewed the people the marks of his barbarous creditor's cruelty, and diſcovered the infamy of his tyrant. The people laid hold of this opportunity to decry the uſurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which impowered them to reduce inſolvent debtors to ſlavery. This inhuman law had been annulled once before on a like occaſion; but the patricians had, by their authority and intereſt, revived it. As for the execrable Plotius, the tribune accuſed him before the aſſembled centuries, and got him condemned to death. The plebeians, not content with this firſt victory, inſiſted on the abolition of the above-mentioned law. The patricians oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their power: This is robbing us, ſaid they, of our ſecurity for what we have lent. Debts muſt be paid, according to the old law, either in body or goods. The people, finding the patricians obſtinate and inflexible, had recourſe to an expedient, which had ever proved effectual. They left the city and poſted themſelves on the hill Janiculus, with the Tiber between them and their proſecutors. By this removal of the people, the city being left

Seceſſion of the people.

deſtitute

deſtitute of artificers and labourers, and no proviſions being brought thither from the country, for the country-people had likewiſe their complaints, the patricians and rich citizens found themſelves obliged to humour the multitude. The conſuls therefore of this year, M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Nautius Rutilus, were ordered to name a dictator, in order to appeaſe the revolted populace. The perſon they named was Q. Hortenſius, who, immediately entering into a treaty with the ſeparatiſts, made them the following conceſſions, viz. that the law in queſtion ſhould be repealed, and that two other laws, which had been formerly made but no-ways regarded by the patricians, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved for the future. Theſe were, that the decrees made by the tribes ſhould be equally obſerved both by the patricians and plebeians; and that all laws ſhould firſt paſs in the ſenate, and be afterwards brought to the comitia, to be there approved or rejected. The country-people complained, that juſtice was not adminiſtered at Rome on market-days; and that, when any cauſes were depending, they were forced to leave their work and return to the city again. This was rectified, and the dictator promiſed, that market-days ſhould no longer be vacation-days for the judges, that the huſbandmen might have their cauſes heard before they went home. When theſe articles were drawn up, and the people's minds began to be calmed, Q. Hortenſius died. It being therefore neceſſary to nominate another dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus was raiſed to that dignity, who choſe for his general of the horſe a famous plebeian named Volumnius Flamma. By the interpoſition of theſe two great men, the work, which Hortenſius had begun, was ſoon accompliſhed; and the people, having attained to the higheſt pitch of their deſires, returned to the city, and thought only of enjoying the ſweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their ſide. The nobility had no other advantage over them but that of great riches, and reſpect which is naturally paid to perſons of high birth. The peace of the city being therefore no more interrupted by inteſtine conteſts, we ſhall ſee the republic encreaſe her dominions abroad with incredible rapidity. The great Fabius died ſoon after he had happily accompliſhed the accommodation. In his life-time he had been looked upon as a prodigy of valour, wiſdom, and virtue; and upon his death the people contributed to the expence of his obſequies with ſo much generoſity, that his ſon, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment

Q. Hortenſius dictator.

Terms of reconciliation.

Fabius Maximus dictator.

to the whole city [g]. It is probable, that, after the reconciliation, the dictator Fabius preſided at the election of the new conſuls M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pætus, whoſe year proved barren of remarkable events; as did alſo the following, when C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus were conſuls. But in the following conſulate of C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus, the Tarentines, jealous of the proſperity of the Romans, and apprehending that they aimed at the conqueſt of all Italy, ſtirred up both old and new enemies againſt the republic, and engaged her in one of the moſt formidable wars ſhe had ever ſuſtained.

The Tarentines ſtir up new and old enemies againſt Rome.

TARENTUM was a city of Great Greece, which comprehended the greateſt part of the ſouth coaſt of Italy. Moſt of the cities in this great province had been founded by Greeks, who brought thither with them the Greek language, cuſtoms, and manners. The Tarentines in particular were a colony of Spartans, who, ſettling on the continent of Italy under the conduct of one Phalantus, made themſelves maſters of a city firſt called Oebalia, and afterwards Tarentum, from one Taras, or, as others will have it, Tarentus, who is ſaid to have encreaſed and embelliſhed the city after the Greeks were maſters of it. Theſe tranſplanted Spartans ſoon forgot the ſevere diſcipline of Sparta, and plunged themſelves into all the debaucheries with which the reſt of the Greeks were reproached. The heat of the climate, the fruitfulneſs of the country, and the opportunity of ſupplying themſelves by ſea with all the delights of Greece, ſunk them into idleneſs, and all the vices that attend it. Their whole life was ſpent in feaſts, ſports, and public entertainments. Buffoons and proſtitutes governed the ſtate at their pleaſure, and often determined the moſt important affairs by a joke or an indecent geſture. They bore a mortal hatred to the Romans and dreaded their dominion, not ſo much out of fear of loſing their liberty, as of being diſturbed by that warlike and rough people in the purſuit of their pleaſures. They therefore employed all their Grecian ſubtlety to draw ſuch a number of enemies upon them, as ſtill to keep them at a diſtance from themſelves, and this without appearing to be concerned.

AT the ſame time the Senones, having raiſed a formidable army, marched into Hetruria, with a deſign ro beſiege Arretium,

[g] Liv. ibid. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Auth. de vir. illuſt. Cic. in orat. pro Planco.

retium, a city about forty leagues from Rome, at a ſmall diſtance from the Arnus. The Aretines had immediately recourſe to the Romans, who, they knew, would never ſuffer the Gauls to make conqueſts in Hetruria, and thereby open themſelves a way to Rome. The republic, alarmed at the leaſt motion of ſo powerful an enemy, diſpatched, without loſs of time, the conſul Lucius Cæcilius with an army to the aſſiſtance of the Aretini; but, before any act of hoſtility, a deputation was ſent to the Senones, to diſſuade them from their deſign. But the proud Gauls, inſtead of liſtening to the mediation of Rome, killed the deputies, and brought their troops before Aretium. Hereupon the conſul advanced with his army, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himſelf was killed, with ſeven legionary tribunes, the beſt part of the Roman knights, and thirteen thouſand private men. Upon the news of this dreadful overthrow, the famous Curius Dentatus was ordered with new troops into Hetruria, to ſupply the place of the conſul Cæcilius; but that wiſe commander, inſtead of marching to the relief of Aretium and engaging the enemy flushed with their late victory, held his rout along the confines of Hetruria, and entering the country of the Senones, took advantage of the abſence of their beſt troops to ravage it without oppoſition. He plundered and burnt their houſes, laid waſte their fields, put all thoſe to the ſword who were able to bear arms, carried the women and children into captivity, and, in ſhort, reduced the whole country to a vaſt deſart, in which there ſcarce remained any appearance of its having ever been cultivated or inhabited [h]. Thus he took ample revenge for the murder of the Roman embaſſadors.

The Senones kill the deputies of Rome, and defeat the Roman army.

THE next year, in the beginning of the adminiſtration of the new conſuls, P. Cornelius Dolabella, and Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the Boii, the Hetrurians, and the Samnites, once more declared againſt the republic, being ſtirred up under-hand by the Tarentines; but, notwithſtanding this great confederacy, the ſenate and people repoſed ſo great a confidence in the new conſuls, that they did not think of creating a dictator, as was uſual in times of great danger. Nor was their confidence ill grounded; for Domitius taking the field and meeting the Senones, who had raiſed the ſiege of Aretium and were marching ſtraight to Rome, to revenge the devaſtations made in their country

The Senones entirely defeated.

[h] Polyb. l. ii. Dion. apud, Ful. Urſinum.

gave them a total overthrow, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Only a ſmall number of them eſcaped, and ſaved themſelves in the country of the Boii, whom they preſſed to take arms immediately and revenge the common cauſe of the Gauls. Accordingly the Boii, having raiſed all the young men in their territory who were able to bear arms, and being reinforced by a great body of Hetrurians, purſued the attempt which the Senones had begun, and marched towards Rome; but the conſul Cornelius, who waited for them on the banks of the lake Vademonis in Hetruria, now il Lago de Baſſano, engaged them, killed almoſt all the Hetrurians and the greater part of the Boii. The latter made ſome faint efforts againſt the Romans the next year; but, being defeated a ſecond time, they were forced to ſue for peace. As for the Senones, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any footſteps in Italy of a nation, which had diſtinguiſhed it ſelf ſo much by the taking of Rome.

And alſo the Boii and Hetrurians.

In the following conſulate of C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almoſt all Italy roſe in arms againſt the imperious republic; but Fabricius being ſent into Lucania, defeated there the confederate forces of the Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnites, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. Twenty-five thouſand of the enemy, with their general Statilius, were ſlain. The Romans, imagining that the god Mars had fought in perſon for them, returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance by public ſupplications (B). As for the Tarentines, though they were the

(B) Fabricius, after having defeated the concentrate army of the Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnites, found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means, by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. While he ſeemed to be in ſuſpenſe what meaſures to take, a young man, full of ſtrength and vigor, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the Romans with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. After the victory, the conſul ordered the young man to be ſought for, in order to reward him for having firſt mounted the rampart; and becauſe he was not to be found, the Romans immediately imagined, that he was the god Mars himſelf.

real authors of this war, they had not yet appeared in the field, nor openly declared againſt Rome; but an accident made them at length throw off the maſk, and brought on, after a long ſeries of events, their utter ruin. Valerius, or, as others call him, Cornelius, one of the maritime duumviri, or admirals of the Roman fleet, happened to come to the mouth of the harbour with ten ſhips, while the idle inhabitants of the city were aſſembled, as uſual, in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The Tarentines, imagining that Rome, having at laſt diſcovered their ſecret plots, had ſent that fleet to puniſh them, they all, with one conſent, ran down to the port, fell upon the Roman fleet with the fury of madmen, ſunk one ſhip and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the others ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. The Romans, upon the news of this unexpected act of hoſtility, ſent a deputation to Tarentum, to demand ſatisfaction for the inſult offered to the republic; but the Tarentines, inſtead of hearkening to their demands, inſulted the embaſſadors in the moſt outrageous manner. They admitted them to an audience in the theatre, where Poſthumius Megellus, who was at the head of the embaſſy and had been thrice conſul, harangued the aſſembly in Greek. His advanced age, his perſonal merit, and, above all, the character of an embaſſador from a powerful people, ought to have gained him reſpect; but the Tarentines, heated with wine, not only gave no attention to his diſcourſe, but burſt into loud laughter, and impudently hiſſed him, whenever he dropped an improper expreſſion, or pronounced a word with a foreign accent. Nor was this all: when he began to ſpeak of reparations of injuries, they flew into a rage, and rather drove him out of the aſſembly, than diſmiſſed him. As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, which he preſerved, notwithſtanding the reception they gave him, a buffoon, named Philonides, coming up to him, urined upon his robe, a new ſource of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude, who clapped their hands, applauding the outrageous inſolence. Poſthumius, turning about to the aſſembly, ſhewed them the ſkirt of his garment ſo defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to encreaſe the loudneſs of their contumelious mirth, he ſaid, without the leaſt emotion, Laugh on, Tarentines, laugh on, now while you may; the time is coming when you will weep. It is not a little blood that muſt waſh and purify this garment.

The Tarentines, in a hoſtile manner, fall upon a Roman fleet.

And inſult their embaſſadors in the moſt outrageous manner.

ment. This ſaid, he withdrew, left the city, and embarqued for Rome. When the Tarentines came to themſelves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, and at the ſame time on the inability of their neighbours to defend them againſt ſo powerful a republic, they caſt their eyes upon Pyrrhus king of Epirus, whoſe great reputation for valour and long experience in war had gained him the reputation of one of the heroes of Greece. They therefore immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to him, but rather to ſound his diſpoſition and obſerve the ſituation of his affairs, than to enter, without farther deliberation, into any engagements with him. As Pyrrhus naturally loved action and the buſtle and hurry of war, the embaſſadors found him in a diſpoſition to hearken to any propoſal, which would furniſh him with employment worthy of his ambition [i].

The take Thurium.

In the mean time, the Tarentines, to amuſe the Romans till the return of their embaſſadors from Epirus, beſieged Thurium, which was defended by a Roman garriſon, and made themſelves maſters of it. This news was brought to Rome a little after the return of Poſthumius and the other embaſſadors, who had been ſo ill treated at Tarentum. The new conſuls therefore, L. Æmilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Philippus, having aſſembled the conſcript fathers, laid before them the ſituation of the affairs of the republic on one hand, and the ſhameful indignity which had been offered the embaſſadors on the other. It was dangerous to engage in a new war, when the republic had ſo many nations to contend with. The Hetrurians were ſtill in arms; the Samnites, without regard to the faith of treaties, had declared anew againſt the republic; and the Lucanians and Brutians were grown more confident ſince the taking of Thurium. On the other hand, the hoſtilities committed by the Tarentines and the inſult offered to Poſthumius, whoſe robe was produced in the ſenate, left no room to deliberate, whether they ſhould enter into a war with that people or not. They were all unanimous as to the neceſſity of chaſtiſing them; but whether it was adviſeable for the republic to ſhew her reſentment immediately was doubted. Some of the ſenators were for declaring war forthwith; others for deferring it, till the provinces bordering on the Tarentine territories were ſubdued.

[i] Dio. Hal. in legat. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2. Zonar. l. viii. c. 2. Flor. epit. 12. Plut. in Pyrrho.

Never was debate more tedious or more perplexing. The ſame queſtion was diſcuſſed and warmly debated, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, for ſeveral days together. At length the opinion of thoſe, who were for beginning the war immediately, prevailed; and the decree of the ſenate being confirmed by the people, orders were diſpatched to the conſul Æmilius, who was on his march into Samnium, to lay aſide that expedition and turn his arms againſt Tarentum. The Tarentines, upon the approach of a conſular army, carried on their deliberations with more ſerioufneſs; and when the conſul ſent once again to demand ſatisfaction before he began hoſtilities, the better ſort of citizens declared for peace. Æmilius offered them moderate terms; and, after all, it was but equitable, that they ſhould repair the injuries, and wipe off the reproach they had thrown on a conſiderable republic without any provocation; but the populace, who had nothing to loſe, inſiſted on a war; and their clamours prevailed over the juſt reaſons of the wiſeſt men in Tarentum. The propoſal of bringing Pyrrhus into Italy was revived, and a decree paſſed for inviting that prince to Tarentum. One Meton, a citizen of good ſenſe, and no ways infected with the general corruption which prevailed in the city, endeavoured to divert his countrymen from this mad deſign (C); but was thruſt out of the aſſembly, and embaſſa-

They invite Pyrrhus into Italy.

dors

(C) Meton, on the day that a public decree was to paſs for inviting Pyrrhus to Tarentum, and when the people were all placed in the theatre, putting a withered garland on his head, and having a flambeau in his hand, as was the manner of the drunken debauchees, came dancing into the midſt of the aſſembly, accompanied by a woman playing on the flute. This ſilly ſight was ſufficient to divert the Tarentines from their moſt important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to Meton to ſing, and to the woman to play; but when they, expecting to be entertained with a ſong, were all ſilent, the wiſe citizen, aſſuming an air of great ſerioufneſs, You do well, Tarentines, ſaid he, not to hinder thoſe from diverting themſelves, who are diſpoſed to mirth; and, if you are wiſe, you will yourſelves take advantage of the preſent liberty you enjoy to do the ſame. When Pyrrhus comes, you muſt change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end. Theſe words made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had ſpoken well but thoſe who had ſome reaſon to fear that they ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, in caſe of an accommodation, being en-

rage

dors were immediately diſpatched into Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines, but of all the Greek colonies in Italy, with magnificent preſents for the king, and with inſtructions to acquaint him, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; and that as for troops, they could themſelves furniſh a numerous army of twenty thouſand horſe and three hundred and fifty thouſand foot, made up of Lucanians, Meſſapians, Samnites, and Tarentines. As ſoon as the news of this deputation was brought to the Roman camp, Æmilius, who had hitherto made war on the Tarentines but gently, in hopes of adjuſting matters by way of negotiation, took other meaſures, and began to commit all ſorts of hoſtilities. He took cities, ſtormed caſtles, and laid the whole country waſte, burning and deſtroying all before him. The Tarentines brought their army into the field; but Æmilius ſoon obliged them to take refuge within their walls. However to induce them to lay aſide the deſign of receiving Pyrrhus, he uſed the priſoners he had taken with great moderation, and even ſent them back without ranſom. Theſe highly extolled the generoſity of the conſul, inſomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the Roman party; and they all began to repent of their having rejected a peace and ſent for Pyrrhus. But, in the mean time, the Tarentine embaſſadors arriving in Epirus, purſuant to the powers they had received, *made* an abſolute treaty with the king, who immediately ſent before him the famous Cyneas, with three thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the citadel of Tarentum. This eloquent miniſter, whoſe character we have given in our hiſtory of Epirus [k], ſoon found means to depoſe [illegible] whom the Tarentines had choſen to be their general and the governor of the city, tho' a ſincere friend to the Romans. He likewiſe prevailed upon the Tarentines to deliver up the citadel into his hands; which he no ſooner got poſſeſſion of, than he diſpatched meſſengers to Pyrrhus, ſoliciting him to haſten his departure for Italy. In the mean time, the

Cyneas arrives at Tarentum.

[k] See Vol. ix. p. 547.

raged at what he had ſaid, reviled the aſſembly for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo mocked and affronted; and crouding together thruſt Meton out of the aſſembly (20).

(20) Plut. in Pyrrho,

the conſul Æmilius, finding that he could not attempt any thing with ſucceſs againſt the Tarentines this campaign, reſolved to put his troops into winter quarters in Apulia, which was not far from the territory of Tarentum, that was ſoon to become the ſeat of the war. As he was obliged to paſs though certain defiles, with the ſea on one ſide and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the Tarentines and Epirots, from great numbers of barks, fraught with baliſtæ, that is, engines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt weight, and from the hills, on which were poſted a great many archers and ſlingers. Hereupon Æmilius placed the Tarentine priſoners between him and the enemy; which the Tarentines perceiving, ſoon left off moleſting the Romans, out of compaſſion to their own countrymen; ſo that the Romans arrived ſafe in Apulia, and there took up their winter-quarters. As for the conſul, he repaired to Rome, where his collegue Marcius had a triumph on the calends of April, for having vanquiſhed the Hetrurians[1].

THE next year P. Valerius Lævinus and Tib. Coruncanius were choſen conſuls. The latter was raiſed to the conſulate purely for his merit; for he was of a mean deſcent, and not even a Roman by birth, but a native of Camerium, a Roman municipium in Latium. It fell to his lot to carry on the war in Hetruria, and to his collegue's to conduct that againſt the Tarentines. Æmilius, who had acted againſt the Tarentines the laſt year, was continued in the command of his own troops with the title of proconſul, and ordered to make war upon the Salentines, who had declared for the Tarentines. The preſent exigence of affairs obliged the Romans to inliſt the proletarii, who were the meaneſt of the people, and therefore, by way of contempt, called proletarii; as being thought incapable of doing the ſtate any other ſervice than that of peopling the city, and ſtocking the republic with ſubjects. Hitherto they had never been ſuffered to bear arms, but were now, to their great ſatisfaction, inrolled as well as others. In the mean time, Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, having narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck, and being conducted into the city by his faithful Cyneas was received there with loud acclamations. Thus began the memorable war between the Romans and that famous commander, the firſt foreigner they had to deal with. I wa

The arrival of Pyrrhus

[1] Faſt. Capit. Frontin. in ſtratag. Zonar. l. viii.

was carried on with great vigor on both ſides for the ſpace of ſix years, during which time the following conſuls were at the head of the Roman armies; the firſt year, P. Valerius Lævinus and T. Coruncanius; the ſecond, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, whoſe father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements; the third, C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius, two men of moſt diſtinguiſhed merit; the fourth, Cornelius Ruffinus and C. Junius Brutus, the former a man extremely covetous and ſelf-intereſted, but nevertheleſs promoted by the intereſt of Fabricius, becauſe he was a much abler commander than any of his competitors; the fifth, Q. Fabius Gurges and C. Genucius; and laſtly, the ſixth, the famous Curius Dentatus and L. Cornelius Lentulus. But as, in our hiſtory of Epirus, we have given a very particular account of this war, and the various events which attended it, from the landing of Pyrrhus in Italy to his return into his own dominions [m], we ſhall here only relate what happened after the latter period, referring the reader for an account of the war itſelf to the above-mentioned hiſtory.

PYRRHUS having thought it adviſeable to leave Italy, after the laſt battle, in which he was defeated by Curius Dentatus with the loſs of twenty-three thouſand men, Curius returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph, it being the moſt magnificent one that had ever yet been ſeen; great quantities of rich ſpoil, veſſels of gold, purple carpets, ſtatues, pictures, and, in ſhort, all the fineries of the Greek cities, were carried before him. Among the captives were Epirots, Theſſalians, and Macedonians, not to mention Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines, and other Greek nations. The appearance and dreſs of ſo many foreigners gave the ſpectators great pleaſure; but nothing ſo much raiſed their admiration, as the elephants with towers on their backs, animals which had never before been ſeen in Rome. As for the triumphant victor, he rode in a chariot, and the acclamations the people gave him were very ſincere; they thought they could never give him ſufficient proofs of their gratitude. The ſenate impowered him to appropriate to himſelf fifty acres of the conquered lands; but he declined this favour, ſaying, That he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous ſubject, who could not live upon the produce of ſeven acres. Of all the ſpoils he reſerved only a little veſſel of beech for his do- The triumph of Curius.

meſtic

[m] See Vol. ix. p. 549. & ſeq.

meſtic ſacrifices. This magnificent triumph of Curius was followed by that of his collegue Lentulus, who had made a ſucceſsful campaign in Lucania, and taken from the Samnites the famous city of Caudium. This happy conſulate ended with a cenſus and a luſtrum. The virtuous Fabricius and his conſtant collegue Æmilius Papus being cenſors, they made a new liſt of ſenators, and ſtruck out the names of all thoſe who led diſſolute lives; nay, Cornelius Ruffinus, who had been conſul and dictator, was excluded, only for having ten pounds weight of ſilver in plate. Happy times for the republic, when riches and luxury were branded with ignominy! By the cenſus there appeared to be in Rome two hundred ſeventy-one thouſand two hundred and twenty-four citizens fit to bear arms [n].

THE Romans, apprehending that the king of Epirus would ſoon appear in Italy again, with a more numerous army than ever, continued Curius Dentatus in the conſulate for the next year, giving him for his collegue Cornelius Merenda. In the mean time, the Tarentines, being now well appriſed, that Pyrrhus, under pretence of going to fetch new ſupplies, had entirely deſerted them, obliged Milo, whom the king had left in the city with a ſtrong garriſon, to confine himſelf to the citadel. Theſe diviſions made Curius believe, that the Tarentines and Epirots would deſtroy each other; and upon this belief he neglected to beſiege Tarentum, and turned his arms againſt the Samnites and Lucanians, who retired for refuge to their mountains; but they appeared again in the field the next year, when C. Fabius Dorſo and C. Claudius Carina were conſuls. The latter defeated them, once at leaſt, in a pitched battle; for we read in the Faſti Capitolini, that Claudius Carina triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians on the day of the Quirinalia, or the feſtival of Romulus, that is, on the ſeventeenth day of February.

Embaſſadors from Ptolemy Philadelphus.

And now the reputation of the Romans being ſpread into foreign countries, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, ſent embaſſadors to congratulate the republic on her ſucceſs, and to aſk the friendſhip of the Roman people. The Romans, not to be outdone in civility, ſent four embaſſadors to Egypt, choſen, with the utmoſt circumſpection, by a ſenate ſtudious to preſerve their reputation abroad entire. Fabius Gurges was at the head of this embaſſy, and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them brothers of

[n] Plut. in Sylla. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

of the Fabian family, and the third Q. Ogulnius. Their reception was equal to their merit and worthy of ſo magnificent a prince. He invited them to his table, and preſented each of them with a crown of gold; which they accepted, being unwilling to diſoblige the king by a refuſal; but placed them the next morning on the heads of the king's ſtatues, that were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the Romans great reputation in Egypt; however, the king would not ſuffer them to depart without new preſents, both for themſelves and their republic; which they, upon their return to Rome, depoſited in the public treaſury; but the ſenate and people ordered the quæſtors to reſtore to the embaſſadors what had been given them for their own uſe.

THE next year, the Romans, ſtill under the apprehenſion that Pyrrhus would once more return into Italy, raiſed to the conſulate two great men, who had already bore that office, and commanded with great reputation the armies of the republic. Theſe were L. Papirius Curſor, the worthy ſon of an illuſtrious father, and Sp. Corvilius, ſurnamed Maximus. Theſe generals had ſcarce entered Samnium with two armies, when a certain account came of the death of Pyrrhus. This news threw the Samnites into deſpair; they now looked upon their liberty as loſt, and, like men in that unhappy ſituation, put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were entirely defeated. An hiſtorian in ſpeaking of this victory, ſays it was ſo complete, that Samnium itſelf was no more [o]. And thus ended this bloody war, which had laſted ſeventy-two years, and procured the Roman generals thirty-one triumphs. After the entire reduction of Samnium, the Lucanians and Brutians gave way in their turn and ſubmitted to the yoke; ſo that only Tarentum remained unpuniſhed, which the conſuls ſoon inveſted. There was a kind of civil war between Milo in the citadel and the Tarentines in the city; and the latter, as it is thought, had implored the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians, who lay with a fleet before the town, pretending to have no deſign but againſt the Epirots and the citadel. The Romans, on the other hand, attacked the city, taking care to prevent the Carthaginians from reducing the citadel. With this view Papirius privately ſignified to Milo, that, if he would ſurrender the citadel to him, he and his garriſon ſhould not only have their lives ſpared, but be ſafe-

The Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians ſubdued.

ly

[o] Flor. l. i. c. 18.

ly tranſported, with all their baggage and effects, into Epirus. Milo readily liſtened to this offer, and even undertook to put the city as well as the citadel into the conſul's hands. Accordingly he aſſembled the Tarentines, and prevailed upon them to depute him to the conſul, promiſing to make ſuch advantageous terms for them, that they ſhould neither loſe their lives nor their goods. Milo was as good as his word; for Papirius, in order to hinder the Carthaginians from getting any footing in Italy, promiſed him all he aſked. The Romans, being ſoon after admitted into the city, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the Carthaginians, when they found themſelves diſappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the Romans under juſt ſuſpicions, that, notwithſtanding their antient alliance, they intended to rob the republic of a city, which, by right of conqueſt, belonged to them. The Tarentines were all diſarmed, their ſhips taken from them, and their city diſmantled and made tributary to Rome [p].

Tarentum ſurrenders. Year of the Flood, 2732. Before Chriſt 267. Of Rome 481.

And now the Sabines, Volſci, Campanians, Hetrurians, and Samnites being utterly ſubdued, the republic was at leiſure to wipe off the diſhonour thrown upon her by a Campanian legion, ſoon after the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy. While that prince was at Tarentum, and the Carthaginians infeſted all the Ionian ſea, the inhabitants of Rhegium, ſituated in the ſouthern extremity of Italy near Sicily, applied to the republic for a Roman garriſon to defend them from an invaſion. A legion was raiſed in Campania for that purpoſe, and ſent to them under the command of one Decius Jubellus. Theſe ſoldiers, having been uſed to a laborius life, began ſoon to envy the inhabitants the pleaſures and eaſe in which they lived; and it was not long before they formed and executed a ſcheme to make thoſe advantages their own. They forged letters from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretence they maſſacred all the chief men of the city at a banquet, and then falling upon the reſt, either put them to the ſword, or drove them out of the place. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and huſbands. This news was brought to Rome at a time when the affairs of the republic would not allow her to take vengeance of the perfidious legion; but the republic, having now no enemies to fear, as ſoon as the new conſuls C. Quinctius Claudius and

[p] Flor. epit. 15. Oroſ. l. iv.

and L. Genucius Clepſina entered upon their office, ordered the latter to turn his arms againſt Rhegium and beſiege it. The uſurpers not only called to their aſſiſtance the Mamertines, who were originally Campanians and had acted the ſame part at Meſſina, as we have related in the hiſtory of Sicily, but opened an aſylum for all the profligate wretches of the country, who flocked to the city in great crouds from all the neighbouring countries. The Campanians, being thus reinforced, made a vigorous defence, and held out, till, proviſions beginning to fail in the camp of the Romans, Genucius was obliged to have recourſe to Hiero king of Syracuſe, who, by ſupplying him not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of ſome Sicilian troops, enabled him at laſt to make himſelf maſter of the place. Of about four thouſand men, of which the guilty legion had at firſt conſiſted, only three hundred remained now alive, the reſt having been killed in the ſeveral attacks made upon the city. Theſe, as the Campanians enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, were ſent priſoners to Rome to be tried there. The ſenate condemned them all to be firſt beaten with rods and then beheaded; but, in order to prevent a mutiny, which ſo bloody an execution might raiſe among the populace, the criminals were put to death on different days in the forum, by fifty at a time. By this means Rome cleared herſelf of the ſuſpicion of having ſent the Rhegians ſuccours, with no other view, but to ſeize their city. Such of the inhabitants, as had eſcaped the cruelty of the Campanian legion, were, by a decree of the ſenate, reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, liberties, and laws [q].

The perfidious legion at Rhegium puniſhed.

THE following year, C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius were raiſed to the conſulate. The former gained a victory over the Sarcinates, a people of Umbria, and was on that account honoured with a triumph [r]. The ſucceeding conſuls, Q. Ogulnius Gallus and C. Fabius Pictor, were ſent againſt one Lollius a Samnite, who, having made his eſcape from Rome, where he was kept as a hoſtage, had ſeized a ſtrong place in Samnium, and, being joined by the Caricini a people of that country, laid the neighbouring provinces under contribution. The conſuls beſieged the city of the Caricini, which made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that they were very near failing in the enterprize; however, being at length privately admitted into the city by ſome deſerters,

The Sarcinates defeated.

[q] Polyb. l. ii. c. 2. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 3. [r] Faſt. Capit.

deſerters, they made themſelves maſters of it; but not without the loſs of many legionaries, the beſieged defending themſelves to the laſt with incredible bravery. Under the ſame conſuls, the Romans, who had hitherto uſed no money in commerce, except pieces of braſs,, ſtamped with the figure of a bull, a ram, and a boar, began to coin ſilver and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the mint was the temple of Juno Moneta, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere; and hence came the word money [r].

Silver money coined at Rome.

THE following conſuls, P. Sempronius Sophus and Appius Claudius Craſſus, ſon to the famous Appius Claudius, entered Picenum jointly; but new commotions in Umbria obliging them to ſeparate, Appius entered that country; and having made himſelf maſter of Camerinum, ſold all the inhabitants for ſlaves, contrary to his agreement with them, depoſited the money accruing from the ſale in the public treaſury, and ſeized all their lands. But the ſenate had too much equity to authorize ſo wicked a fraud; they cauſed all thoſe unhappy wretches to be carefully ſought out, allowed them the privileges of Roman citizens, granted them a place upon mount Aventine for their habitation, and allotted each of them as much land in property as they had loſt in Umbria. In the mean time, the other conſul, Sempronius Sophus, carried on the war againſt the Picentes with great ſucceſs. He gained a complete victory over them, which, however, coſt him very dear; for he loſt the greater part of his troops in the action (D). Aſculum, the capital of Picenum, ſubmitted to the conqueror, and the whole nation gave themſelves up to Rome; a great encreaſe of power to the republic, this country alone being able to ſupply her armies with three hundred and ſixty thouſand

Picenum conquered.

[r] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 3. Suidas in voce Μονητα.

(D) We are told, that while the two armies were in ſight of each other and ready to engage, a ſudden earthquake greatly terrified the Romans, and damped their ardor for fighting; but Sempronius Sophus, not ſurprized at a natural effect, encouraged them, ſaying, That the earth ſhook only for fear of changing its maſters; and then vowing a temple to the goddeſs Tellus, they quickly recovered their former ardor, and fell upon the Picentes with their uſual intrepidity (21).

(21) Frontin. ſtrat. l. i. c. 12. Flor. l. i. c. 19. Oroſ. l. 4. c. 4.

ſand men. After this the Romans, the better to ſecure their new conqueſts and keep the conquered nations in awe, ſent out two colonies, one to Ariminum in the country of the Picentes, and another to Beneventum in that of the Samnites. This ſame year the Sabines, who had hitherto had no other privilege but that of being incorporated in the legions, inſtead of ſerving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the city, which made them entirely Romans [s].

THE conſuls of the following year, L. Julius and M. Attilius Regulus, began a war with the Salentines. Their pretence was, that this nation had favoured the deſcent of Pyrrhus and eſpouſed the cauſe of the Tarentines, a pretence invented by the ambitious republic to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The chief cities of the Salentines were Hydruntum, Aletium, and Brunduſium. This laſt port was what the Romans chiefly coveted. It was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that, by being maſters of it, they were in a condition to contend with the nations beyond ſea, and to carry war into Africa, Aſia, and Greece. The Salentines diſputed their country inch by inch; and tho' Attilius Regulus took Brunduſium, yet neither he nor his collegue had the glory of ſubduing that gallant nation. Their ſucceſſors, Numerius Fabius and D. Junius Pera, took Aletium and Hydruntum, with other cities, and by that means obliged the Salentines to ſubmit to the yoke. The ſame campaign they ſubdued the Sarcinates in Umbria; and, on their return to Rome, were honoured each with two triumphs for the reduction of two nations, a thing unheard-of before in the republic [t]. The Salentines ſubdued

AND now the republic was miſtreſs of all the countries in Italy, from the remoteſt part of Hetruria to the Ionian ſea, and from the Tyrrhenian ſea to the Adriatic. But theſe nations did not all enjoy the ſame privileges; ſome were entirely ſubject to Rome, and had no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old laws and cuſtoms, but in ſubjection to the republic; ſome were tributary, and others allies, and were obliged to furniſh the Roman army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some had the privilege of Roman citizenſhip, their ſoldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewiſe a right of ſuffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the campus Martius. Theſe different degrees of honour, The extent of the Roman dominions.

[s] Vell. Paterc. l. i. [t] Faſt. Capit.

honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded on the different terms granted to the conquered upon their ſurrender, and were afterwards encreaſed, according to their fidelity and the ſervices they did the republic.

The Apolloniates court the friendſhip of the republic.

THE fame of the Roman name being, after this great encreaſe of power and dominion, ſpread into foreign countries, their friendſhip was courted by free cities and whole nations on the other ſide of the ſea. Apollonia, ſituated over-againſt Brunduſium, was the firſt city of Macedon that ſent embaſſadors to deſire the protection of Rome. Theſe embaſſadors were kindly received by the ſenate; but, upon ſome occaſion not mentioned in hiſtory, inſulted by Fabricius and Apronius, two young patricians and at this time ædiles. The republic would not ſuffer this breach of the laws of nations to go unpuniſhed; they were both tried, and the ſentence paſſed upon them was, that they ſhould be put into the hands of the Apolloniates, carried into Macedon, and there puniſhed at the pleaſure of the people, whom they had offended in the perſons of their embaſſadors. The republic obliged the offenders to abdicate the ædileſhip, before they ſet out from Rome; and left the embaſſadors ſhould be inſulted on the road by the friends and relations of Fabricius and Apronius, they were conducted to Brunduſium, together with the priſoners, by a detachment of troops under the command of a quæſtor. This was ſhewing the Apolloniates great regard; and they, in their turn, ſhewed a prudent reſpect for the republic. The priſoners were hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to Rome. This event gave riſe to a law, which laſted as long as the republic, whereby it was enacted, that, if any citizen, of what quality ſoever, inſulted an embaſſador, he ſhould be delivered up to the injured nation [u].

Provincial quæſtors created.

THE republic enjoying now a profound tranquillity both at home and abroad, the new conſuls, Q. Fabius Gurges and L. Mamilius Vitulus, applied themſelves wholly to the regulating of the public revenues. Theſe aroſe from the tributes each nation was to pay from the rents of certain arable and paſture lands, which the republic reſerved for herſelf as her demeſns, whenever ſhe diſtributed any conquered lands among the citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands which were dependent upon her; and laſtly, from the impoſts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. The four quæſtors, already appointed to

[u] Flor. in epit. 15. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Dig. Parag. de legat,

to receive and pay the public monies, were hardly ſufficient to go through the buſineſs, even before the late conqueſts. It being now therefore abſolutely neceſſary to augment the number of theſe officers, four new ones were created, with the title of provincial quæſtors, to take charge of the four provinces into which the republic had divided her conqueſts. The quæſtor of the firſt province reſided at Oſtia, and his quæſtorſhip reached from the ſprings of the Tiber and the Arnus to the mouth of the Liris, and comprehended Hetruria, Latium, Sabinia, Umbria, and in ſhort all the coaſts of the Tuſcan ſea, and all the lands between that ſea and the Appenines. The quæſtor of the ſecond province reſided at Cale in Campania, and had under his juriſdiction all the country between the Liris and the gulf of Tarentum, that is, Campania, Samnium, Lucania, the country of the Brutii, and Oenotria. The third province reached from the Apennines to the ſhore of the Adriatic ſea, and was called the Gallic quæſtorſhip. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the Gauls, eſpecially the Senones, from the Rubicon to the Æſis, and alſo Picenum, the country of the Frentani, and all the other countries as far as Apulia. The fourth quæſtorſhip, of which we have not ſo diſtinct an account as of the other three, could only compriſe Apulia, Calabria, and the territories of the Salentines, Meſſapians, and Tarentines. For theſe four provinces Rome created four new quæſtors; and it was then ſettled, that all the eight quæſtors ſhould for the future be choſen in the comitia by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæſtors drew lots in the preſence of the people, to decide who ſhould have the Roman, who the military, and who the provincial quæſtorſhips. The military quæſtors attended the conſuls in their expeditions, kept the military cheſt, paid the troops, and ſold the priſoners and ſpoils taken from the enemy; the Roman quæſtors had care of the public treaſury; the provincial quæſtorſhips were moſtly deſired by the ambitious, before Rome had extended her conqueſts beyond Italy; but little coveted after the republic had brought the eaſt and weſt under ſubjection, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces under her dominion.

We have often obſerved, that it was the fate of the Romans to be afflicted with domeſtic misfortunes, when they were not engaged in any war; and this was the caſe at preſent: a contagion broke out, which made a dreadful havock both in the city and country. Hereupon recourſe

being had to the Sibylline books, according to cuſtom, it was there ſuppoſed to be found, that ſome ſecret crimes had drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the republic. A veſtal, named Caparania, was found, upon diligent enquiry, guilty of incontinence, and condemned to be buried alive without the gate Collina. The guilty veſtal, to avoid ſo cruel a death, ſtrangled herſelf; but the ſame ceremonies of interment were performed over the dead body, as if ſhe had been living [w]. Notwithſtanding the havock made by the plague, we are told, that, by a cenſus taken this year, the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ninety-two thouſand two hundred and twenty-four. Either the plague did not make great ravages in Rome, or in this enumeration the Sabines were comprehended, to whom the right of ſuffrage had been lately granted; for the number of citizens in this cenſus was greater than ever [x]. With this cenſus, and the luſtrum which followed it, ended the magiſtracy of the two cenſors, C. Marcius Rutilus and Cn. Cornelius Blaſio, who had been now five years in their office, and were both men of great probity. The former had been, on account of his extraordinary merit, elected, contrary to cuſtom and his own earneſt remonſtrances, a ſecond time to this high ſtation; and hence he acquired in all likelihood the ſurname of Cenſorinus, which was perpetuated in his family. But, in order to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous a practice, Marcius got a law paſſed, forbidding any perſon to hold the cenſorſhip a ſecond time [y].

A war with the freedmen of Volſinii.

WHILE the two conſuls, Fabius Gurges and Mamilius Vitulus, were employed at home in works of peace, an unexpected war ſprung up in the very bowels of the republic. Volſinii, one of the capital cities of the twelve Hetrurian leucumonies, had been allowed by the Romans to enjoy her antient laws and form of government; but as the inhabitants no longer conſidered themſelves as a free and independent people, they deſpiſed the public offices, and ſuffered their freed-men to uſurp them, giving themſelves wholly up to their pleaſures. Theſe freed-men became by degrees tyrants, in that little republic, and made it their whole buſineſs to humble their old maſters. They took away their wives from them by force, and carried their inſolence and licentiouſneſs ſo far, that they paſſed

[w] Oros. l. iv. c. 5. [x] Flor. epit. & Eutrop. l. ii. [y] Plut. in Coriolano. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

ſed a law, that no virgin-daughter of a man free-born ſhould be married to a huſband of the like condition, till ſhe had ſubmitted to the paſſion of a freedman. To theſe indignities they added the baniſhments and proſcriptions of the moſt worthy citizens. The Volſinienſes, deſpairing of being able to redreſs their grievances themſelves, ſent deputies to Rome, to implore the aſſiſtance of the republic. The deputies ſet out privately, and carried on their negotiations with great ſecrecy; but nevertheleſs the freed-men, getting notice of the whole, put the deputies to death upon their return; and when the conſul Fabius, who was ſent againſt them with a ſmall army of voluntiers, appeared before their city, they even ventured to face him in the field and give him battle. Fabius put them to the rout; but as he was entering the town with the runaways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand. Thus fell a great man, who had been honoured with triumphs, embaſſies, and three conſulates, and who, contrary to the expectation of the great Fabius his father, did no-ways degenerate from the virtue of his anceſtors. The conſul was no ſooner carried out of the croud, than the freed-men facing about fell upon the Romans with ſuch fury, that they obliged them to retire. Then Decius Mus, lieutenant to Fabius, inveſted Volſinii, and began to beſiege it in form; but it was not taken till the arrival of M. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the conſuls for the next year, who forced the freed-men to ſurrender at diſcretion, and put all thoſe who had acted any part in this ſcene of villainy to death. The antient citizens, and thoſe who had not been concerned in the revolt, were tranſplanted to another place, and their city razed. This conduct of Flaccus was ſo agreeable to the republic, that ſhe granted him the honours of a triumph. He entered Rome in ſtate on the calends of February in the year ſucceeding this, which was the year of his conſulate. We have anticipated this latter part of hiſtory, to avoid blending an affair of ſo little importance with the great events we are going to relate in the following chapter, namely, thoſe of the firſt Punic or Carthaginian war.

The conſul Fabius Gurges killed.

Volſinii taken and razed.

CHAP. V.

The history of Rome, *from the first* Carthaginian *war to the second.*

The occasion of the first rupture between Rome and Carthage. Year of the Flood, 740. Year before Christ, 259. Of Rome, 489.

THE Carthaginians, when the war first broke out between their republic and that of Rome, were possessed of extensive dominions in Africa, had made considerable acquisitions in Spain, were masters of Sardinia, Corsica, and all the islands on the coasts of Italy, and had extended their conquests to a great part of Sicily. The occasion of the first rupture between the two republics was as follows: The Mamertines, of whom we have spoken at length in the history of Sicily [x], being vanquished in battle and reduced to great straights by Hiero king of Syracuse, had resolved to deliver up Messana, the only city which they now possessed, to that prince, with whose mild government and strict probity they were well acquainted. Accordingly Hiero was advancing, at the head of his troops, to take possession of that important place, when Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian army in Sicily, prevented him by a stratagem. The cunning African came to meet Hiero, as it were, to congratulate him on his victory, and amused him, while some of the Carthaginian troops filed off towards Messana. Hereupon the Mamertines, seeing their city supported by a new reinforcement, were divided into several opinions. Some were for accepting the protection Carthage offered them, others were still for surrendering to the king of Syracuse; but the greater part were for calling the Romans to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally Italians; for the Mamertines were a party of Campanian mercenaries, who having served under Agathocles king of Sicily, on their return home, seized on the city of Messana, into which they had been admitted and entertained as friends, massacred the inhabitants, and took possession of their lands, houses, and wives. The arrival of their deputies at Rome occasioned great debates in the senate; the conscript fathers thought it would cast no small blemish on their reputation to protect a company of villains, who had formerly got possession of Messana by the same treache-

[x] Vide Vol. vii. p

and cruelty, as the perfidious Campanian legion had made themſelves maſters of Rhegium. Shall we, ſaid they, countenance the ſame actions in ſome, which we have, with the utmoſt ſeverity, puniſhed in others? But, on the other hand, looking upon the Carthaginians with an eye of jealouſy, and being well appriſed, that they undertook the defence of that important place, only with a view to ſeize it for themſelves, they were long deliberating what to determine in ſo nice a point. Meſſana, ſaid they, will be ſoon ſubject to the Carthaginians; and if we tamely ſuffer them to get poſſeſſion of a place, which is divided from Italy only by a narrow ſtreight of the ſea, we ſhall ſoon be obliged to engage in a war with them for the defence of our own continent. This ſelfiſh conſideration made moſt of the ſenators forget the regard they had hitherto ſhewn for rigid probity, and come into the meaſures of the people, who, from the very beginning, were eagerly bent upon driving the Carthaginians out of Meſſana. Accordingly it was decreed, that Appius Claudius, ſurnamed Caudex, who was then conſul with M. Fulvius Flaccus, ſhould be ſent over into Sicily to attempt the deliverance of Meſſana. The conſul nevertheleſs continued at Rome, and diſpatched in his ſtead one Claudius, a legionary tribune, a man of great boldneſs and experience in military affairs. The tribune, not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe the few triremes he could get together to the inſults of the Carthaginian fleet, which infeſted the ſtreights, went over to Meſſana in a fiſher-boat, in order to diſcover the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Upon his arrival, he convened the Mamertines in the uſual place of their aſſemblies, and acquainted them, that he came as a deputy from the Romans, to offer them the aſſiſtance which they had deſired, and aſſured them, that the forces of his republic ſhould be withdrawn, as ſoon as their city and eſtates were in ſafety. The Mamertines, intimidated by the preſence of the Carthaginians, who were already in poſſeſſion of the citadel, made anſwer, That his offers were come too late; and that every free city had a right to call whom ſhe pleaſed to her aſſiſtance. A free city! replied Claudius with a ſneer; are you then in poſſeſſion of your liberty? What do I ſee here but foreign troops, who begin to make you feel the weight of that ſlavery, which you cannot avoid without our aſſiſtance? The Mamertines being ſtruck dumb at theſe words, Claudius, with great intrepidity, declared, that he looked upon their ſilence as a tacit conſent; and quitting the

Claudius, a legionary tribune, goes over to Meſſana.

aſſembly, returned ſtreight to Rhegium, and from thence to Rome, where the ſenate, upon his report, judged, that the Mamertines were diſpoſed to receive ſuccours from the republic. The ſame tribune was therefore ordered to ſet ſail and ſteer with the Roman fleet to Meſſana (E). But how weak

(E) Polybius tells us (22), that the Romans were utter ſtrangers to naval affairs, and quite ignorant of the art of building ſhips, before the firſt Punic war. He adds, that it would have been impoſſible for them to build and equip a fleet, had not fortune, who always eſpouſed their cauſe, by a mere accident, inſtructed them in the method; for a Carthaginian galley, which was out a cruiſing, venturing too near the ſhore, chanced to be ſtranded and was taken by the Romans before the mariners could get her off. This galley ſerved them for a model; for they built by it, ſays he, a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallies. The equipment of this fleet ſeemed to him a prodigy, and made him reſolve to write the hiſtory of the firſt Punic war. But that author was certainly miſtaken, when he wrote, that the Romans had no ſhips at ſea before the firſt Punic war; nay, it is no eaſy matter to reconcile him with himſelf on this ſubject; for when he elſewhere (23) ſpeaks of the articles of a treaty agreed on by the Romans and Carthaginians, in the conſulſhip of Brutus and Horatius, immediately after the expulſion of the Tarquins, he tells us, that one of the articles was to this effect, that the Romans, and the allies of the Romans, ſhould not ſail beyond the Fair Promontory, unleſs conſtrained by weather, or by an enemy. In two other treaties, of which he gives us the tranſcripts, there are ſeveral clauſes to the ſame effect. Theſe precautions on the ſide of the Carthaginians manifeſtly ſuppoſe, that the Romans had at that time ſhips, traded to Africa, and were not ſo utterly unacquainted with naval affairs, as Polybius repreſents them to have been at the beginning of the firſt Punic war. Neither can Polybius be underſtood as ſpeaking only of ſhips of war, it being plain from the reaſons of the Tarentine war agreed on by all hiſtorians, that the Romans had at that time a fleet of ten gallies; nay, we are told by all the antients, that, long before the Tarentine war, the conſul Mænius, having ruined the port of Antium, carried part of the fleet of the Antiates, which conſiſted of twenty gallies, to Rome, and laid them up in the place appointed for building ſhips. It is no leſs certain, that many years before the firſt Punic war, the Roman people appointed the duumviri navales, whoſe province was confined to the inſpection and repairing of the ſhips of the republic. It is therefore falſe, that the firſt time the Romans had a fleet, or ventured to ſea, was in the time of the firſt Punic

(22) Polyb. l. i. (23) Idem, l. iii.

weak and inconſiderable was this fleet, in compariſon of that which the Carthaginians had brought into the ſtreights! How ignorant were the Romans at that time of ſea affairs! Nevertheleſs the bold tribune weighed anchor; but, being attacked by Hanno the Carthaginian admiral, and having at the ſame time a ſtorm to ſtruggle with, moſt of his ſhips were taken, others daſhed in pieces, and he obliged to return to Rhegium. While Claudius was buſy in refitting his fleet, Hanno ſent back the ſhips he had taken from him, with a view either to pique the Romans in point of honour, or to divert them from ſending ſuccours to Meſſana; but as the deputies, who came to reſtore the ſhips, reproached the Romans with having firſt infringed the treaties of friendſhip between the two nations, and declared, that the Carthaginians would never ſuffer the Romans to be maſters of the ſtreights between Italy and Sicily, nay, not even to waſh their hands in them, Claudius rejected the preſent with the utmoſt indignation, and carried on his preparations with great vigour. Having refitted his ſmall fleet in the beſt manner he could, he put to ſea again and timed his enterprize ſo well, that he eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginians, and got ſafe into the port of Meſſana. Hanno, who was now become commander of the land forces, upon the arrival of Claudius, abandoned the city to the Romans, and retired into the citadel. Claudius, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the city, deſired the Mamertines to ſummon an aſſembly, and to invite Hanno to it. The Carthaginian, for fear of ſhewing a diſtruſt of thoſe whom he pretended to protect, complied with the ſummons and appeared in the aſſembly. The two generals reproached each other in bitter terms, till at length Claudius was ſo provoked, that he ordered ſome brave legionaries, who attended him, to arreſt Hanno, and keep him priſoner. The Mamertines applauding the reſolution of the Roman, Claudius made good uſe of this declaration in his favour. What by menaces, and what by perſuaſions, he prevailed on the Carthaginian to ſurrender up the citadel to him; a piece of cowardice which coſt the unhappy Hanno dear; for he was, on his return home, crucified by order of the ſenate. The Carthaginians, reſolved at all events to drive the Romans

The Roman fleet deſtroyed.

Claudius puts to ſea again, and gets into Meſſena.

Punic war; however, it is certain, that the Romans, wholly intent upon the reducing of the neighbouring ſtates, were but little acquainted with naval affairs, till they began to make war out of their own continent.

mans out of Meſſana, raiſed both ſea and land-forces, and diſpatched them into Sicily, under the command of another Hanno, who, arriving with this fleet at Lilybæum, prevailed upon Hiero, king of Syracuſe, to enter into an alliance with his republic, and to inveſt Meſſana jointly with him. Hitherto the conſul Appius had not appeared in the diſpute, ſo that had the Carthaginians ſtopt their proceedings, all the ſteps, taken only by a tribune of the army, might have been diſowned. But a monſtrous piece of cruelty, committed by Hanno, determined Rome to keep no longer any meaſures with her rival. That general, upon the refuſal of Claudius to ſurrender up Meſſana to him, cauſed all the Italians who ſerved in his army to be inhumanly maſſacred; which was no ſooner heard at Rome, than the conſul Appius haſtened his departure from thence and came to Rhegium. As he apprehended both danger and diſhonour in the enterprize, he ſent from Rhegium deputies to king Hiero, conjuring him, by the antient friendſhip between the Romans and him, to deſiſt from the ſiege he had undertaken. Hiero in anſwer reproached the Romans not only with ingratitude to him, but with deviating from their pretended equity in protecting the treacherous tyrants of Meſſana, eminently guilty of the ſame crime which Rome had ſeverely puniſhed in the Campanian legion at Rhegium. Appius, having received this anſwer, reſolved to paſs over into Sicily, purſuant to the orders of the ſenate; but, to conceal his deſign, he gave out, that he could not venture upon that enterpriſe before he conſulted the ſenate. This report reaching the Carthaginian fleet made them watch the ſtreights with leſs care and vigilance. In the mean time, Appius, going on board a galley, built unſkilfully and in great haſte, pretended only to coaſt along the ſhore in his way to Rome; but as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached with ſome tranſports the neareſt ſhore of Sicily, and landed his forces, without being perceived by the enemy either at ſea or land. For this bold enterpriſe he got the ſurname of Caudex, which then ſignified a boat ill-built. Claudius, encouraged by this ſucceſs, advanced in all haſte with his legions againſt the king of Syracuſe, who blocked up Meſſana on the ſide of mount Chalcis, and having ſurpriſed and defeated him, entered triumphantly into Meſſana, highly delighted with gaining the firſt victory the Romans had ever obtained out of their continent. After this defeat, Hiero, thinking himſelf betrayed

Appius the conſul paſſes into Sicily, and defeats Hiero and the Carthaginians.

trayed by the Carthaginians, who had ſuffered him to be ſurpriſed by not guarding the ſtreights, decamped haſtily in the night, and, giving way to his diſtruſts, returned to Syracuſe. Claudius, receiving next morning intelligence of his retreat, reſolved to loſe no time, but forthwith to attack the Carthaginians. Purſuant to this reſolution, he made a briſk ſally, and routed them with great ſlaughter. Having thus raiſed the ſiege of Meſſana, he over-ran the lands of the Syracuſans like a torrent, pillaged and laid waſte the whole country, and, having no enemy in the field to contend with, advanced to the very gates of Syracuſe. But the year being already far ſpent, he ſoon returned with his troops to Meſſana, and, having left a ſtrong garriſon in that city, paſſed over to Rhegium, and from thence purſued his journey to Rome [y]. Eutropius [z] and Silius Italicus [a] tell us, that he received the honours of a triumph for his Sicilian expedition; but we find no mention made of it in the triumphal tables.

THE ſucceeding conſuls, Manius Octacilius Craſſus and Manius Valerius Flaccus, were ordered to transport into Sicily two conſular armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand legionaries and twelve hundred horſe, with a great number of auxiliaries. Upon their arrival moſt of the towns, that had ſubmitted to the Carthaginians and Syracuſans, delivered themſelves up to the Romans; inſomuch, that in a few months they ſaw themſelves maſters of ſixty-ſeven places, among which were Taurominium and Catana, two cities of great importance. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Syracuſe, the capital of the iſland, and at that time one of the greateſt cities in the world. They had no ſooner inveſted it, than Hiero, being now ſenſible that he had formed a wrong judgment touching the iſſue of the war, and that the hopes of the Romans were founded on better meaſures than thoſe of the Carthaginians, ſent out deputies to treat with the former of a peace. The conſuls readily embraced the overture, knowing that, by entering into an alliance with Syracuſe, they ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, for want of which they had been the laſt year reduced to great ſtreights by the Carthaginians, who were maſters at ſea. They therefore agreed to a treaty with the king on the following

The Romans make an alliance with Hiero.

[y] Polyb. l. ii. c. 11. Diodor. in eclog. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. Zonar. l. viii. c Frontin. ſtratag. l. i. c. 4. [z] Eutrop. l. ii. [a] Silius Ital. l. vi.

following conditions; that Hiero ſhould releaſe all the Roman priſoners without ranſom, and pay the republic a hundred talents of ſilver. Upon theſe conditions, which were approved of by the Roman ſenate and people, Rome promiſed to acknowledge Hiero as a friend to their republic, and to protect his dominions from all hoſtilities [b].

The Romans, having now no enemies to contend with but the Carthaginians, and being ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by Hiero, now their friend and ally, made themſelves maſters of all the places on the weſtern coaſt of Sicily. The inhabitants of Segeſta and Aliena maſſacred the African garriſon, and opened their gates to the conſuls. The cities of Hilara, Tyrita, and Aſcela were beſieged in form, taken by aſſault, and treated with great rigor. The campaign being ended, the two conſuls carried back moſt of their troops with them, and, putting them in winter quarters on the coaſt of Italy, returned to Rome, where Valerius was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the ſixteenth of the calends of April. His ſurname of Meſſala, and this mark of diſtinction, which he alone received, plainly ſhew, that he had ſignalized himſelf above his collegue in the defence of Meſſana and the wars with Hiero and the Carthaginians [c]. This year Cn. Fulvius Centumalus was created dictator, who choſe Q. Marcius Philippus for his general of the horſe. But their only buſineſs was to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, to ſtop a plague which raged at Rome.

The new conſuls, L. Poſthumius Megellus and Q Mamilius Vitulus, were both ordered into Sicily. But the republic, depending on the alliance of king Hiero, thought it adviſeable to leſſen the number of troops in that ſervice, and therefore appointed them two legions only. They ſet out from Rome, and, embarquing at Rhegium, landed at Meſſana, without meeting with any oppoſition in their paſſage. They no ſooner came aſhore, than they aſſembled the reinforcements they were to receive in the country, and with them marched ſtreight to Agrigentum, which the Carthaginians had made their magazine of arms and proviſions. The place was very ſtrong by nature, and had been rendered almoſt impregnable by the new works, with which the Carthaginians had ſecured it during the winter, with a view to make it their aſylum or place of refuge, in caſe

[b] Polyb. l. i. c. 16. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. [c] Polyb. ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 9, Frontin. ſtratag. l. iv. c. 1. Tab. triumph.

caſe of any miſcarriage or diſaſter. Beſides, it was defended by a very numerous garriſon under the command of Hannibal, a general of known valour and great experience in war. However, the Romans came and encamped before the place, blocking it up on all ſides. As it was then harveſt-time and the fruitful fields of Sicily were covered with corn, the conſuls gave their ſoldiers [illegible] to go and reap it in ſmall parties, in order to provide [illegible] the wants which uſually attend long ſieges. Hannibal reſolved to take advantage of this relaxation of military diſ[illegible]ne, and made two ſallies at the ſame time, one upon [illegible] reapers, and the other upon the Roman camp. The reapers, not being able to rally ſoon enough, were overpowered by the Carthaginians, and for the moſt part cut in pieces. But the Romans in the camp repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter, and purſued them to the very gates of the city. After this action the Carthaginians were more cautious in their ſallies, and the conſuls took care not to ſuffer their men to go out and forage in ſmall parties. [illegible] now, the Carthaginians making no more ſallies, the R[illegible]mans thought it adviſeable to divide their army into two bodies. With one they encamped near the temple of Æſculapius, at ſome diſtance from the city, with the other on the ro[illegible] to Heraclea. A large ditch was thrown up round th[illegible] city to guard the camps againſt the ſallies of the beſieged, and a ſecond line beyond the two camps to ſecure them from any ſurprize from without, and to prevent proviſions from being conveyed into the city. The Roma[illegible]s were plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries from Erbeſſa, a city not far from Agrigentum, whither they were brought from all parts of Sicily, and ſafely conveyed from thence to the camps. Thus the Romans continued before the place five months, hoping to reduce it by famine. And indeed, as there were no fewer than fifty thouſand ſouls in Agrigentum, the city was ſoon reduced to great ſtreights. But Hannibal kept up their courage with promiſes, and from time to time diſpatched, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Romans, meſſengers to Carthage to ſolicit ſpeedy ſuccours. Hereupon the Carthaginians, having levied what troops they could in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Liguria, put on board a fleet, under the command of Hanno, fifty thouſand choſen foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and ſixty elephants, ordering them to ſail to Sicily, and attempt at all adventures the relief of Agrigentum. Hanno, without loſs of time, ſet ſail, an[illegible]anding his forces at Lilybœum, march-

They beſiege Agrigentum.

ed

ed from thence to Heraclea, within twenty miles of Agrigentum. There he received a deputation from ſome of the inhabitants of Erbeſſa, where the Romans had their magazines, offering to put the town into his hands. The Carthaginian, overjoyed at this meſſage, marched with all his forces ſtreight to Erbeſſa, which was accordingly delivered up to him, ſo that the Romans, who were the beſiegers, became themſelves beſieged: all their convoys were intercepted, and they reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that they often deliberated about raiſing the ſiege, and had certainly abandoned the enterprize, had not Hiero afforded them what help he could, which with great parſimony ſupported them, but was not enough for their convenient ſubſiſtence; ſo that diſtempers, the uſual conſequences of ſcarcity, ſpread in the Roman army, and daily ſwept off great numbers. But, in the mean time, Agrigentum being reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine, Hannibal found means to acquaint Hanno with the deplorable condition of the place, who thereupon reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general engagement, thinking himſelf now a match for the Romans, who were greatly weakened by ſickneſs and diſtempers. Accordingly, having acquainted Hannibal with his deſign and ordered him to make a ſally the moment the Romans appeared in the plain, he marched with all his troops from Heraclea, ſending his Numidian horſe before, with orders to advance to the very intrenchments of the Romans, as if they deſigned to force them; but in caſe the Romans ſallied out upon them, they were to retire towards the army. Theſe orders were punctually executed, and the Roman cavalry ſallying out upon the Numidians and purſuing them too far, were ſurrounded by the whole army, and either taken or cut in pieces. Notwithſtanding this advantage, Hanno poſting himſelf on mount Taurus, about a mile and a half from the Romans, continued there two months without ſhewing any inclination to come to a deciſive action. At length Hannibal giving him notice, as well by ſignals from the town, as by expreſſes, that the garriſon could no longer hold out, and that they deſerted by companies to the Romans, Hanno was forced to venture an engagement, to which the Romans were equally diſpoſed, being in great want of proviſions. The two armies therefore drew up in a large plain between the two camps, and engaged with incredible fury. The ſucceſs continued doubtful, till the mercenaries, who were in the van guard of the Carthaginian army, gave way and fled.

The Carthaginian army defeated.

In

In their flight they fell in among the elephants, which they put into diſorder, and by that means entirely broke the line that ſuſtained the rear. By this accident the whole army being diſcompoſed, the Carthaginians, quitting their ranks, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight, the Romans purſuing them with great ſlaughter. Hannibal attempted to make a ſally and bring his forces to the aſſiſtance of Hanno; but was repulſed by the troops which the conſuls had poſted at all the avenues to the city, and obliged to return, after he had loſt a great number of his men. In this battle the Romans took eleven elephants, wounded three, and killed thirty. As to the number of men killed in the action and purſuit, it is not exactly known. The enemy after the defeat retired to Heraclea, which they gained with much difficulty, the plain being all covered with dead bodies [d].

HANNIBAL, perceiving that the Romans after the fatigues of ſo glorious a day were leſs upon their guard, ſallied out at midnight with the greateſt part of his troops, and, filling up the Roman trenches with faggots, made his eſcape, and retired with his forces to a place of ſafety. The Agrigentines, to revenge themſelves for being thus abandoned, and at the ſame time to make their court to the conſuls, maſſacred the Carthaginians who were left in the city. But ſuch cruelties not being agreeable to the Romans, the conſuls gave up the city, after it had ſurrendered at diſcretion, to be plundered; and above twenty-five thouſand perſons of free condition were made ſlaves. Such was the ſucceſs of a ſiege, which laſted at leaſt ſeven months, and was the moſt remarkable and difficult the Romans had ever yet undertaken. The conqueſt was both an important and a glorious one: but it coſt the beſiegers dear; for they are ſaid to have loſt, what in the battle and in the frequent ſkirmiſhes, and what by famine and other hardſhips, about thirty thouſand men, Romans and allies [e]. The campaign being ended with the taking of Agrigentum, the conſuls returned to Meſſana, and from thence to Rome. Eutropius tells us, that they both triumphed; but the ſilence of all other writers, eſpecially of the triumphal tables, inclines us to believe, that the ſenate and people did not grant them that mark of diſtinction for reaſons unknown to us. Perhaps they intended by this refuſal to puniſh them for ſuffering

Agrigentum taken.

[d] Polyb. ibid. c. 29. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Zonar. l. viii. c. 10. [e] Eutrop. l. viii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 10.

ing Hannibal to make his eſcape, which was entirely owing to their neglect in keeping the guards with the uſual vigilance.

THE reduction of Agrigentum inſpired the Romans with hopes of conquering all Sicily. The only difficulty was how to make themſelves maſters of the maritime cities without the aſſiſtance of a fleet, equal at leaſt to that of Carthage. Hitherto they had tranſported their troops on board of veſſels borrowed of their neighbours, the Tarentines, Locrians, Neapolitans, &c. But now the republic formed a deſign of being as formidable at ſea as ſhe was by land, and ordered a hundred and twenty veſſels to be built after the model of a Carthagenian galley, which, venturing too near the ſhore, had been ſtranded and taken. The Romans immediately ſet about this laborious piece of work, cut down trees in their foreſts, and conveyed them to the ſea-ſide, with an expedition peculiar to themſelves. This fleet was equipped, as Polybius informs us, in two months time, reckoning from the day the trees began to be cut in the foreſts, and conſiſted of a hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three. While ſome were employed in building the gallyes, others aſſembling thoſe who were to ſerve in the fleet, inſtructed them in the uſe of the oar after the following manner, which at firſt ſeemed ſomewhat ridiculous: They contrived benches on the ſhore in the ſame faſhion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and placing their ſeamen with their oars in like manner upon the benches, an officer, by ſigns with his hand, inſtructed them how to dip their oars all at the ſame time, and how to recover them out of the water. By this means they became acquainted with the management of the oar; and as ſoon as the veſſels were built and equipped, they ſpent ſome time in practiſing on the water what they had learnt aſhore [e].

The Romans equip a fleet.

BUT while the galleys were yet on the ſtocks, the new conſuls, L. Valerius Flaccus and T. Octacilius, brother to M. Octacilius, who had been conſul two years before, ſet out for Sicily, where they eaſily reduced all the cities that were at any diſtance from the ſea. But while they were ſubduing the inland countries, the Carthaginians either kept ſteady in their intereſt, or brought under ſubjection, all the places on the coaſt. So that both parties were equally ſucceſsful.

IN

[e] Polyb. ibid. c. 20.

In the beginning of the conſulate of Cn. Cornelius Scipio and C. Duilius, the fleet being equipped and all things ready for their departure, the two conſuls choſe their different commands by lot. The command of the fleet fell to Cornelius, and that of the land-forces to Duilius. The latter immediately ſet out with two legions, and paſſed the ſtreights. Cornelius followed him with ſe nteen of the new-built galleys, ſteering his courſe a.ong the coaſt to Meſſana, to give directions there for the reception and ſecurity of the fleet. Upon his arri.. at that port, he was informed, ſome ſay by men ..red for that purpoſe by Hannibal, that the iſland and city of Lipara would ſurrender to the Romans upon the firſt ſummons. Cornelius, giving credit to this report, immediately ſet ſail with his ſquadron for Lipara, and entered that port. But at break of day he found himſelf blocked up by a greater number of Carthaginian veſſels, under the command of one Boodes a ſenator. In this ſurprize, Cornelius ſaw no remedy but to ſubmit, and accordingly yielded up himſelf and his ſquadron to the enemy. Thus far Polybius [f]. But Livy [g] tells us, that the Carthaginian invited Cornelius and his tribunes, that is, the commanders of his galleys, on board his ſhip, to confer about the differences be .n the two republics in an amicable manner; and that the conſul being weak enough to truſt to the honour of Boodes, was ſeized by him with all his officers, and ſent to Carthage: This author adds, that the ſquadron, being thus deprived of all its commanders, ſurrendered without fighting. Thus the firſt attempt of the new fleet proved very diſadvantageous and unſucceſsful. In the mean time, the hundred and three Roman galleys, which had remained in the ports, ſet ſail according to the orders Cornelius had given, and, coaſting along Italy, made the beſt of their way towards the mouth of the ſtreights. Hannibal, upon advice that the Roman fleet was at ſea, ſailed out with a ſquadron of fifty galleys to take a view of their new-faſhioned veſſels. But his curioſity coſt him dear. For the Roman fleet appearing, when he leaſt expected it, immediately attacked his ſquadron, which was diſperſed about, with great vigor, and either ſunk or took the greateſt part of his galleys, Hannibal himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty, when his whole fleet believed him loſt. Thus the

The conſul Cornelius and his ſquadron taken by the enemy.

The Romans gain a victory by ſea.

[f] Polyb. l. 1. c. 21. [g] In epitome l. xvii.

the Carthaginian admiral, upon the firſt trial he made in perſon of the ſkill of the Romans at ſea, was obliged to quit the action with ſhame and retire, after having been in great danger himſelf. The Romans, after this victory, purſued their courſe to Sicily, and being informed of the defeat and captivity of Cornelius, who was to have commanded then they ſent an expreſs forthwith for Duilius, who had the command of the land-forces in the iſland. Duilius, being now left ſole commander both at ſea and land, went immediately, without heſitation, on board the fleet. But the reflection he made on the heavineſs of his galleys did not a little abate his confidence. For the Romans plainly ſaw, even in the battle, wherein they had all the advantage, that their veſſels were not built with great art, but were very unwieldy in working, and wanted the lightneſs of thoſe they were to engage with. But while he was ruminating on this matter, an engineer in the fleet found means to make amends for this defect, by deviſing that machine, which was afterwards called corvus. All hiſtorians agree, that the uſe of this contrivance was to ſtop the enemy's ſhips as ſoon as the Romans came up with them, and thereby give them an opportunity of boarding them. But it is no eaſy matter to find out how theſe machines were built. Polybius gives us the following deſcription of them: They erected, ſays he, on the prow of their veſſels a round piece of timber about a foot and a half diameter, and about twelve foot long, on the top whereof they had a block or pully. Round this piece of timber they laid a ſtage or platform of boards, four foot broad and about eighteen foot long, which was well framed and faſtened with iron. The entrance was longways, and it moved about the aboveſaid upright p -e of timber, as on a ſpindle, and could be hoiſted up within ſix foot of the top. About this was a ſort of parapet knee high, which was defended with upright bars of iron ſharpened at the end, towards the top whereof there was a ring, through which faſtening a rope, by the help of the pully, they hoiſted and lowered the engine at pleaſure. With this they attacked the enemy's veſſels, ſometimes on their bow, and ſometimes on their broad-ſide, as occaſion beſt ſerved. When they had grappled the enemy with theſe iron ſpikes, if they happened to ſwing broadſide to broadſide, then they entered from all parts; but in caſe they attacked them on the bow, they entered two and two by the

The corvus invented.

the help of this engine; the foremoſt defending the fore-part, and thoſe who followed the flanks, keeping the boſs of their bucklers level with the top of the parapet. Thus Polybius deſcribes the corvus [h].

THE invention of this machine, of which a trial was made, giving the conſul more confidence, he left the command of the land-forces to his ſubalterns, [illegible]ng on board the fleet, ſet ſail for Mylæ to encoui[illegible]r the enemy, who had made a deſcent on that coaſt. The Carthaginians, who deſpiſed the Romans as quite ignorant of ſea-affairs, were overjoyed when they firſt deſcried their fle[illegible] They did not ſo much as give themſelves the trouble to draw up their ſhips in line of battle, but advanced with a ſquadron in diſorder up to the unweildy triremes of the Romans, dreaming of nothing but certain victory. As they approached, they were at firſt ſurpriſed at the ſight of the engine we have deſcribed above, and ſtood ſome time in ſuſpenſe, not knowing the uſe of it. But the boldeſt of the Carthaginians, looking upon this machine as ſome fooliſh invention of perſons not acquainted with the ſea, rowed up with confidence to the Roman galleys, and by the boldneſs with which they attacked them, ſhewed how little account they made of their engines. The Romans grappling with them by the help of their corvi, and boarding their ſhips with great eaſe, fought hand to hand with them upon deck as on firm ground. As the Romans were more expert in this kind of fight than the Carthaginians, and better armed, they ſoon gained the aſcendant over them, and took thirty ſhips, with all thoſe who were on board of them. Among theſe was the admiral's own galley, which was a ſeptiremis taken formerly by the Carthaginians from[illegible]ing Pyrrhus. Hannibal himſelf was on board of it; but when he ſaw the Romans entering his galley, he leaped into a ſmall boat and eſcaped, when he was by all given for loſt. At length the reſt of the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty galleys, came up, and fell upon the Roman fleet. as they had greatly the advantage in the lightneſs of their veſſels, they nimbly rowed round the Roman galleys, in order to avoid the corvi. But the Romans having learnt the art of working their ſhips, ſo as to preſent their machines

The conſul Duilius gains a compleat victory at ſea.

[h] Polyb. ibid.

machines to the enemy, which way ſoever they approached them, they took fifty more of the Carthaginian ſhips, and obliged the reſt to retire into the neighbouring ports of Sicily. In theſe two engagements the Romans took ſeven thouſand priſoners, killed ſeven thouſand men, ſunk thirteen ſhips, and took eighty. After this victory Duilius, going aſhore, put himſelf at the head of the land-forces, relieved Segeſta beſieged by Hamilcar, and made himſelf maſter of Macella, though defended by a numerous garriſon. The campaign being ended, Duilius returned to Rome, but left his legions in Sicily. During his abſence, a diſpute aroſe between them and the Sicilian auxiliaries. The Sicilians complained, that the Romans were always placed in the moſt honourable poſts, that is, in the moſt dangerous. The difference came to ſuch a height, that the Sicilians ſeparated from the Romans and encamped by themſelves. Hamilcar, who was too vigilant not to draw advantages from this miſunderſtanding, attacked the Sicilians in their intrenchments, and put four thouſand of them to the ſword. He then drove the Romans from their poſts, took ſeveral cities from them, and over-ran great part of the country. In the mean time, Hannibal, after having been overcome in the ſea engagement by the Romans, leaving Sicily, ſailed with the remains of his ſhattered fleet to Carthage. But, in order to ſecure himſelf from puniſhment, ſent one of his friends with all ſpeed, before the battle was known there, to acquaint the ſenate, that the Romans had put to ſea with a good number of heavy ill-built veſſels, carrying ſome machines, which the Carthaginians had never ſeen before, and conſequently knew not the uſe of. After the meſſenger had given the ſenate this account of the Roman fleet, he aſked them whether it was their opinion, that Hannibal ſhould attack them? The anſwer was unanimous; Let our admiral, they cried out with one voice, fight the Romans, and puniſh them for daring to brave us on our element. Then Hannibal's friend acquainted them with what had happened. What you now command, ſaid he, Hannibal has ventured to do. Fortune indeed has not favoured him; but who can be anſwerable for the event of things? Hannibal thought as you do. And ſhall the uncertainty of fortune be deemed a crime? And the ſenators could not condemn him without condemning themſelves

The Carthaginians gain ſome advantages over the Romans.

themſelves, they ſpared his life, but deprived him of the command of the fleet [i].

WHILE the Carthaginians were thus diſgracing their unfortunate admiral, the Romans were heaping honours on the brave Duilius. A victory gained by ſea was more valued at this juncture, than all the conqueſts their conſuls and dictators had formerly made by land. The conſul entered the city in triumph, attended with the acclamations of all Rome. A mark of diſtinction was granted him, which had never been heard of before. Whenever he returned from ſupper, he was attended by muſic and flambeaux. This honour was granted for once only to thoſe who triumphed; and this was when they returned home in the evening from the ſolemn feaſt, which was prepared at the expence of the public for the cloſe of the triumph. But to Duilius this diſtinction was continued as long as he lived. Cicero [k] and Florus [l] ſeem to inſinuate, that Duilius aſſumed this uncommon mark of diſtinction without the conſent of the ſenate and people. But it is not probable, that either the patricians or plebeians, who called the leaſt ſtep towards an independency a ſtate crime, would have ſuffered a private perſon to aſſume this ſingular privilege. It is more probable, that Duilius demanded it as a reward for his ſervices. To perpetuate the memory of his triumph, medals were ſtruck, and a pillar of white marble was erected to his honour in the Forum Romanum (F).

[i] Polyb. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3. Auth. vir. illuſtr. Zonar. ibid. [k] Cic. de ſenectute. [l] Flor. l. iii.

(F) This pillar, called Columna Roſtrata from the beaks of ſhips, in Latin, roſtra, that were faſtened to it, was ſtill ſtanding in the forum in Pliny's time, Silius Italicus (24) ſpeaks of it in the following lines:

Æquoreum juxta decus, & navale tropæum,
Roſtra gerens, nivea ſurgebat mole Columna.
Exuvias Marti donumque Duilius alto
Ante omnes, merſa Pœnorum claſſe, dicabat;
Cui nocturnus honos, funalia clara, facerque
Poſt epulas tibicen adeſt, caſtoſque penates
Inſignis læti repetebat murmure cantus.

Silius

(24) Sil. Italic. l. vi.

THE conſuls for the next year were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Aquilius Florus. The command of the fleet fell by lot to the former, and that of the land-forces to the latter. They were both ordered into Sicily, but Cornelius had leave to make an attempt upon the iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia, if an opportunity offered. While he was getting ready the fleet in the different ports of Italy, his collegue was detained at Rome to ſuppreſs a dangerous conſpiracy. The republic had cauſed a great number of men to be brought to Rome, from all the provinces ſubject to her, to ſerve as rowers on board her galleys. Among theſe were four thouſand Samnites, who, being unwilling to enter into the ſea ſervice, and finding a plot already formed by the diſcontented ſlaves to burn and plunder the city, readily entered into the conſpiracy, and joined the ſlaves, who were three thouſand in number. As they wanted a head, they pitched upon one Errius Potitius, who commanded the auxiliaries and was a man of known experience. Errius ſeemed to go heartily into their meaſures, till he had learnt the whole ſecret, and then he diſcovered it to the ſenate. All the ſlaves were put in irons by their maſters, and the Samnites impriſoned.

A dangerous conſpiracy at Rome.

DURING

Silius ſpeaks more like an hiſtorian than a poet in this place. The Columna Roſtrata was accidentally recovered in 1560, and placed by the care of cardinal Alexander Farneſe in the capitol. Juſtus Lipſius and Ciaconius have endeavoured to fill up the chaſms of the inſcription on the pedeſtal, which are in old Latin. The ſubſtance of it, according to their interpretation, is as follows: Caius Duilius conſul, the ſon of Marcus, general of the Roman army in Sicily againſt the Carthaginians, forced Hamilcar to raiſe the ſiege of Segeſta, a city in friendſhip and alliance with the Roman people, and obliged him to return on board his fleet, after he had left his camp and nine elephants, to the mercy of the enemy. Then he took Macella, one of the ſtrongeſt places in Sicily. He fitted out a fleet in the ſpace of ſixty days, defeated the Carthaginians, commanded by Hannibal, at ſea, took from them thirty ſhips, with all their rigging, and the ſeptiremis which carried the admiral himſelf; ſunk thirty; and took ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction, who walked before his chariot, and added to the glory of his triumph. In memory of which exploits, the Roman ſenate and people erected this pillar. This inſcription on the baſis of the pillar, which every curious ſtranger viſits at Rome, ſhews us the way of writing in the early times of the republic.

DURING theſe diſtractions at Rome, Cornelius had weighed anchor, and was already on the coaſts of Corſica. As men are generally fond of new undertakings, the conſul thought the two iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia worthy of a campaign. And indeed, no conqueſt, next to that of Sicily, could ſo well anſwer the end the republic then had in view, which was to gain the empire of the ſea. The Carthaginians, who were then maſters of them, had fortified ſome cities there, in order to be nearer to Italy, and make themſelves formidable to the maritime coaſts. The firſt the conſul attacked was Corſica, which he eaſily reduced, after he had made himſelf maſter of Aleria, the only ſtrong place in the iſland. From Corſica he ſailed to Sardinia, and appeared with his fleet off Olbia, a large city on the eaſt ſide of the iſland. But as the place was defended by a numerous garriſon, and the conſul wanted land-forces, he ſailed back to Italy, took on board his fleet as many troops as he could conveniently carry, and returning to Sardinia, made a deſcent, and laid ſiege to Olbia. Hanno, who had behaved ſo well in Sicily, defended the place with incredible bravery; but, he being killed in one of the attacks, the Carthaginians were obliged to ſurrender the place to the conqueror, who gave the Africans an inſtance of humanity, to which they were utter ſtrangers. He honoured the dead body of their general with magnificent obſequies, and attended it in perſon to the place of burial [1]. The conſul did not ſuffer the ardor of his troops to cool; but beſieged and took moſt of the maritime cities, driving the Carthaginians every-where before him.

The Romans conquer Corſica and Sardinia.

IN the mean time, Aquilius, arriving in Sicily, repaired the loſſes the republic had ſuſtained there ſince the departure of Duilius. Hamilcar had taken from the Romans the cities of Enna and Camerina, and fortified Drepanum, a place of great importance on account of its harbour. As the conſul Aquilius had been detained at Rome to ſuppreſs the conſpiracy, and did not arrive in Sicily till the campaign was near ended, the republic recalled his collegue Cornelius to preſide at the election of the new conſuls; when A. Attilius Collatinus and C. Sulpicius Paterculus were choſen. The command of the fleet fell to the latter, and that of the land-forces to Attilius. As for Aquilius, he was continued in the command of the army in Sicily with the title of proconſul, till the arrival of Attilius; during which ſhort time he

[1] Oros. l. iv. c. 7. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

Myſiſtratum in Sicily taken.

he drove Hamilcar quite out of the field, and laying ſiege to Myſiſtratum, a city of great ſtrength, which the Romans had often endeavoured in vain to reduce, brought it to ſuch ſtreights, that it ſurrendered to his ſucceſſor Attilius ſoon after his arrival. The proconſul upon his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph, as was his collegue Cornelius for the conqueſts he had made in Sicily and Sardinia [m]. From Myſiſtratum, Attilius led his army to Camerina, but on his way was all on a ſudden ſurrounded in a deep valley by the Carthaginians, who, under the command of Hamilcar, lay concealed on the hills all round it, ſo that, all the avenues being blocked up, he could neither advance nor retire. In this extremity a legionary tribune, called by ſome writers Cæditius, by others Laberius, but by the greateſt number M. Calpurnius Flamma, deſired the conſul to give him three hundred choſen men, promiſing to find the enemy ſo much employment with this ſmall company, as ſhould oblige them to leave a paſſage open for the Roman army. He performed his promiſe with a bravery truly heroic; for having ſeized, in ſpite of all oppoſition, an eminence, and intrenched himſelf on it, the Carthaginians, jealous of his deſign, flocked from all quarters to drive him from his poſt. But the brave tribune kept their whole army in play, till the conſul, taking advantage of the diverſion, drew his army out of the bad ſituation, into which he had imprudently brought it. When the legions were out of danger, they haſtened to the relief of their brave companions; but all they could do was only to ſave their bodies from the inſults of the enemy, for they found them all dead in the place, on which they had poſted themſelves, except Calpurnius, who lay under a heap of dead bodies, covered all over with wounds, but ſtill breathing. His wounds were immediately dreſſed, and it fortunately happened, that none of them proved mortal. The brave officer recovered, and for this glorious enterpriſe was rewarded with a crown of gramen, which was in thoſe happy days a greater encouragement to the Romans to ſerve their country, than the hopes of more ſubſtantial rewards [n].

The Roman army ſaved by the bravery of a legionary tribune.

The Romans take ſeveral cities in Sicily.

Attilius, being thus reſcued from the Caudine Forks, we may ſay, in Sicily, purſued his march to Camerina, which he took by the help of engines ſent him by Hiero king

[m] Tab. triumph. Auth. vir. illuſtr.

[n] Zonar. l. viii. c. 12. Liv. epit. l. xvii.

king of Syracuſe, and ſold all the Carthaginians in the place for ſlaves. He then marched to Enna, the inhabitants of which place opened the gates to him, delivering the Carthaginians up to the Romans, who put them all to the ſword. Sittana was taken by aſſault, and the army, which came to relieve it, put to flight. From hence the conſul led his army into the country of the Agrigentines, and, by making himſelf maſter of Camicus and Erbeſſa, drove the enemy quite out of that fruitful territory. Attilius, flushed with this ſucceſs, raſhly laid ſiege to Lipara, expecting it would ſurrender upon the firſt ſummons. But Hamilcar, having conveyed himſelf privately into the city with ſome choſen troops, made a ſally, when the Romans were beginning to ſcale the walls, and repulſed them with great loſs °.

As for Sulpicius, who commanded the fleet, he completed the conqueſt of Corſica and Sardinia, and aſſiſted his collegue in the reduction of the maritime cities of Sicily. But this was not enough for the brave conſul. He was ambitious of ſignalizing his campaign by a naval victory; but as no Carthaginian fleet appeared at ſea, he ſpread a report, that he intended to go in queſt of it, and burn the ſhips of the African republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the Carthaginians, who thereupon truſted Hannibal once more with the command of a conſiderable fleet. He immediately put to ſea, and met Sulpicius not far from the coaſt of Africa. But while both fleets were preparing for an engagement, a ſudden ſtorm parted them, and drove the Roman, as well as the Carthaginian, veſſels into the ports of Sardinia. The ſtorm no ſooner began to abate, than Sulpicius putting to ſea ſurpriſed Hannibal in the harbour, and either ſunk or took moſt of his ſhips. This misfortune occaſioned a mutiny among the ſeamen of his fleet, who ſeizing on the perſon of their commander, crucified him in the city of Sulci in Sardinia, where he had taken refuge. Such was the end of old Hannibal, as he is called by the hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh him from the ſecond Hannibal, who proved ſo fatal to the Romans. Sulpicius after this victory returned to Rome, where he received the honours of a triumph.

The Carthaginian fleet ſurpriſed by the Romans.

THE conſuls of the following year, C. Attilius Regulus and Cn. Cornelius Blaſio, having, according to cuſtom,

° Polyb. ibid. c. 24. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Flor. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 12.

drawn lots for their commands, that of the fleet fell to Regulus, and the leading of the land-forces to Cornelius. A. Attilius was continued in the command of the army in Sicily with the title of proconſul. Regulus, who commanded the Roman fleet, being at Tyndaris, deſcried that of the Carthaginians lying along the coaſt in diſorder. Whereupon, at the head of a ſquadron of ten galleys only, he advanced to obſerve their number and ſtrength, ordering the reſt of his fleet to follow with all poſſible expedition. But as he drew too near the enemy, he was on a ſudden inveſted by a far greater number of Carthaginian galleys. The Romans fought with their uſual bravery, but being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to yield. However, the conſul found means to make his eſcape and join the fleet, which was following the unfortunate ſquadron in line of battle. He then had his full revenge on the enemy, who were put in diſorder at the firſt onſet, and obliged to ſave themſelves in the port of Lipara, after having loſt eighteen ſhips, ten of which were taken, with all their crews, and eight ſunk. For this victory C. Attilius Regulus, on his return to Rome, received the honours of a triumph, as did alſo A. Attilius for his exploits at land, during his conſulſhip and proconſulſhip. As for the conſul Cornelius, he had no opportunity to ſignalize himſelf: he is ſaid only to have pillaged ſome open villages, and laid waſte the iſland of Melita, which were too inconſiderable exploits to deſerve a triumph [p]. Rome was terrified with ſeveral prodigies during this campaign; whereupon the ſenate thought themſelves obliged to renew the Feriæ Latinæ, which had been for ſome time neglected. Q. Ogulnius was created dictator to preſide at them, and he appointed M. Lætorius for his general of the horſe.

The Carthaginians defeated at ſea.

THE war with Carthage had already laſted eight years. The Carthaginians had loſt Corſica, Sardinia, and all their dominions in Sicily, except Lilybæum, Panormus, and a few places in that neighbourhood. Sicily had long ſeemed to be the utmoſt limits of the ambition of the Romans. But now they thought of nothing leſs than reducing Carthage itſelf. With this view the conſuls, L. Manlius Vulſo and Marcus Attilius Regulus, whoſe name is famous in hiſtory, were ordered to paſs into Africa, and to make that country the ſeat of the war for the future. Their fleet for this expedition conſiſted of three hundred and thirty galleys

[p] Polyb. ibid. c. 25. Zonar. l. viii. c. 12.

galleys of different sizes, and aboard each galley were a hundred and twenty soldiers and three hundred rowers. The enemy's fleet, under the command of Hanno and Hamilcar, was yet more formidable; for it consisted of three hundred and sixty sail, and was far better manned than that of the Romans. With this fleet the Carthaginian admirals set sail, and arrived at the port of Heraclea in Sicily, in order to watch the motions of the Romans, and oppose at all events their descent upon the coast of Africa. The consuls nevertheless pursued their course, and appearing off Heraclea with their fleet, drew up in line of battle. Hanno and Hamilcar accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement ensued, which lasted the greater part of the day with equal success, the soldiers and commanders on both sides distinguishing themselves on this occasion in a most eminent manner. But at length fortune, which from the beginning of this war had espoused the cause of the Romans, declared in their favour. The Carthaginians were entirely routed; thirty of their ships were destroyed; threescore and three taken with their crews; and the rest obliged to take shelter in the ports of Sicily and Africa. In the whole action the Romans lost but twenty-four galleys, which were all sunk [q].

The battle of Heraclea.

In pursuance of this complete victory, the consuls, returning into the ports of Sicily, equipped with all possible expedition the ships they had taken from the enemy, embarqued new troops, and took in fresh provisions, in order to make the intended descent upon Africa. Hanno endeavoured to amuse them by conferences about a peace, in hopes of receiving in the mean time supplies from Carthage, in order to venture a second engagement. Nay, he had the boldness to come in person to confer with the consuls, as a deputy from his republic. He no sooner arrived, than the multitude cried out, that he should be detained prisoner by way of reprisal, for the treachery practised five years before on the person of the consul Cornelius Asina. Hanno, alarmed at these clamours, with an air of confidence put this flattering and artful question to the consuls: What advantage can it be to you, O consuls, to imitate our perfidiousness? It will only be said, that Rome produces as bad men as Carthage. The consuls, piqued in honour at these words, replied, that though the perfidious Carthaginians had violated the law of nations, it became the

[q] Polyb. ibid. c. 26---28. Oros. l. iv. c. 8.

the probity of the d o ns to obſerve them even with traitors; and ſufferec th to return untouched r. But as for peace, there beingan iſpoſition to it on either ſide, Hanno made the beſt for way to Carthage to give notice of the approaching bett . At length the conſuls ſet ſail, and, t ather proving favourable, had a fortunate paſſage. The firſt land in Africa they ſet their eyes on was cape Hermea; and there the fleet lay at anchor ſome time, waiting till all the galleys and tranſports came up. From thence they coaſted along till they arrived before Clupea, a city to the eaſt of Carthage, and there they made their firſt deſcent. Clupea, or, as the Greek writers call it, Aſpis, was very conveniently ſituated for a magazine of arms and proviſions, and had near it ſeveral ports for ſheltering ſuch ſhips as ſhould come from Italy. The Romans, therefore, having laid up their fleet in one of theſe ports, and ſecured it on the land-ſide with a rampart and a large ditch, ſummoned the city to ſurrender. Some writers tell us, that this important place ſubmitted upon terms; others, that it was abandoned by its inhabitants. Be that is will, it is certain, that the conſuls ſoon became maſters of it, and fortified it after the Roman manner, in order to make it the general rendezvous of the Italian fleets and a key to Africa. From Clupea they diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome to acquaint the ſenate and people with their ſucceſs, and to receive freſh inſtructions as to their proceedings. For at this time the conſuls did little more than execute the orders of the conſcript fathers, who, being for the moſt part able and experienced commanders, were capable of directing the conduct of their new and often unexperienced generals. While the conſuls waited for the return of the meſſenger, they marched up into the country, and ravaging the fruitful plains of Africa, where no enemy had long appeared, returned to the coaſt with an immenſe booty. We are told, that in theſe incurſions they took above twenty thouſand priſoners. While they were thus living at diſcretion in the enemy's country, the meſſenger returned from Rome, with orders for Manlius to repair to Italy with the fleet, and for Regulus to purſue the war in Africa, with as many troops and ſhips as he thought proper for that ſervice. But Regulus, either out of ſome ſecret foreboding of the misfortunes that were to befal him, or becauſe he was impatient to receive the honours of a triumph for his late naval victory,

The Romans make a deſcent upon Africa.

[r] Zonar. l. viii. c. 12.

A MAP OF AFRICA PROPRIA AND NUMIDIA.

THE SEA OF AFRICA

THE SEA OF LIBIA

MAURITANIA

NUMIDIA

GETULIA

ZEUGITANA

BYZACIUM

TRIPOLITANA

THE LITTLE SYRTIS

SICILY

Ægades Isles

Maritim I.

Hyccara

Cephaloedis

Solus

Alasa

Himera

Panormus

Mount Eryx

Drepanum

Thermæ on Himera

Thermæ Colony

Enna

Himera R.

Centu

Heraclea

Agrigentum Col.

Gela

Cossura I

Promontory of Mercury

Aspis or Clupea

Ægusa I.

Lopudusa I.

Gaulos I.

Melita or Malta

Isle of Malta

The Fair Promontory

Hippo Diarrhytos

Colony

Ægimur I.

Cape of Apollo

The Altar of Neptune

The Temple of Apollo

Thinissa

Utica

Uthina Col.

Cossra Cornelia Colony

G. of Carthage

CARTHAGE Colony

Carpis

Curubis

Neapolis Colony

Putpud

Siagul

Aphrodisium

Horrea Calia

Adrumetum Col

Leptis

Thapsa

Sublecti

Hannibals Tower

Acolla

Ruspæ

Tyfdrum Col.

Uzecia

Thenæ

Taphora

Cercinias I.

Cercina Island and City

Macomadæ Municipium

Usula

Cillæ

Lotophagitis Island

Menina

Gita Mun

Tacape Col.

Acma

Triton's Lake

The Waters of Tacape

Pontezita Municipium

Mount Gilliis

Sabrita Colony

Fisida

Oea Colony afterwards Tripoly

Tuburbis

Little Sicilibba Suburbis Col.

Perusa

Tunis

Maxalla Col

Vallis

Quina Col.

Vina

Vacaria

Membressa

Cirna M

Coreva

Jupiters Mount

Asburus

Mufti

Sicca Col.

Bulla Regia

Naraggara

Tagura

Tagaste Mun

Simittu Col.

Tucca

Thunasda

Madaura

Onellaba

Cullu Col.

Theudale

Saphira

Cigisa

Natpotes

Labraca Colony

Thurburnica Colony

Rusicada Colony

Hippo Royal Colony

Aphroaisum

Sullucum

Tacatua

Paratiane

Cullucitana

Cullu Mun.

Vaga

Gazaufula

Cirta Col.

Idiera

Cuiculum

Milevis Colony

Sigus

Tipasa

Macomadæ

Gemella

Royal Lake

Nova Sparsa

Zurat

Thunudronum Colony

Lambæba

Taduti

Lambesa

Tibiga Colony

Tamugadda

Tuburscea

Justi

Meramenum

Mount Thambas

Lares Colony

Altaba

Amedera Colony

Mascula

Megesela

Glaudi

Tinphadi

Altiburus

Tevesta Colony

Vegesela

Mount Mampsarius

Menegere

Cilio

Nara

Sufes

Masciana

Sufetula

Amudasa

Germaniciana

Ovisca

Auleni

Muros

Byzacia

Mount Aurasius

Zama Colony

Madasumma

Taspalla

Septimunicia

Telepte Col.

Gemella

Gremella

Capsa Colony

Putea

Tisurus

Zugar

Tasarta

R. Triton

Arlava

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Jo.n Davisson Sculpt

North

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

PART OF SICILY

Aegates

Lilybæum

Pachynum Point

Dracontia

Candidum F.

Hippo Point

Aegimori Ara or Aegimurus

Mercuri Point

Apollinis point

Clupea

Neapolis

Eurubi

Carpis

Utica

Hippon Diarrhytus

Carthage

Tunes or Tuneta

Phagu

Aphrodisium

Cossyra

Gaulos

Melite Ile

Junonis Templum

Hippon Regius

Simitu

Tagaste

Sicca Veneria

Massyli

Sinica part

Maduura

Madurus

Numidiae part of Ammedara

Tusca R.

Laribus

Thardalis

Nuca

Terebinthina

Thapsus

Furris Annibalis

Acholla

Lopadusa

Aethusa

Cossura

Gætuli a Mario locati

Thebeste or Theueste

Cilio

Vchina

Susetula

Tisdra

Sarsura

Tisdrus

Ruspe

Villa

Cercina L.

Taplirura

Thenae

Byzacena

Meninx or Lotophagites Ile

Little Syrtis

Gazacupada

Audira

Macomades or Macodama

Leer

Tuema

Byzacii

Byzacena

Celle

Tacape

Zugai

Gichthi

Isinuie

Idica

Tuburbo majus

Bullaminsa

Corbica

Tucca

Cinna Mollues

Dabia

Nivati

Sasura

Ptolemaei

Capsa

Ginsithii

Chuzie

Pontezinta

Villa Magna

Castra or Villa Anicitorum

Sabrata

Oea

Abrotonum

Bendina

Telepte

Gipsonsi

Gi

Tritonitis Lake

Vazua

Cilma

Sigiploin

Lotophagi occeidentales

Ozuri

Ticetia

Garapita port

Greacti epis

Auxigua

Auzia

Nersa

Thabba

Putea

Pallas

Palus

Themisia

Tichasa

Mimaces

Aquæ Calidæ

Thuseubis

Negeta

Astactures

Sumuci

Deserta Regio

Lotophagi

Ammonis

Zigira

Tinica

Muse

Gigius or Gillius Mounts

Eropæi

Barathia

Bunchum

Bagrada R.

Mampsari

Mampsarus Mount

Lybya palus

Muturgures

Dolopes

Macæ Cynypsii or Macæi Syrtitæ

Cinyps

Cinyps or Gynphus R.

Thiribi Mounts

Muscle vicus

Galybe

Viddita

Sitapha

Iscina

Gerisa

Azuis

Aspis port

Tiarris Euphrania

Boreum Opp & point

Charax

Automata

Philænorum Ara

Nasamones

Psylli

Velpi Mounts

Scabe palus

Tege

Butta

THE DESERT OF LIBYA

INFERIOR

Muchthusii

Vzaræ

Vsalenus Mounts

THE SYRTIC GULF

Great Syrtis

Boreii

Lotos R.

Turris Hercules

Ptolemais

Neapolis

Teuchira

Myrmæ Isle

Apuchi famum

Physcus point

AFRICA PROPER

West

East

35

30

26

South

To.r Danielson Sculpt

victory, appeared greatly diſſatisfied with the province aſſigned him, and deſired to be recalled. His pretence, which would be now thought a very trifling one, ſhews the character aud manners of the Romans in thoſe times. He repreſented to the ſenate, that upon the death of the huſbandman, who had the care of his little farm of ſeven acres of ground, he had been obliged to intruſt a day-labourer with the manuring of it, who had ſtolen his cattle and carried off all his ſtock; ſo that his preſence was neceſſary at home to provide for the ſubſiſtance of his wife and children. Upon this the ſenate ordered his wife and children to be maintained at the expence of the public, but directed him to continue in Africa, and command the army there with the title of proconſul, when the year of his conſulate ſhould expire [s]. Purſuant to theſe orders, Attilius remained in Africa with forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, while his collegue returned to Rome with the reſt of the army, carrying aboard his fleet twenty-ſeven thouſand priſoners.

THE following year, the republic raiſed Ser. Fulvius Nobilior and M. Æmilius Paulus to the conſulate; but all the attention of the republic was upon Regulus, who now, as proconſul, puſhed on his conqueſts with incredible rapidity. To oppoſe his progreſs, Hamilcar was recalled from Sicily, and to him were joined Boſtar and Aſdrubal. Hamilcar commanded an army juſt equal to that of Regulus; the other two headed ſeparate bodies, which were to join him, or act apart, as occaſion required. But, before they were in a condition to take the field, Regulus, purſuing his conqueſts, arrived on the banks of the Bagrada, which empties itſelf into the ſea at a ſmall diſtance from Carthage. There he had a monſter to contend with, in the deſcription of which the Latin hiſtorians have employed ſo much art and eloquence, that we cannot help thinking they have exaggerated their accounts beyond all meaſure. This monſter, ſay they, was a ſerpent of an immenſe ſize, which infected the waters of the river, poiſoned the air, and killed all other animals with its breath alone. When the Romans went to fetch water, this huge dragon attacked them, and twiſting itſelf round their bodies, either ſqueezed them to death, or ſwallowed them alive; ſo that it was neceſſary to fight this furious monſter in form. As its hard and thick ſcales were proof againſt their darts and arrows, they were forced

The Romans kill a ſerpent of an immenſe ſize on the banks of the Bagrada.

[s] Polyb. ibid. c. 29. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 4.

forced to have recou . to the baliſtæ, which they made uſe of in ſieges to throw great ſtones, and beat down the walls of the beſieged cities. With theſe machines, they diſcharged ſhowers of huge ſtones againſt this new enemy, and had the good luck with one of them to break his back-bone, which diſabled him from twiſting and winding his immenſe body, and by that means gave the Romans an opportunity of accoſting and diſpatching him with their darts and javelins. But his dead body corrupted the air and the water of the river, and ſpread ſo great an infection all over the country, that the Romans were obliged to decamp. We are told, that Regulus ſent the ſkin of this frightful monſter to Rome, whichwas a hundred and twenty foot long, and that it was hung up in a temple, where it was preſerved to the time of the Numantine war. This ſtory has been totally omitted by Polybius, and by other Greek writers ſo qualified, as to have ſome appearance of truth. Upon the whole, this dreadful monſter ſeems to have been a crocodile, an animal common in Africa, but never before ſeen by the Romans, who, ſurpriſed at the ſight of it, and frightened at the miſchief it might have done them, tranſmitted hyperbolic accounts of the whole to Rome, which were copied by the Latin hiſtorians [t].

ATTILIUS, having paſſed the Bagrada, beſieged Adis, or Adda, not far from Carthage, which the enemy attempted to relieve; but as they encamped among the hills and rocks, where their elephants, in which the main ſtrength of their army lay, could be of no uſe to them, Regulus attacked them in their camp, killed ſeventeen thouſand of them, took five thouſand priſoners, and eighteen elephants. Upon the fame of this victory, which was ſoon ſpread all over Africa, deputies came from all quarters to ſubmit in the name of their reſpective cities and ſtates to the conqueror; inſomuch that Regulus in a few days became maſter of fourſcore towns, among which were the city and port of Utica. This encreaſed the alarm at Carthage, which was reduced to deſpair, when Regulus laid ſiege to Tunis, a great city about nine miles from that capital. The place was taken in ſight of the Carthaginians, who from their walls beheld all the operations of the ſiege, and ſuffered the Romans to carry on their attacks and batter the place, without offering

Gets poſſeſſion of eighty cities.

[t] Vide Flor. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 13. Oroſ. l. iv. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Gell. l. vi. c. 3. Plin. l. viii. c. 14.

ing to relieve it. And to complete their misfortunes, the Numidians, their neighbours and irreconcileable enemies, took up arms, entered their territory, laid waste their fields, and committed every-where most dreadful devastations, which soon occasioned a great scarcity of provisions in the city. The public magazines were soon exhausted; and, as the city was full of selfish merchants, who took advantage of the public distress to sell their provisions at an excessive price, a famine ensued with all the evils which attend it. In this extremity Regulus advanced to the very gates of the city, and having encamped under the walls, sent deputies to treat of a peace with the senate. It may seem strange, that the consul should shew so much indulgence for a republic, which rivalled his own, at a time, when one single stroke more would, in all probability, have brought her under subjection. But it must be owned, that though the proconsul loved his country, he likewise loved his own glory and reputation. He considered, that his proconsulate was ready to expire; that at the end of the year Rome would appoint him a successor, who would rob him of the glory of a conquest, the beginnings of which had cost him a great deal of labour and fatigue, and that at Rome those, who put the last hand to great conquests, were much more regarded than the generals, who had happily begun them. Upon these considerations, he resolved to conclude the war to his own glory and the benefit of his republic, by such an advantageous peace, as should ever do honour to his memory. With these views he resolved to spend the rest of the campaign, which he thought was not sufficient to accomplish the reduction of Carthage, in treaties and negotiations. The deputies sent by the proconsul were received at Carthage with inexpressible joy; but the conditions they proposed were such, that the senate could not hear them without the utmost indignation; and Regulus, as if he had made a complete conquest of Carthage, would abate nothing of his first demands. The conditions were; 1. That the Carthaginians should relinquish all claims to Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. 2. That they should restore to the Romans all the prisoners they had taken from them ever since the beginning of the war. 3. That if they cared to redeem any of their own prisoners, they should pay so much a head for them, as Rome should judge reasonable. 4. That they should for ever pay the Romans an annual tribute. 5. That for the future they should fit out but one man of war for their own use, and fifty triremes to

Sends propofals of peace to Carthage, which are rejected.

serve

ſerve in the Roman fleet at the expence of Carthage, when required by any of the future conſuls. Theſe extravagant demands provoked the ſenators, who loudly and unanimouſly rejected them, proteſting, that they would rather die a thouſand times, than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful a ſlavery. The Roman deputies, in leaving the aſſembly, told the ſenate, that the Roman proconſul would not alter a ſingle letter in the propoſals, and that they muſt either conquer the Romans, or obey them. After this formal declaration, the Carthaginians had nothing left but to ſell their lives dear, and die with honour in defence of their country [u].

BEFORE this negotiation, the Carthaginian republic had ſent to hire mercenaries in Greece, and this reinforcement arrived juſt in the height of her diſtreſs. Among theſe mercenaries was a Lacedæmonian, by name Xantippus, a man of great bravery and experience in war. We do not find, that he had any conſiderable poſt in the troops of his own country; he was one of thoſe ſubalterns, who are often more able ſoldiers than their generals, and only want an opportunity of exerting themſelves. The Lacedæmonian, having informed himſelf of the circumſtances of the late battle, declared publicly, that their overthrow was owing more to their own miſconduct, than to the ſuperiority of the enemy. His diſcourſe being ſpread among the people and ſoldiery, came to the knowledge of the ſenate; and the ſenators immediately commanded him to be brought before them. Being introduced to them, he explained himſelf ſo clearly, and talked ſo judiciouſly, that the Carthaginian generals, as well as the reſt, were for putting him at the head of the army; and a decree was made for that purpoſe.

Xantippus appointed general of the Carthaginians.

Xantippus, being thus inveſted with the ſupreme command, applied himſelf in the firſt place to the diſciplining of his troops; and having taught them how to march, encamp, widen, and cloſe their ranks, and rally after the Lacedæmonian manner under their proper colours, he took the field with twelve thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and about an hundred elephants. The Romans were ſurpriſed at the ſudden change they obſerved in the enemy's conduct. However, Regulus, elated with his late ſucceſs, came and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the Carthaginian army, in a vaſt plain, where the enemy's elephants and horſe had room

[u] Polyb. ibid. c. 30, Oros. l. iv. c. 8. Eutrop. l. ii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 13. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

room to act. The two armies were parted by a river, which Regulus boldly paſſed, and by that means left his troops no way to retreat in caſe of a misfortune. This was what Xantippus wanted, who immediately cried out, The gods favour us, and drew up his men in order of battle. In the firſt line he placed his dart-men, with orders to retire into the ſpaces between the battalions, as ſoon as they had made their diſcharge. Behind them, but at ſome diſtance, were placed the elephants in a long front, carrying wooden towers filled with men. Behind the elephants was the Carthaginian phalanx, conſiſting of the beſt infantry of the army; and theſe were the main body. As for the wings, Xantippus poſted his light-armed troops in the left, and the mercenaries in the right. Theſe two wings were ſupported by the African cavalry. Regulus, on the other hand, drew up his troops after the Roman manner; but was guilty of one great fault: to prevent the elephants from breaking in upon him, he made his main body too narrow and too deep, which expoſed it to the danger of being ſurrounded [w].

XANTIPPUS began the attack, ordering the leaders of the elephants to advance, and attempt the breaking of the enemy's firſt line. The Romans ſtood the ſhock of thoſe dreadful animals with great bravery. But, in the mean time, the Roman cavalry in the wings, being charged by the Carthaginian, which was greatly ſuperior in number, were overpowered, put into confuſion, and obliged to fly. On the other hand, Regulus's left, being falling upon the mercenaries, whom Xantippus had poſted in his right, broke them, and purſued them to their camp, whither they retired in diſorder. But, in the mean time, the main body of the Romans, which Regulus commanded in perſon, being attacked in front by the elephants, and in the rear by the African cavalry, was put into diſorder; the elephants bore all down before them, and ſuch of the Romans as attempted to make their eſcape to avoid the fury of thoſe monſtrous animals, fell in among the horſe and were cut in pieces. The main body being thus broke and caſt into confuſion, the whole army was put to the rout, and the ſlaughter was univerſal. Of all the Roman army, only two thouſand, who purſued the mercenaries, eſcaped, and arrived ſafe at Clupea. Regulus himſelf, with five hundred choſen men who kept conſtantly about him, was ſur-

The Romans defeated, and Regulus taken priſoner.

[w] Polyb. c. 33. Frontin. l. ii. c. 8.

ſurrounded by the enemy and taken. The reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand men, were cut in pieces, either in the battle, or in the purſuit. The loſs of the Carthaginians was ſcarce above eight hundred men, moſt of them mercenaries, in the right wing, which was routed. The victorious army returned to the capital of Africa, which Xantippus entered, as it were in triumph, leading the Roman conſul with him among the reſt of the priſoners. All the people of Carthage ran to meet their deliverer, and could ſcarce believe their own eyes. They beheld with unſpeakable pleaſure the proud Roman, in a ſtate to implore that compaſſion, which he had refuſed them. As for Xantippus, they looked upon him as a hero ſent by the gods, to reſcue a miſerable people from deſpair and oppreſſion, and beſtowed on him all the honours which a ſincere gratitude could ſuggeſt. But the wiſe Lacedæmonian, foreſeeing that the ſervice he had done them, which was too great for a reward, would create him both envy and danger, reſolved to content himſelf with the glory of ſo noble a victory, and, without waiting for any other reward, to return to Lacedæmon. His departure is differently related, but all accounts reflect an eternal ſhame and diſhonour on the Carthaginian nation. Some ſay, that the Carthaginians, jealous of his glory, put privately on board with him aſſaſſines, who murdered him and threw his dead body into the ſea [x]. Others tell us, that a leaky veſſel was got ready for him; but that the artful Greek, being appriſed of their wicked deſign, went on board another galley, and arrived ſafe in his own country [y]. However that be, neither Xantippus's victory, nor the monſtrous ingratitude of the Carthaginians, will ever be forgot. As for Regulus, he was treated with all the cruelty revenge could dictate. After they had made him the ſport of the multitude, and expoſed him to the inſults of an enraged and cruel populace, they ſhut him up in a public priſon, affording him no more food than was barely ſufficient to prolong his life, and in all other reſpects treating him as the criminals, who were under the ſame confinement.

THE defeat and captivity of Regulus cauſed as much grief at Rome, as joy at Carthage. The ſenate no ſooner received an account of the poſture of their affairs in Africa, ſo contrary to their expectation, but they ordered the conſuls for the year, Fulvius and Æmilius, who had hi-

therto

[x] Appian. in Punicis. [y] Zonar. l. viii. c. 13.

therto continued at Rome inactive, to take proper meaſures for the ſecuring of the coaſts of Italy from an invaſion, to haſten into Sicily, and from thence, if they thought it adviſeable, to paſs over into Africa, and ſave the remains of Regulus's army and conqueſts. In the mean time, the Carthaginians ſat down before Clupea, but the garriſon made ſo brave and obſtinate a defence, that the enemy, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. From Clupea they marched to Utica, which they likewiſe beſieged, but abandoned the enterpriſe, upon the news they received, that the Romans were equipping a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail. And indeed this formidable armament was ready before the end of the ſummer; ſo that the conſuls from Sicily, where they left ſome land-forces, ſet ſail for Africa, in order to make a ſecond deſcent. The Carthaginians, who had, with incredible expedition, refitted their old veſſels and built a good number of new ones, met the Roman fleet off cape Hermea, or Mercury, and gave them battle. But the loſs they ſuſtained was much greater, than the advantage they had gained over Regulus. An hundred and four of their ſhips were ſunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thouſand of their ſoldiers or rowers killed in the action. After this the Romans purſued their courſe to Clupea, where they had no ſooner landed, than they were attacked by the Carthaginian army under the command of the two Hannos, father and ſon. But as the brave Lacedæmonian was no longer with them, notwithſtanding the new diſcipline he had taken great care to teach them, they were routed at the very firſt onſet, in which they loſt nine thouſand men, and among them many of their chief lords. After theſe two glorious victories, the one by ſea and the other by land, the Romans found themſelves obliged, for want of proviſions, to drop their African expedition, and to evacuate both Clupea and Utica. In their way home they were deſirous of ſignalizing the end of their conſulate by ſome important conqueſts on the coaſt of Sicily, where ſome cities ſtill adhered to the Carthaginians. They thought, that the ſudden appearance of a victorious fleet with a formidable army would awe them into ſubjection. Inſtead therefore of returning home, they ſteered their courſe to the northern coaſt of Sicily, contrary to the opinion of all the pilots in the fleet, who adviſed them, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, to ſail ſtreight for Italy. Their obſtinacy proved the deſtruction of the fleet; for, a more violent ſtorm ariſing than had been known in the memory

The Carthaginians defeated both by ſea and land.

The Roman fleet deſtroyed by a ſtorm.

of man, the fleet was almoſt entirely deſtroyed; for of three hundred and ſeventy veſſels, which compoſed it, fourſcore only eſcaped ſhipwreck, the reſt being either ſwallowed by the ſea, or daſhed againſt the ſhore. This was by far the greateſt loſs Rome had ever ſuſtained; for, beſides the great number of ſhips that were caſt away with their crews, a numerous army was deſtroyed with all the riches of Africa, which had been by Regulus amaſſed and depoſited in Clupea, and were now tranſporting from thence to Rome. The whole coaſt from Pachynum to Camerina was covered with dead bodies, and ſtrewn with the wrecks of the ſhips; inſomuch, that hiſtory can ſcarce afford an example of the like dreadful diſaſter. The Romans on this occaſion experienced the conſtant friendſhip of good king Hiero, who ſupplied ſuch as eſcaped the common calamity, with cloaths, proviſions, and ſhips to convey them to Meſſana. This misfortune, however, was not imputed to the conſuls, who were continued each in the command of an army the next year, with the title of proconſul. The new conſuls were Cn. Cornelius Aſina and A. Attilius Calatinus. The former had been treacherouſly taken priſoner by Hanno the Carthaginian, as we have related above, and kept in captivity till the firſt deſcent of the Romans in Africa, when he was delivered from ſlavery, during which he had been obliged to drive a plough [z].

They fit out a new fleet.

THE Carthaginians, upon advice of the misfortune which had befallen the Romans at ſea, renewed the war in Sicily with freſh fury, hoping the whole iſland, which was now left defenceleſs, would ſoon fall into their hands. But the Romans, having in the ſpace of three months launched a hundred and twenty new gallies, which with the old ones that were refitted made a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail, both the conſuls and proconſuls were ordered to paſs over into Sicily, the former to command at ſea, and the latter at land. As they beſieged only maritime cities, they acted jointly, the land-forces inveſting them on one ſide, and the fleet on the other. Their firſt attempt was on the city of Cephalœdium, on the north coaſt, not far from the mouth of the Himera, which was betrayed to them by ſome of the inhabitants. From thence they ſailed to Panormus, the capital of the Carthaginian dominions in Sicily, and, having ſeized the port, ſummoned the town to ſurrender. But the inhabitants and garriſon being

Cephalœdium.

[z] Polyb. Zonar. Oros. & Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

being determined to ſtand a ſiege, the conſuls landed all their troops, and began to batter the walls with their engines, by which a tower ſtanding near the ſea was quickly ruined. At this breach the Romans entered, and made themſelves maſters of the quarter called The New City, thoſe who defended it retiring into The Old City, whither they carried with them terror and famine; ſo that the inhabitants ſoon ſent a deputation to the conſuls, offering to ſurrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and effects were ſpared. But the conſuls, not ignorant of the extremity to which they were reduced, would not even grant them their lives and liberties, unleſs they paid ſo much a head by way of ranſom. The unhappy people were obliged to ſubmit, and forty thouſand of them paid two minæ each, that is, 61. 9s. 2d. for their ranſom. Thoſe who could not advance that ſum were made ſlaves, to the number of about thirty thouſand, and ſold to the beſt bidder. After this conſiderable conqueſt, the conſuls ſet ſail for Rome; but in their paſſage the tranſports, on which they put the money and ſpoils brought from Panormus, were taken by the Carthaginian fleet [a]. The two proconſuls entered Rome in triumph, for the victory gained over the Carthaginians at ſea during their conſulate.

And Panormus taken by the Romans.

THE conſuls for the new year, CN. Servilius Cæpio and C. Sempronius Blæſus, with a fleet of two hundred and ſixty galleys, ſet ſail for Sicily, and appeared off Lilybæum; but, finding this place too ſtrong and too well garriſoned for them to attempt the ſiege of it, they ſteered from thence to the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, where they made ſeveral deſcents, ſurpriſed ſome cities, and plundered ſeveral towns and villages. But, as they were returning with the ſpoils of that rich country, they narrowly eſcaped loſing their whole fleet on the flats of the Leſſer Syrtis, near the iſland of the Lotophagi; where, by coaſting too near the ſhore, their veſſels grounded and ſtuck on the ſand-banks, till the flood brought them off again; and then they made off ſo faſt, that the Africans took their departure for a flight. They arrived ſafe at Panormus, and from thence after a few days ſet ſail for Italy, having a fair wind till they came off cape Palinurus, where ſo violent a ſtorm overtook them, that a hundred and ſixty of their galleys and a great number of tranſports were loſt.

The Roman fleet deſtroyed by another ſtorm.

[a] Polyb. l. i. c. 38. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

loſt. And now the republic, conſidering the two tempeſts, which had deſtroyed her two fleets, as a declaration of the will of the gods againſt her deſign of depriving the Carthaginians of the empire of the ſea, made a decree, that for the future no more than fifty veſſels ſhould be equipped, and that theſe ſhould be employed only in guarding the coaſt of Italy and tranſporting troops into Sicily. The proconſul Cornelius commanded this campaign the land-forces in Sicily, and though hiſtorians give us no account of his exploits, there is no room to doubt, but they were very conſiderable, ſince he was, on his return to Rome, decreed a triumph, as was alſo the conſul Sempronius Blæſus, but not his collegue Servilius Cæpio; which is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, ſince he ſeems to have had a ſhare in all the exploits of this campaign. Both the triumphal tables and ſeveral medals, which have reached our times, confirm the triumphs of Cornelius and Sempronius [b].

C. Aurelius Cotta and P. Servilius Geminus, being the enſuing year raiſed to the conſulate, paſſed over into Sicily to command the land-forces there, and made themſelves maſters of Himera, a city ſtanding at the mouth of a river bearing the ſame name. Aurelius, animated with this important conqueſt, which put his republic in poſſeſſion of a fruitful territory, formed a deſign upon the iſland and city of Lipara; and being ſupplied with ſhips by that ever faithful friend to the republic, king Hiero, he tranſported ſome of his choſen troops into the iſland, and ſat down before Lipara, the metropolis. But being ſeized with [illegible] unaccountable ſcruple touching the auſpices, he returned to Meſſana to conſult the auguries anew. During his abſence, Q. Caſſius and P. Aurelius Pecuniola, his relation, both legionary tribunes, being entruſted with the command of the army, made an attempt upon the city, contrary to their general's expreſs command. But the beſieged made ſo vigorous a ſally, that they repulſed the aggreſſors, and, purſuing them with great warmth, burnt their palliſades, and had like to have taken their camp. The conſul, upon his return to the camp, deprived Caſſius of his employment, and reduced Aurelius, after he had cauſed him to be beaten with rods, to the ſtate of a private ſoldier, obliging him to go through the ſervile drudgeries of a common centinel. After this the conſul applied himſelf wholly to the ſiege of the place, took it by aſſault,

Lipara taken by the Romans.

[b] Tab. triumph. Vid. Vaillant, fam. conſular.

aſſault, and put almoſt all the inhabitants to the ſword [c]. The conſul, having finiſhed this conqueſt, returned to Sicily, and, with an army of forty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, laid ſiege to Ereta, a ſtrong-hold of great importance; but, as ſoon as the Carthaginian army appeared, they abandoned the enterprize, the Romans being too much diſheartened ever ſince the defeat of Regulus, and too much afraid of the elephants to hazard a battle in the open country. They would fain have drawn the enemy up to the eminences, thereby to render their elephants uſeleſs. But neither party coming into the meaſures of the other, the campaign ended without any conſiderable action [d]. As for the conſul Servilius, he probably acted ſeparately; but did not ſignalize himſelf by any great exploit.

THIS year a plebeian by name Tib. Coruncanius, by ſome unknown revolution was raiſed to the dignity of pontifex maximus. As he was a man of eminent probity he concurred with the conſul Aurelius, who was naturally ſevere, and the cenſors, to puniſh thoſe who neglected the worſhip of the gods, led irregular lives, or tranſgreſſed the laws of military diſcipline. Thirteen ſenators were ignominiouſly ſtruck out of the liſt; and, at the motion of Aurelius, four hundred knights, who had refuſed to obey his orders in the iſland of Lipara, were degraded. Their horſes were taken from them, and they deprived of the right of ſuffrage in their centuries, without being exempted from the taxes. The pay likewiſe, which the republic owed them for their paſt ſervices, was declared forfeited. Aurelius, who had taken Himera and Lipara, was honoured with a triumph, which he obtained on the ides of April [e]. By a cenſus taken this year, there appeared to be in Rome 297797 men fit to bear arms. The Carthaginians, ſeeing themſelves now maſters of the ſea, and their hopes of reconquering Sicily encreaſing in proportion as they found their rivals reduced to act upon the defenſive, began to make new levies in Africa, to hire troops in Gaul and Spain, and to equip a new fleet. But, their treaſures being exhauſted, they ſent an embaſſy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, entreating him to lend them two thouſand talents. That prince being reſolved to ſtand neuter, refuſed to aſ-

[c] Frontin. l. iv. c. 1. Val. Max. l. i. c. 7. Zonar. l. viii. 14. [d] Polyb l. i. c. 39. Diodor. in excerpt. [e] Tab. triph. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9.

ſiſt them againſt the Romans, telling them, that he could not, without breach of fidelity, aſſiſt one friend againſt another. However, the Carthaginian republic made an effort, and, exerting herſelf, equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, and raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, and an hundred and forty elephants, appointing Aſdrubal commander in chief both of the fleet and army.

The Carthaginians fit out a new fleet.

WHILE Carthage was making theſe great preparations, Rome raiſed L. Cæcilius Metellus and C. Furius Pacilus to the conſulate. They both went into Sicily, and there acted only upon the defenſive, purſuant to their inſtructions from the ſenate. But though the conſcript fathers approved of the obedience of their generals, yet they began to reflect, that ſo much caution and circumſpection diſhonoured the commanders, and greatly abated the courage of the ſoldiers. They reſumed therefore their former vigor, and, forgetting their ſhipwrecks, reſolved to put a new fleet to ſea, there being no other means to preſerve Sicily. While the veſſels were building, the comitia choſe two conſuls, who were both men of great valor and experience, viz. L. Manlius Vulſo and C. Attilius Regulus, coulin-german to the famous captive. The late conſul Furius was recalled from Sicily; but his collegue Metellus continued there, with the title of proconſul, to oppoſe the formidable army under the command of Aſdrubal. Metellus, who was an able commander, being allowed by the ſenate to act according to his own judgment, ſoon recovered the former reputation of the Romans in Sicily. For, by pretending fear, he drew Aſdrubal into a diſadvantageous ſpot of ground near Panormus, and, then ſallying out upon him, gave him a terrible overthrow, and obtained one of the moſt ſignal victories mentioned in the Roman hiſtory. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were killed, and many elephants; of theſe latter a great number were alſo taken with their leaders, and ſent afterwards to Rome, where they ſwelled the pomp of the conqueror's triumph. Aſdrubal after this defeat fled to Lilybæum, which he reached with great difficulty; and the proconſul, having no more enemies to contend with in the field, returned to Rome, which he entered with triumph on the ſeventh of the ides of September. The Romans had never ſeen a more magnificent entry. The elephants, to the number of a hundred and four, marched through the city in proceſſion. The air rung with

The Romans put a new fleet to ſea.

Metellus gains a ſignal victory in Sicily.

with acclamations at the ſight of thoſe animals, and of the great number of priſoners in chains, among whom were thirteen officers of diſtinction. As the Romans had reſolved never to make uſe of elephants in war, and did not care to be at the expence of feeding them, they orde.ed them to be hunted, and put to death in the circus by their athletæ or wreſtlers; ſo that the people were at the ſame time diverted, and taught to deſpiſe the animals they had hitherto ſo much dreaded. As for the unhappy Aſdrubal, he was condemned in his abſence, and on his return home crucified, one ſingle misfortune blotting out the remembrance of his many former important ſervices [f].

And now the two conſuls, with the new fleet of two hundred and forty galleys and ſixty ſmaller veſſels, paſſing over into Sicily, reſolved, by a noble emulation, to ſurpaſs, if poſſible, their predeceſſor Metellus, and to drive the Carthaginians quite out of the iſland. With this view they laid ſiege to Lilybæum, a city deemed impregnable, and the only place of retreat for the Carthaginian armies. But Lilybæum proved a ſecond Troy; the ſiege laſted ten years, the forces of the two republics being exhauſted, within and without the walls of one ſingle city. The people of Carthage, upon the news of this enterpriſe, were ſo diſcouraged, that they began to think of a peace. The war had already laſted fourteen years; they had loſt their beſt commanders; their elephants had been taken from them; their fleets had been deſtroyed as faſt as they had put them to ſea; their finances were as much exhauſted as their armies were diminiſhed; the only towns they had now left in Sicily were Lilybæum and Drepanum, the one inve ied, and the other expoſed to the inſults of the enemy's new fleet. Theſe conſiderations induced them to think of putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war by a ſpeedy peace. With this view they began to ſoften the rigors of Regulus's couſinement, and endeavoured to engage him to go to Rome with their embaſſadors, and uſe his intereſt there to bring about a peace upon moderate terms, or at leaſt an exchange of priſoners. Regulus obeyed his maſters, and embarqued for Rome, after having bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to return to his chains, if the negotiation did not ſucceed. The Carthaginian ſhip arrived ſafe in Italy; but when Regulus came

The Carthaginians ſend Regulus to Rome to treat of a peace.

[f] Zonar. l. viii. c. 14. Polyb. c. 41. Oros. l. iv. c. 9.

to the gates of the city, he refuſed to enter them; My misfortunes, ſaid he, hath made me a ſlave to the Carthaginians; I am no longer a Roman citizen; the ſenate gives always audience to foreigners without the gates. His wife Marcia went out to meet him, and preſented to him his two young children. But he, only caſting a kind of wild look on them, fixed his eyes on the ground, as if he thought himſelf unworthy of the embraces of his wife and the careſſes of his children. When the ſenators aſſembled in the ſuburbs, he was introduced to them with the Carthaginian embaſſadors, and together with them made the two propoſals with which he was charged: Conſcript fathers, ſaid he, being now a ſlave to the Carthaginians, I am come on the part of my maſters to treat with you, concerning a peace and an exchange of priſoners. Having uttered theſe words, he began to withdraw and follow the embaſſadors, who were not allowed to be preſent at the deliberations and diſputes of the conſcript fathers. In vain the ſenate preſſed him to ſtay, and give his opinion as an old ſenator and conſul. He refuſed to continue in the aſſembly, till his African maſters ordered him, and then the illuſtrious ſlave took his place among the fathers; but continued ſilent with his eyes fixed on the ground, while the more antient ſenators ſpoke. When it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, he addreſſed himſelf to the conſcript fathers thus: Though I am a ſlave at Carthage, yet I am free at Rome, and will therefore declare my ſentiments with freedom. Romans, it is not for your intereſt either to grant the Carthaginians a peace, or to make an exchange of priſoners with them. Carthage is extremely exhauſted, and the only reaſon why ſhe ſues for peace is, becauſe ſhe is not in a condition to continue the war. You have been vanquiſhed but once, and that by my fault; a fault which Metellus has repaired by a ſignal victory. But the Carthaginians have been ſo often overcome, that they have not the courage to look a Roman in the face. Your allies continue peaceable, and ſerve you with zeal. But your enemy's troops conſiſt only of mercenaries, who have no other tie but that of intereſt, and will ſoon be diſobliged by the republic they ſerve, Carthage being already quite deſtitute of money to pay them. No, Romans, a peace with Carthage does not by any means ſuit your intereſt, conſidering the condition to which the Carthaginians are reduced. I therefore adviſe you to purſue the war with greater vigor than ever.

His ſpeech to the ſenate.

As for the exchange of priſoners, you have among the Carthaginian captives ſeveral officers of diſtinction, who are young, and may one day command the enemy's armies. But as for me, I am advanced in years, and my misfortunes have made me uſeleſs. Beſides, what can you expect from ſoldiers, who have been vanquiſhed and made ſlaves? Such men, like timorous deer, that have eſcaped out of the hunter's toils, will ever be upon the alarm and ready to fly. The ſenate, greatly affected with his diſintereſtedneſs, magnanimity, and contempt of life, would willingly have preſerved him, and continued the war in Africa. Some were of opinion, that in Rome he was not obliged to keep an oath, which had been extorted from him in an enemy's country. The pontifex maximus himſelf being conſulted in the caſe, declared, that Regulus might continue at Rome without being guilty of perjury. But the noble captive, highly offended at this deciſion, as if his honour and courage were called in queſtion, declared to the ſenate, who trembled to hear him ſpeak, that he well knew what torments were reſerved for him at Carthage; but that he had ſo much of the true ſpirit of a Roman, as to dread leſs the tortures of a cruel rack, than the ſhame of a diſhonourable action, which would follow him to his grave. It is my duty, ſaid he, to return to Carthage. Let the gods take care of the reſt. This intrepidity made the ſenate ſtill more deſirous of ſaving ſuch an hero. All means were made uſe of to make him ſtay, both by the people and ſenate. He would not even ſee his wife Marcia, nor ſuffer his young children to take their leave of him. Amidſt the lamentations and tears of the whole city, he embarqued with the Carthaginian embaſſadors to return to the place of his ſlavery, with as ſerene and chearful a countenance, as if he had been going to a country ſeat for his diverſion. The Carthaginians were ſo inraged againſt him, that they invented new torments to ſatisfy their revenge. Firſt, they cut off his eye-lids, keeping him for a while in a dark dungeon, and then bringing him out, and expoſing him to the ſun at noon-day. After this they ſhut him up in a kind of cheſt ſtuck with nails, having their points inwards, ſo that he could neither ſit nor lean without great torment; and there they ſuffered him to die with hunger, anguiſh, and want of ſleep [g] (G). WHEN

Returns to Carthage, and is put to a cruel death.

[g] Appian. in Punic. Val. Max. l. i. c. i. Cic. de off. Aul. Gell. noctes Atticæ, &c.

(G) It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that Hoffman ſhould look upon a fact, atteſted by a croud of credible witneſſes, as a fable. It is true,

WHEN the news of theſe cruelties reached Rome, the ſenate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the Carthaginian captives to the revenge of Marcia the wife of Regulus, who, venting her rage upon thoſe unhappy wretches, cauſed them to be ſhut up two and two in great cheſts thick ſtuck with nails, and there to ſuffer the ſame torments which her huſband had endured at Carthage. Boſtar died the fifth day; but Hamilcar, notwithſtanding the ſtench and corruption of the dead body of his companion, lived ten days, having as much food allowed him as was ſufficient to prolong his life in miſery. At length the ſenate put a ſtop to this cruel uſage, and commanded Boſtar's aſhes to be ſent home, and the reſt of the priſoners, who had ſurvived their tortures, to be uſed with more humanity [h].

The Romans carry on the ſiege of Lilybæum.

In the mean time, the two conſuls, Manlius and Attilius, carried on the ſiege of Lilybæum with great vigor. Himilco, a general of great experience and perſonal valor, commanded in the place, which was ſtrong both by nature and art, and defended by a very numerous garriſon, conſiſting of ten thouſand mercenary Gauls and Greeks, beſides a prodigious number of Carthaginian and African troops. The conſuls divided the attacks between them, the one inveſting the city on the ſide of the ſea, the other of the land. Their camps had a communication by a deep ditch, covered with a rampart and a wall, ſo that they could mutually aſſiſt each other. The firſt attack was made at the point of cape Lilybæum, where it jets out moſt into the

[h] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxiv. Aul. Gell. ibid.

true, that Polybius, in other caſes a moſt exact hiſtorian, does not mention the cruel death of Regulus. But is the ſilence of one ſingle author, who is wholly taken up in deſcribing battles and ſieges, ſufficient to weigh down the expreſs teſtimonies of Cicero, Livy, Appian, Zonaras, Valerius Maximus, and eſpecially of Tuditanus, who lived in the ſame age with Polybius? All theſe writers agree, that Regulus died in the moſt exquiſite torments; though it muſt be owned, that they relate the circumſtances of his death very differently. Some ſay that he was crucified; others, that he died of the miſeries of a long impriſonment: but the moſt comon opinion is, that which we have inſerted in the text. Regulus was not the only perſon the Carthaginians ſacrificed to their revenge. Valerius Maximus tells us, that with unparallelled cruelty they cruſhed great numbers of the Roman priſoners to death, with the weight of the galleys that were upon the ſtocks.

the ſea, and where there were ſeven towers, which had a communication with each other, and reached in a direct line to the town. Theſe towers being taken one after another, the conſuls prepared to batter the wall of the city; but were obliged firſt to fill up a ditch ſixty cubits broad and forty deep, in order to bring their machines up to the wall. This proved a laborious piece of work, the beſieged drawing up the earth into the city by certain engines, as faſt as the beſiegers threw it into the ditch. But the Romans, by the ſuperior number of their workmen, gained their point. Then Himilco, with incredible expedition, threw up a a rampart, and built a new wall to cover the wall of the city. The Romans endeavoured to undermine it; but the enemy, countermining them, attacked the Roman miners under-ground, and prevented them from carrying on their work. The beſieged, however, were reduced to great ſtreights, numbers of them being killed in the frequent ſallies they made, and the reſt haraſſed day and night in defending their works againſt two conſular armies. The town muſt have ſoon fallen into the enemy's hands, had it not received a ſeaſonable reinforcement. The Romans had ſhut up the port ſo cloſely, that Himilco could not find means to acquaint the ſenate of Carthage with the unhappy condition to which he was reduced. But, nevertheleſs, it was concluded there, that, after ſo long and ſtreight a ſiege, the place muſt ſtand in need both of men and proviſions. A ſupply was therefore decreed them of proviſions, and as many men as could be tranſported in a ſquadron of fifty galleys; which were accordingly diſpatched under the command of Hannibal the ſon of Hamilcar. That brave commander arriving ſafe at the iſland of Æguſa, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of Sicily, ſheltered himſelf there, waiting for a proper time to force his way through the enemy's fleet, which lay at the mouth of the harbour. As ſoon as a briſk ſouth wind blew, he crouded all his ſails, and ordering his rowers to ply their oars, paſſed through the midſt of the Roman fleet, and arrived ſafe in the port with a reinforcement of ten thouſand men and a great quantity of proviſions. The ſudden appearance of the African ſquadron, and the fear of being forced into the port with the enemy by the violence of the wind, prevented the Romans from attacking Hannibal, ſo that he got into Lilybæum without the loſs of a ſingle man. Himilco, encouraged by this new reinforcement, made the very next day a briſk ſally at the head of twenty thouſand

The beſieged receive a ſupply of men and proviſions.

ſand men, in hopes of deſtroying the engines of the Romans. Never was action begun or carried on with more bravery; but at length the beſieged were repulſed with great loſs, without being able to ſet fire to the engines as they intended [i].

THE night after this obſtinate fight, Hannibal, finding himſelf to be of no uſe in Lilybæum, put all the Carthaginian cavalry on board his galleys, ſailed boldly through the Roman fleet, and got ſafe to Drepanum, whence he made incurſions into the territories of the allies of the Romans, and intercepted the proviſions which were deſigned for the conſular armies. This occaſioned a great ſcarcity in the two camps, which obliged one of the conſuls to retire with his two legions from the reſt of the army. In the mean time, his collegue endeavoured to ſhut up the harbour with a bar, made of ſtrong beams, faſtened together with iron braces. But this work was ſoon deſtroyed by the winds and ſtrong currents. However, the report being ſpread at Carthage that the harbour was quite ſhut up, no veſſel would venture out for ſome time to bring them from Lilybæum an account of the ſiege. At length a Rhodian, by name Hannibal, undertook to get into the place, and bring them intelligence how their affairs ſtood there, provided the harbour was not yet quite barred up. His undertaking was well received, but little dependence was had upon it, in regard the Roman fleet rid at anchor before the mouth of the harbour. Nevertheleſs the Rhodian with a veſſel of his own put to ſea, and getting ſafe to one of thoſe iſlands, which lie oppoſite to Lilybæum, the very next morning with a fair wind and a freſh gale he paſſed through the enemy's fleet, and to their great ſurprize entered the port. The conſuls have ſtrict orders to have a more careful eye on the entrance of the haven, and ordered ten of his lighteſt veſſels to be placed there, with their oars, like ſo many wings, diſplayed, and ready to fly after the prey they expected. But the Rhodian, depending upon his ſkill in ſea affairs, and the lightneſs of his veſſel, not only eſcaped ſafely, but in contempt of the Romans who purſued him, would often lie upon his oars, till they got near him, and then row quite round their veſſels. He thus paſſed and repaſſed ſeveral times, carrying to Carthage an account of the ſiege, and to Lilybæum the orders of the ſenate, the Romans being inraged and confounded to

Bold undertaking of Hannibal the Rhodian.

ſee

[i] Polyb. c. xlv. Diodor Sicul. ibib.

ſee one ſingle galley triumph as it were over their whole fleet. The ſucceſsful temerity of the Rhodian encouraged ſeveral Carthaginians to make the like attempt. But one of theſe adventurers, leſs ſkilful than Hannibal in the knowledge of the currents between the rocks and the flats, grounded and was taken by the Romans. The conſul immediately put on board this light galley the beſt crew he had, and waited with impatience for a freſh inſult from the Rhodian. It was not long before the Rhodian entered the port again in the night-time, according to his cuſtom, and was preparing to ſail out in broad day, not knowing that the Romans were now maſters of a galley, which was as good a ſailor as his own. He weighed anchor with great confidence, and ſailed out of the port in ſight of the enemy's fleet; but was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the Romans purſue him cloſe, and at length come up with him, notwithſtanding the lightneſs of his veſſel. He h[illegible]ow no way left but to engage them, which he did with a[illegible]in-daunted bravery; but the Romans, who were all choſen men, ſoon put an end to the diſpute. The Rhodian veſſel was boarded, and taken with all her crew. The Romans, being now in poſſeſſion of two light galleys, ſhut up the port ſo effectually, that no Carthaginian ever after attempted to enter it [k].

He is taken by the Romans.

The Beſieged were not diſcouraged by being deprived of this advantage; they boldly reſiſted two general attacks of the beſiegers, and obliged them to retire with great ſlaughter, after they had got poſſeſſion of the firſt rampart. The advantage they gained in theſe attacks was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the Romans to deſpair. A ſudden ſtorm ariſing, and the wind blowing from the land with ſuch violence, as almoſt to overturn the machines of the Romans, the Carthaginians, by the advice of ſome mercenary Greeks in their ſervice, took advantage of this accident, and ſallying out ſet fire to the galleries, platforms, towers, and baliſtæ of the beſiegers. As the ſtorm blew full in the faces of the Romans, they were ſo blinded with the ſmoke, that they could only throw their darts at a venture, while the flame, which ſpread very faſt, gave light to the enemy. So that the work of ſeveral months was conſumed in a few hours. The boaſted conſtancy of the Romans would not have been able to bear

The works before Lilybæum deſtroyed.

[k] Polyb. c. 45—48. Diod. Sicul. ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 15.

bear up under this terrible diſaſter; had not their gene rous friend Hiero raiſed their drooping ſpirits, by ſendin them convoys of proviſions, and exhorting them not to a bandon the enterprize [l].

AFTER this ſhock, the conſul, not finding himſelf in condition to take Lilybæum by force, turned the ſiege int a blockade. At Rome the news of this diſaſter made dif ferent impreſſions on the people and the ſenate. The peo ple were more animated by it to continue the ſiege. Nay ten thouſand of them, entering into an aſſociation to ſerv in the army before Lilybæum, paſſed over to Meſſana, an from thence marched on foot to the Roman camp. Bu in the ſenate many were for concluding a peace, and th diſpute aroſe to ſuch a height, that from words they cam to blows, and one ſenator was killed for appearing too zea lous for a peace [m]. The next year, when P. Claudius Pul cher and L. Junius Pullus were conſuls, proved ſtill mor unfortunate for Rome. The former, who had the com mand of the land-forces, and had inherited all the pride an raſhneſs of the Claudian family, no ſooner arrived at th camp, but he began to defame his predeceſſors, and reproach the ſoldiery with indolence and cowardice. Though he ha but little knowledge in the art of war, his fiery temper pu him upon projects, which required great ſkill in military affairs and he was too proud to take advice. He had ſcarce taken upon him the command of the army, when, without con ſulting the other officers, he formed a deſign of ſurpriſing Dre panum, where Adherbal, an able captain, commanded for th Carthaginians. With this view he put to ſea in the dead o the night, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys that lay before Lilybæum, having on board the flower o his land-forces. Adherbal was greatly ſurpriſed, when a break of day he diſcovered the enemy's fleet; but recol lecting, that if he ſuffered the harbour to be blocked up, h muſt endure the calamities incident to a ſiege, he reſolve to venture an engagement; and accordingly ſailed out o the port with a ſquadron of ninety galleys, and conceal himſelf behind ſome rocks, till the Roman fleet began enter the mouth of the haven. He then appeared all on ſudden, and falling upon the enemy's ſquadron before th could draw up in line of battle, put them into great conf ſion. All the Roman officers adviſed Claudius not to e gage the enemy, but to return before Lilybæum, whi

[l] Polyb. & Diodor. ibid. [m] Zonoar. l. viii. c. 13.

he might eaſily have done. But the conſul, obſtinate to venture an engagement, tacked about, and made a ſignal to the headmoſt galleys to do the ſame. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that he drew them up in line of battle along the coaſt. His ſituation was highly diſadvantageous; for in caſe his veſſels ſhould be obliged to give way in the leaſt, they could not avoid running aground on the flats, or ſplitting againſt the rocks. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, Claudius perſiſted in his former deſign of engaging the enemy, not only contrary to the opinion of his officers, but in defiance of the auſpices, which it was then thought highly impious to deſpiſe. For when the ſacred chickens were conſulted in his preſence and refuſed to feed, he threw them coop and all into the ſea: If they wont eat, let them drink, ſaid he, not reflecting that ſuch a contempt of religion would diſcourage his troops. And indeed the Romans ſeemed to have forgot themſelves in the action which enſued. They made but a faint reſiſtance, and ſuffered themſelves, like mere cowards, to be boarded by the enemy, and driven either upon the ſhore or againſt the rocks. As for Claudius, who had been ſo forward to hazard a battle, he no ſooner ſaw the victory incline to Adherbal's ſide, than he made off as faſt as he could with thirty galleys, leaving the reſt to ſtruggle with the waves, the rocks, and the enemy. The Romans loſt ninety gallies in this ill conducted action. Eight thouſand of their men were either killed or drowned, and twenty thouſand taken and ſent priſoners to Carthage. The Carthaginians gained this ſignal victory, without loſing a ſingle man, or one galley [n].

Claudius Pulcher defeated at ſea by the Carthaginians.

THE news of this fatal action no ſooner reached Rome, than Claudius was recalled and ordered to name a dictator. The proud conſul, to inſult the ſenate and in deriſion of the laws, nominated to that ſupreme dignity one of his own clients, named Claudius Glycias, a man of the meaneſt of the people, who had no other office in the city but that of viator, or, as we may call him, tipſtaff to Claudius during his conſulate. This unſeaſonable jeſt highly provoked all orders of men againſt Claudius. The mock-dictator was forced to abdicate, but the ſenate allowed him to wear the robe bordered with purple, called prætexta, in the theatre and circus the reſt of his life, for having reſigned his dictatorſhip

[n] Polyb. c. 49. Diodor. [illegible]al. ibid. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 10. Val. Max. l. i. c. 4.

Claudius depoſed and tried.

torſhip with a good grace. M. Attilius Calatinus ſucceeded him, who appointed the famous Cæcilius Metellus for his general of the horſe. As for Claudius, he was, after his depoſition, tried before the people for his miſdemeanors. Some writers ſay, he was condemned; others tell us, that the people was prevented from condemning him, and driven from the forum by a ſudden ſtorm, which they looked upon as a tacit abſolution given him by the gods, and therefore did not call him to judgment again [o]. But this has the air of a fable, invented to wipe off the ſtain from the Claudian family, which was in great power at Rome. Polybius ſays, he was tried, and loaded with a very rigorous ſentence [p].

As for the other conſul, Junius Pullus, he ſailed with a fleet of a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred other veſſels, to Syracuſe, in order to take in proviſions there, or the camp before Lilybæum. From Syracuſe he ſent the quæſtors before him with a ſquadron to ſupply the preſent wants of the army, while he followed with the reſt of the fleet. Adherbal, who carefully watched all the motions of the Roman fleet, no ſooner heard that the conſul was at ſea, than he detached Carthalo from Drepanum with a hundred galleys, ordering him to cruiſe off of Heraclea, and there wait for the Roman fleet and convoys. He had no ſooner put to ſea, than news was brought him, that a Roman ſquadron, which was that of the quæſtors, appeared at ſome diſtance. Hereupon, as he had the Romans in great contempt ſince their laſt defeat, he prepared to engage them, promiſing himſelf a ſure victory. But the quæſtors, diffident of their own ſtrength, ſheltered themſelves among certain rocks near Phintia, a city ſubject to the Romans, where Carthalo attacked them, but was not attended with the ſucceſs he expected. The Romans defending their veſſels with baliſtæ and other engines, which they had brought in great haſte from the town and planted on the ſhore; ſo that Carthalo, after having taken only a few tranſports, retired to a harbour in a neighbouring river, where he came to an anchor, and kept a vigilant eye on the motions of the Roman fleet. While he was thus waiting for the quæſtors, he was informed by the veſſels he had ſent out to make diſcoveries, that the conſul Junius had with a numerous fleet doubled cape Pachynum, and was ſteering

[o] Cic. de nat. Deor. l. ii. & de divin Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 1.
[p] Polyb. l. i. c. 52.

ſteering his courſe for Lilybæum. Upon this important piece of news he immediately weighed anchor, reſolved to give the conſul battle before he could join the quæſtors ſquadron. He crouded all the ſail he could, and came in ſight of the conſul's fleet off of Camerina. But Junius, not caring to hazard a battle, choſe to act the ſame part his quæſtors had done, though he did not know it. For he turned to the coaſt, and took ſanctuary among the rocks that were next at hand, thinking it more adviſeable to run ſome hazard, than expoſe by the loſs of the fleet, which might be the conſequence of a battle, the land-forces to the mercy of the enemy. Carthalo forbore attacking them in ſo dangerous a poſt, but retiring to a place between the two fleets, kept that ſtation, carefully obſerving their motions. While matters ſtood thus, the Carthaginian pilots, who were well ſkilled in the weather, and acquainted with thoſe ſeas and coaſts, foreſeeing by certain ſigns that a ſtorm would ſoon ariſe, adviſed Carthalo to weigh anchor, double cape Pachynum, and ſhelter himſelf under the oppoſite ſhore. Carthalo followed their advice, and with great difficulty doubled the cape, and ſecured his fleet, while the Roman ſhips were either daſhed againſt the rocks, or driven upon the coaſt. Never was there a more complete ſhipwreck. We are told, that of the conſul's fleet and the quæſtors ſquadron, which conſiſted of a hundred and twenty galleys and eight hundred tranſports, laden with all ſorts of proviſions and military ſtores, not one veſſel, nay, not a plank, was ſaved, which could be uſed again [q]. Thus Rome was deprived once more of all her naval force, and once more renounced the empire of the ſea. But neither did this dejection laſt long, their ambition getting the better of all difficulties.

The Roman fleet entirely deſtroyed.

As the Romans, notwithſtanding theſe loſſes, were ſtill ſtronger by land, the blockade of Lilybæum was continued. The conſul Junius, to repair his misfortune, made an attempt upon Eryx, a place of great ſtrength, and ſituated on the declivity of a mountain bearing the ſame name, and the higheſt in Sicily, except mount Ætna. He ſucceeded in his attempt, and ſurpriſed the place in the night by the help of ſome ſoldiers, who betrayed it to him. To ſecure this conqueſt, he built a fort at the foot of the mountain, and placed a garriſon in it of eight hundred men. But Carthalo

Eryx ſurprized by the conſul Junius.

[q] Polyb. c. 54.

Carthalo ſoon after made a deſcent, took the fort by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword [r]. Some writers ſay, that Junius was taken priſoner in defending the place [s]; others, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, for fear of being condemned at Rome for his ill conduct, or out of melancholy for ſo fatal a campaign [t].

One of the conſuls being dead and the other depoſed, the dictator's preſence became neceſſary in Sicily. As from the foundation of Rome no dictator had appeared out of Italy, great things were expected from him. But Attilius performed no remarkable exploits. He gained ſome ſmall advantages before Lilybæum, and then returned to preſide at the elections for the enſuing year; when two were promoted to the conſulate, who had enjoyed that dignity once before, C. Aurelius Cotta and P. Servilius Geminus. The Romans had now no fleet, and therefore both the conſuls were ordered to purſue the ſiege of Lilybæum, and to prevent the Carthaginians from carrying ſuccours or proviſions into that place, or into Drepanum. Carthalo attempted both, but finding the Romans every where upon their guard, he endeavoured to draw one of the conſuls out of Sicily, by making a deſcent upon Italy, and ravaging the provinces belonging to the republic. But upon the firſt advice, that he had landed in Lucania, the prætor of Rome putting himſelf at the head of an army, which was immediately raiſed in the city, forced him to re-embarque and return to Sicily. And now his mercenary troops began to murmur for want of pay, no money having been ſent to them for ſome time from Carthage, which was almoſt quite exhauſted with ſo long and expenſive a war. To put a ſtop to the mutiny, he puniſhed the moſt ſeditious with great rigor: ſome were tranſported to deſart iſlands, and there left to periſh; others were ſent to Carthage, and there executed. This provoked even thoſe who were moſt peaceably inclined; inſomuch that, the rebellion becoming general, Carthalo was ſeaſonably recalled, and a commander ſent in his room, who became afterwards famous for his implacable hatred to the Romans, which he did not ſuffer to die with him, but tranſmitted to his poſterity.

Hamilcar Barcas ſent into Sicily.

This great man was Hamilcar, ſurnamed Barcas, the father of the famous Hannibal, the greateſt officer Carthage ever produced. Hamilcar, having appeaſed the ſedition which

[r] Polyb. c. 55. [s] Zonar. l. viii. c. 15 [t] Cic. de nat. Deor. l. ii.

which his predeceſſor had raiſed by his unſeaſonable rigor, ſailed to Italy, and, more ſucceſsful than Carthalo, laid waſte the territories of the Locrians and Brutians, and returned to Sicily with an immenſe booty. Having landed his troops, he encamped on a ſteep rock between Panormus and Eryx, both belonging to the Romans; and from thence, making incurſions into the lands of the allies of Rome, ſo haraſſed the conſuls, that they could make but little progreſs in the ſiege of Lilybæum. Hamilcar's campaign was looked upon at Carthage as a maſterly piece of conduct. He had ſubſiſted, in ſpite of the Romans and at the expence of their allies, between two of their cities, and at a great diſtance from any place allied to Carthage, and at the ſame time diſconcerted all the meaſures of the conſuls [t].

THE new conſuls, L. Cæcilius Metellus and Fabius Buteo, were both ordered to Sicily; the former, who had been conſul once before, and was ſo famous for his magnificent triumph, was appointed to carry on the ſiege of Lilybæum, and his collegue to beſiege Drepanum. But Hamilcar, by innumerable ſallies from his eminence, kept both the conſuls in play, and by his maſterly conduct prevented them from gaining any conſiderable advantage during the campaign. According to the beſt hiſtorian of thoſe times, the brave Hamilcar ſeemed to be every-where; his foreſight extended to all particulars, and his valour was ſufficient for any attempt [u].

WHILE affairs were in this ſituation in Sicily, the Romans pillaged the coaſts of Africa with a fleet built and equipped at the expence of private perſons; for the republic had laid aſide all thoughts of building new galleys, after the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained by ſea. However, ſhe paſſed a decree, empowering all her ſubjects to build, equip, and arm ſhips at their own charges, to pillage the coaſt of Africa, and apply all the plunder to their own uſe. Nay, the republic lent the gallies ſhe had left to private perſons gratis, with this proviſo only, that they ſhould return them in as good a condition as they had received them. This fleet of privateers committed great devaſtations on the coaſt of Africa, entered the port of Hippo, ſet fire to the ſhips and houſes, and put to ſea again loaded with a rich booty. On their return to Sicily they met off Panormus a Carthaginian fleet carrying proviſions to Hamilcar, and gained a conſiderable advantage over it. However the pride of the

A fleet of Roman privateers defeats a Carthaginian fleet.

[t] Polyb. c. 56. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. [u] Polyb. c. 57.

the Romans being now in a good meaſure abated by their many late misfortunes, they conſented at laſt to an exchange of priſoners; and they were accordingly exchanged man for man. As the Carthaginians had more captives to redeem than the Romans, the latter received money for the overplus, which recruited their exhauſted treaſury. The number of the Roman citizens appeared by a cenſus taken this year to be no more than 251220, which was leſs by 86575 than the number at the laſt cenſus. A very conſiderable diminution, which can only be aſcribed to the war, and the many ſhipwrecks which the republic had ſuffered [w].

THE following year. M. Ottacilius Craſſus and M. Fabius Licinus were created conſuls; but they made little or no progreſs in the ſiege of Lilybæum, which was the province allotted to them, being daily haraſſed by parties ſent out by Hamilcar. As they did not return before the time of their conſulate expired, Tib. Coruncanius was appointed dictator to preſide at the election of new magiſtrates, when M. Fabius Buteo and C. Attilius Bulbus were choſen conſuls. At this time a woman of the firſt rank was ſeverely puniſhed, only for dropping ſome words, which betrayed a want of affection for the public. Claudia, the ſiſter of the late Claudius Pulcher, a woman thoroughly tinctured with all the vices of her family, returning in a chariot from a public ſhew, happened to be preſſed in the throng. Upon this ſhe cried out in a tranſport of rage; I wiſh my brother Claudius were alive again, that he might rid Rome, as formerly, of the ſcoundrel mob, with which the city is crouded. For theſe words ſhe was cited by the two ædiles to appear before the tribes; and, notwithſtanding all the whole body of the nobility could ſay or do in her favour, ſhe was forced to appear before the tribunal of the Roman people, which had never before happened to any woman, and was condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five thouſand aſſes of braſs, that is, 80 l. 14 s. 7 d. which the ædile Sempronius employed in building a little chapel on the hill Aventinus, dedicated to Liberty [x].

Claudia puniſhed for treaſonable words againſt the people.

THE two new conſuls had no ſooner entered upon their office, than they ſet out for Sicily. The Romans hoped to reduce Lilybæum at length by famine, and therefore perſiſted in carrying on the ſiege. But, in ſpite of all the care

Hamilcar ſupplies Lilybæum with proviſions.

[w] Zonar. l. viii. c. 16. [x] Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 6. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 1. Sueton. in Tiberio.

care and vigilance of the two conſuls, the brave Hamilcar found means to ſupply the place with freſh proviſions. He ſailed with his ſmall fleet from the port of Epirecte, near which place he lay encamped, and in the night ordered a good number of tranſports, loaded with proviſions, to advance behind the iſlands Ægates, which covered the port of Lilybæum. In the morning he himſelf appeared out at ſea with the ſmall remains of his galleys, bidding as it were, the enemy defiance. The Roman gallies, which guarded the port, made what haſte they could to attack him. But when they had got a great way from the port, the Carthaginian ſhips, which lay concealed behind the iſlands, entered it, unloaded their proviſions, landed ſome freſh troops, and got out to ſea again before the Romans returned from their vain purſuit [y]. This ſame year the Roman privateers gained a conſiderable victory over a Carthaginian fleet within ſight of the iſland of Ægimur near Africa; but were afterwards daſhed in pieces by a ſtorm, which drove them againſt the rocks on the coaſt of Africa [z].

The Roman privateers deſtroyed by a ſtorm.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe misfortunes, the Romans with an unaccountable ſteadineſs continued the ſiege of Lilybæum, and diſpatched their two new conſuls, A. Manlius Torquatus and C. Sempronius Blæſus, into Sicily, with orders to uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt the place. As it was well ſtored with proviſions, Hamilcar gave himſelf no farther trouble about relieving it, or ſending in new ſtores. His mind was wholly bent upon a more noble deſign, which was to recover the city of Eryx, taken formerly by the conſul Junius. This was a difficult and dangerous enterprize. The city of Eryx ſtood about the middle of the mountain of that name, and was fortified by art as well as by nature. The Romans were in poſſeſſion of the temple of Venus Erycina on the ſummit of the mountain, and had a fort at the bottom of it defended by a good garriſon. But nothing could diſcourage the Carthaginian general. He ſet out from his camp in the dead of the night, and, winding round the mountain, in a profound ſilence, arrived undiſcovered at the gates of the city, which he eaſily forced open in that ſurpriſe, and made himſelf maſter of the place. All thoſe who were found under arms, he put to the ſword, and ſent the reſt priſoners to Drepanum. The war now took another turn: the Romans

Hamilcar takes Eryx by ſurpriſe.

[y] Front. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 10. [z] Flor. l. ii.

mans made it their whole buſineſs to diſpoſſeſs Hamilcar of this advantageous poſt, and the Carthaginian did all that lay in his power to maintain himſelf in it. The Romans, who were maſters of a fort at the foot of the mountain, beſieged him; and he at the ſame time beſieged the Romans, who were poſted at the top of it in the temple of Venus. In this poſt between two garriſons of the enemy, Hamilcar maintained himſelf, and amuſed the Romans two whole years. And this diverſion was of great ſervice to his country; for, in the mean time, the ſiege of Lilybæum advanced but ſlowly, and that of Drepanum was raiſed. Of ſo great a weight in the ſcale was the valour and addreſs of one ſingle man. The new conſuls, C. Fundanius and C. Sulpicius Gallus, endeavoured in vain to drive Hamilcar from his poſt. The beſieged and the beſiegers ſuffered, each in their turn, all the miſeries of war and famine. Never was fury more uninterrupted, or battles more frequent. No day paſſed without ſome rencounter. Both parties ſeemed, as Polybius expreſſes it, quite inſenſible of pains and fatigues, fought as if they had been invulnerable, and bore the inconveniencies of hunger and watching, as if their bodies had been proof againſt all pain and hardſhips. After the conſuls had by a thouſand ſtratagems attempted in vain to make themſelves maſters of the diſputed city of Eryx, the Gauls, who made up the beſt part of Hamilcar's garriſon, being at length tired out with continual fighting, and not receiving their pay, plotted together to put the place into the hands of the Romans. But Hamilcar, too vigilant to be ſurpriſed, diſcovered and defeated their deſign. However they delivered up to the conſuls an advanced poſt, which was regarded, and entered into their ſervice. This is the firſt time we read of foreign forces in the pay of the republic, whoſe armies had hitherto conſiſted either of Roman citizens, who were paid by the public, or of Italian allies, who were maintained by their reſpective ſtates.

A new Roman fleet built at the expence of private citizens.

But now the ſenate being thoroughly convinced, that the republic could never eſtabliſh her dominion in Sicily, ſo long as the Carthaginians were maſters of the ſea, turned their thoughts anew to the building of a fleet, reſolving to try fortune a third time, how adverſe ſoever ſhe had hitherto been. They propoſed to man their veſſels with hired troops from foreign countries, that, in caſe of new misfortunes, Rome might not ſuffer ſo great a loſs of her own citizens as ſhe had done formerly. The great difficulty

was, how to find money for ſuch an undertaking, the public treaſury being quite exhauſted. On this occaſion the ſenators gave to the reſt of the citizens an example of zeal for the ſervice of their country. The moſt wealthy among them built, each a quinqueremis, at his own expence. Others taxed themſelves at ſo much a head, and a galley was fitted out at the joint expences of three or four. In ſhort, a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes was put to ſea by private perſons, without any other burden on the republic, than that of reimburſing the private perſons, when ſhe ſhould be in a condition to do it. This new armament far excelled any of the former ones, all the galleys that compoſed it having been built upon the model of that light galley, which was taken from Hannibal the Rhodian [z].

THE conſuls choſen for the next year, were C. Lutatius Catulus and A. Poſthumius; but the latter being at the ſame time high-prieſt of Mars, Cæcilius Metellus, at this time pontifex maximus, would not ſuffer him to exerciſe any military function; ſo that he had the bare name of conſul. But the republic, not thinking it adviſeable to truſt the command of her armies to one general, and being well appriſed of the inconveniences which would ariſe from the too long abſence of the prætor, to whom it naturally fell to ſupply the place of the conſul, created a ſecond prætor, that one might be at the head of the army, and the other reſide at Rome and adminiſter juſtice there. This new inſtitution continued even when both conſuls took the field. One of theſe prætors was to hear cauſes between citizen and citizen, and the other between citizens and foreigners; hence the former was called prætor urbanus, and the other prætor peregrinus. The two prætors choſe their provinces by lot, and were themſelves choſen, as the conſuls, in the comitia by centuries [a]. Valerius Falto was the firſt prætor peregrinus. He embarqued on board the new fleet to make war, together with the conſul Lutatius, in Sicily. They began the campaign with the ſiege of Drepanum, and ſoon made a breach in the wall with their engines, which battered the place day and night. But as the conſul was mounting the breach at the head of his men, he received a dangerous wound in the thigh. As he was greatly beloved by the ſoldiers, they all haſtened to his relief, and, giving over the attack, carried him back

A prætor peregrinus created.

[z] Polyb. c. 59. Zonar. l. viii. c. 2. 6. [a] Liv. in epit. l. xix.

to the camp. After this he did not puſh on the ſiege with great vigor; but, being perſuaded that the Carthaginian fleet would ſoon appear, and that a victory at ſea would contribute much more, than the taking of a ſingle town, towards the entire conqueſt of Sicily, he turned all his thoughts to the diſciplining of his men, and preparing them for a naval engagement. He was not yet cured of his wound, when news was brought him, that a Carthaginian fleet of four hundred ſhips, under the command of Hanno, had been ſeen at ſea. This terrible armament was the laſt effort of the African republic. Hanno had on board new levies, arms, money, proviſions, and all ſorts of ſtores; and his deſign was to touch at the port of Eryx before the Romans could have account of his motions, and to ſail from thence in queſt of the enemy's fleet, after he had unloaded his veſſels and taken on board the flower of the troops there, together with Hamilcar, whoſe name he thought was enough to fill the Romans with terror. But Lutatius, indiſpoſed as he was, having cauſed himſelf to be carried on board the prætorian galley, immediately ordered the fleet to join the ſquadron before Lilybæum, and ſteer their courſe directly from thence to the iſlands called Ægades, the place of rendezvous for the enemy's fleet. He had ſcarce left Lilybœum, when he deſcried the Carthaginian fleet off Hiera, ſhaping their courſe to Eryx. Hereupon he ordered the commanders of his veſſels to prepare for a battle. The wind was then favourable for the Romans; but it changed all on a ſudden, and at the ſame time the ſea began to run very high. However, the conſul, after having been ſome time in ſuſpenſe and undetermined what to do, reſolved in the end not to defer the engagement one moment. Afterwards, ſaid he, we ſhall have a greater advantage in fighting with ſhips that are heavy laden, than diſadvantage in the roughneſs of the ſea. If Hanno carries his fleet to Eryx, takes Hamilcar on board, embarques his brave mercenaries, and gets rid of theſe new recruits, the ſucceſs will be more doubtful, and the victory longer diſputed. Upon theſe conſiderations Lutatius drew up his fleet in line of battle, and made directly towards the enemy. As the Carthaginians were on this occaſion inferior to the Romans in every thing, except the number of their ſhips, the diſpute was ſoon decided. The Romans routed them at the firſt onſet. Fifty of the Carthaginian veſſels were ſunk and ſeventy taken, with all the marines and ſoldiers they had on board. The reſt, by an uncommon

The Romans gain a complete victory at ſea.

common inſtance of good fortune, made their eſcape. For the wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the Carthaginians in their voyage to Sicily, changed all on a ſudden and favoured their eſcape. After the battle the conſul ſteered his courſe to Lilybæum, to diſpoſe of the money, arms, proviſions, and above all of the priſoners he had taken, who were at leaſt ten thouſand in number. Such was the battle of the Ægades, which determined the fate of Sicily [b].

HAMILCAR was the firſt who felt the effects of this terrible defeat. The conſul Lutatius had no ſooner diſpoſed of his booty and captives, than he marched againſt him, and in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes killed above two thouſand of his men. Hereupon that gallant commander, having no longer any hopes of ſuccours, was forced to capitulate. The Romans, elated with their late victory, inſiſted upon his paſſing under the yoke with his garriſon. But he rejected the propoſal with the utmoſt indignation, proteſting, that he would rather ſuffer all extremities, than ſubmit to ſuch an indignity, or abandon a place with diſgrace, which he had ſo long defended with honour. While he was treating with the conſul, he received full powers from his republic to do whatever he judged to be moſt for her intereſt. Being thus appointed mediator between Carthage and Rome, he conſidered, that Carthage was too much exhauſted to maintain her conqueſts in Sicily, and therefore thought it more adviſeable to yield the iſland by a treaty of peace, than to be driven ſhamefully out of it, and at the ſame time expoſe Africa to the ravages of a victorious fleet. For this purpoſe therefore he ſent deputies to Lutatius, who received them with great [illegible] being deſirous to put an end to the war before his command expired, that his ſucceſſors might not have the glory of finiſhing a work, which had coſt him ſo much blood and labour. Both parties being thus diſpoſed to purſue the ſame end, after ſome ſlight difficulties, the conſul drew up the following articles, while he lay before Eryx, as the terms of a peace between the two republics. There ſhall be peace and friendſhip between Rome and Carthage upon the following conditions, if the people of Rome approve thereof: 1. The Carthaginians ſhall evacuate all the places which they have in Sicily, and entirely quit the iſland. 2. They ſhall in twenty years pay the Romans, at equal payments every year, two thouſand

Conditions of peace between Rome and Carthage.

two

[b] Polyb. c. 60. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Eutrop. l. i.

two hundred talents of silver, that is, 437250 l. sterling. 3. They shall restore the Roman captives and deserters without ransom, and redeem their own prisoners with money. 4. They shall not make war upon Hiero king of Syracuse, or his allies. These articles being agreed on, Hamilcar surrendered Eryx, upon condition, that all his soldiers should march out with him upon his paying for each of them eighteen Roman denarii. Hostages were given on both sides, and this long war concluded with a truce[c]. The only thing now remaining was, to get these articles confirmed by the Roman people assembled in the comitia, they being the sole arbitrators of peace and war. For this purpose both Lutatius and Hamilcar sent deputies to Rome. The republic, tho' overjoyed at the consuls success, was dissatisfied with the too easy terms he had granted the Carthaginians, and therefore appointed ten commissioners to treat personally with Hamilcar, and demand farther advantages. These, after having thoroughly informed themselves of the state of affairs, added to the former articles two more; viz. 1. That a thousand talents should be paid immediately, and the two thousand two hundred in the space of ten years at equal payments. 2. That the Carthaginians should quit all the little islands about Italy and Sicily, and never more come near them with ships of war, or raise mercenaries in those places. Necessity obliged Hamilcar to consent to these new terms; but he returned to Carthage with a hatred to the Romans, which he did not suffer even to die with him, but left as an inheritance to his son, the famous Hannibal. He had no sooner given his consent to these articles, than he set out for Lilybœum, and from thence sailed to Carthage, not caring to be a witness of the solemn oath, which was to be the last ratification of the peace[d]. It may be justly said of Hamilcar, that his country never produced a general equal to him in valour and prudence. He always conquered as long as his republic could support him, and only sunk in the common misfortune of his country. At last he returned into Africa to be the defender, or rather the deliverer, of Carthage, in the cruel war, which she was to maintain with her discontented mercenaries, as we shall relate in the history of Carthage.

THE

[c] Polyb. c. 62. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Oros. l. iv. c. 11.
[d] Polyb. c. 63. Zonar. l. viii. c. 17.

THE next year the conſul Lutatius and the prætor Valerius, who had acted as his collegue, were continued in Sicily, the firſt in quality of proconſul, and the ſecond in that of proprætor, while the two new conſuls, Q. Lutatius Cerco and A. Manlius, marched an army into Hetruria to quell a ſudden rebellion of the Faliſci, who had affronted a tribune of the people, named Genucius, and not only refuſed to give the republic ſatisfaction, but openly revolted, and even ventured to take the field againſt ſome Roman troops that were ſent againſt them. The two conſuls were therefore ordered to enter Hetruria, and bring the Faliſci back to their duty. The rebels did not confine themſelves to the defence of their city, but taking the field, fought two pitched battles in the ſpace of ſix days. The ſucceſs of the firſt was pretty equal; but the ſecond turned ſo much to their diſadvantage, that they were obliged to lay down their arms, and deliver up their city to the conquerors, after they had loſt fifteen thouſand men. Their capital ſituated on an inacceſſible mountain, was razed, but they were allowed to build a new one in the plain; their arms, horſes, part of their moveables, and half their lands, were confiſcated. From Hetruria the conſuls returned to Rome, and from thence paſſed over into Sicily to put the laſt hand to the peace, which was ratified by the ſolemn ſacrifice of a ſow, and the mutual oaths of the two nations. Thus ended the firſt Punic war, the longeſt and moſt memorable which had ever been waged till that time. It had laſted full four and twenty years, during which time the conquerors loſt ſeven hundred ſhips, and the conquered only five hundred. But the Romans prevailed at length by their conſtancy, or, as Polybius expreſſes it, by a certain inflexibility of reſolution peculiar to themſelves.

The revolted Faliſci ſubdued.

The firſt Punic war ended.

AND now the great affair at Rome was, to determine the fate of Sicily, the manner in which it ſhould be governed, and the emoluments which the republic ſhould draw from ſo fine a conqueſt. The whole iſland, except the kingdom of Syracuſe, was declared a Roman province, that is, a country to be governed by Roman laws and Roman magiſtrates. A prætor was to be ſent annually thither to be governor and judge in civil cauſes, and a quæſtor to receive the revenues of the republic. Theſe revenues were either fixed or caſual. The fixed were called tributes, and conſiſted of a certain ſum of money, which the province was every year to pay into the public treaſury.

Sicily made a Roman province.

treaſury. The caſual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandize exported and imported. Certain officers, called publicans, generally choſen out of the body of the Roman knights, were appointed to levy both theſe ſorts of taxes; and the latter ſort were farmed by the publicans at a certain annual rent, which they conſtantly paid the republic at all events. However, theſe fixed revenues did not hinder the Romans from often demanding of the provinces extraordinary ſupplies of men, ſhips, corn, &c. Thus Sicily, the firſt province Rome eſtabliſhed out of Italy, was deprived of its own laws, and conſequently of the beſt part of its liberty. By becoming Roman, it was indeed leſs free, but more happy. It had been long the ſcene of war between three nations; the Carthaginians, the Mamertines, and the Syracuſans, contending for the dominion of it. The Romans, who came after them, encreaſed at firſt the calamities of that unhappy people, but afterwards ſecured their tranquillity. There were now but two ſovereigns in the whole iſland, Hiero and the Romans; and as there reigned a perfect union between them, the Sicilians enjoyed all the bleſſings of an uninterrupted peace.

SICILY being thus ſettled in perfect tranquillity, the two conſuls [illegible]atius Cerco and Manlius Atticus, the proconſul Lutatius Catulus, and the proprætor Valerius, returned to Rome with their troops, to receive there the honourable reward of their labours. The proconſul and proprætor triumphed for the naval victory at the Ægades, and the conſuls for having vanquiſhed the Faliſci in Hetruria.

THE joy of the people of Rome for their late proſperity was much damped by two dreadful misfortunes, which followed cloſe upon one anothe The Tiber on a ſudden overflowed with ſuch violenc, as to overturn a great many houſes on the lower grounds; and the water continued ſtagnated ſo long in the forum, as greatly to damage the foundations of the houſes there. After this a fire broke out in the upper city, and thence ſpread as far as the forum. Rome, ſays Livy [e], loſt more wealth in one day, than ſhe had got by many victories. The temple of Veſta was not exempted from the common misfortune, and the moſt antient monuments of religion had been deſtroyed, had not Cæcilius Metellus, the preſent pontifex maximus, ventured his life to ſave them. He made his way through the flames, went into the ſanctuary where

[e] Liv. in epit. l. xix.

where the palladium was kept, and ſaved it from the fire; an action more celebrated in hiſtory, than the glorious victory which he gained over the Carthaginians, at the head of a conſular army. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and, which was much worſe, he entirely loſt his ſight. This heroical action procured him a mark of diſtinction, which had never before been granted to any man; he was allowed to be drawn to the ſenate-houſe in a chariot [f]. This year the tribes were probably augmented to thirty-five, by the addition of the tribes Velina and Quirina. It certain at leaſt, that from this time the tribes were reckoned to be thirty-five, which number was never afterwards encreaſed. The conſular year was cloſed with a cenſus made by the cenſors, Aurelius Cotta and Fabius Buteo; and unleſs there be ſome miſtake in the cyphers, Euſebius reckons us up but one hundred and ſixty thouſand citizens. If his numbers are right, a prodigious multitude of citizens muſt have periſhed by the inundation and fire.

The new conſuls, C. Claudius Centho and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, having no employment abroad, turned their thoughts to the ſecuring of their frontiers againſt the Gauls and Ligurians, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. In the firſt year after the Punic war, Livius Andronicus, the reformer of the Roman ſtage, appeared at Rome. He introduced connected fables after the Greek manner, inſtead of the buffooneries and rambling diſcourſes with which the people to that time had been entertained. He was the freedman of Marcus Livius Salinator, whoſe children he had educated. His poetry was grown obſolete in Cicero's time, and, in the judgment of that orator, would not bear a ſecond reading. Andronicus flouriſhed about an hundred and fifty years after the death of Euripides and Sophocles, and fifty-two after that of Menander. The following conſulſhip of C. Mamilius Turinus and Q. Valerius Falto proved an interval of peace. The Romans indeed had ſome thoughts of taking arms anew againſt the Carthaginians, who, having ſeized ſome of their merchants carrying arms and proviſions to the revolted mercenaries, had made five hundred of them priſoners, and thrown ſome of them into the ſea. But they were appeaſed by a reſpectful embaſſy from Carthage, and continued faithful to the treaty of peace, though the city of Utica, which had declared for the rebels, would have ſubmitted to Rome, and the mercenaries, who had ſeized

[f] Plin. l. vii. c. 43.

ſeized Sardinia, invited them to take poſſeſſion of that iſland. About this time, Ennius the famous poet was born at Rudes, an antient city of Calabria near Tarentum. He was the inventor of hexameter verſe among the Latins, though the Greek was his mother-tongue. The life of Scipio Africanus, which he wrote in Coriacks, was his maſter-piece. By this work he gained the affection of the Cornelian family, who ſhewed their gratitude to him even after his death, depoſiting his aſhes in the ſame tomb with thoſe of Scipio Africanus, and erecting a marble ſtatue to him near the ſtatue of that great commander. Beſides the life of Scipio, he wrote the hiſtory of Rome in eighteen books, recording in verſe the events of which he himſelf had been witneſs. His poem was a hiſtory in verſe, the Romans in his time being too grave to have any taſte for poetical fictions [g]. The poet Nævius, who was his contemporary, after having made ſome campaigns in the firſt Punic war, wrote the hiſtory of that war in verſe, according to the taſte of thoſe times [h].

Ennius the poet born.

The poet Nævius.

CARTHAGE, during her war with the revolted mercenaries, affected to pay a great deference to Rome, and even reſtored all the Italian merchants, who had been taken in carrying arms and proviſions to the rebels. The Romans were ſo well pleaſed with this inſtance of reſpect, that they ſent back to Carthage without ranſom all the Carthaginian priſoners, who were ſtill detained at Rome, prohibited their merchants all intercourſe and traffick with the rebels, and allowed them to ſupply the Carthaginians with arms, proviſions, and whatever they wanted [i]. But notwithſtanding the ſincere friendſhip, which ſeemed to ſubſiſt at this time between the two rival republics, Hamilcar had no ſooner by his valour and conduct put an end to the rebellion at home, than he turned all his thoughts to the humbling of a republic, whoſe intereſts were ſo oppoſite to thoſe of his own. With this view, as Carthage was not then in a condition to renew the war with Rome, he formed two ſchemes, both worthy of a great genius, which, if wiſely purſued, might at length have cruſhed the imperious republic, or at leaſt bring her upon a level with Carthage. The firſt was to extend

[g] Vide Voſſ. de ſcript. Latin, Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15. [h] Aul. Gell. l. iii. D. Hieron. in chron, Euſebii. [i] Zonar. l. viii. c. 17. Polyb. l. i. c. 83.

extend the Carthaginian dominions into Spain, that his republic might, by this means, be able to raiſe within her own dominions a ſufficient number of forces to make head againſt thoſe multitudes of ſoldiers, with which Italy furniſhed the Romans. The ſecond was to form young Hannibal his ſon ſo, that he ſhould inherit his valour, his experience, and his hatred to the Romans, and ſteadily purſue his deſigns. He had no ſooner appeaſed the inteſtine troubles, than he applied himſelf wholly to the purſuit of theſe two projects. But before he paſſed the ſtreights, known then by the name of the Pillars of Hercules, in order to make war in Spain, he took an opportunity to inſpire his ſon, though but nine years old, with his own ſentiments. Before he embarqued, he ordered a ſolemn ſacrifice to be offered to Jupiter; and when all things were ready and the victim juſt going to be ſlain, he took his ſon by the hand, and, leading him to the altar, aſked him whether he was willing to attend him in his Spaniſh expedition? The courageous boy not only conſented to go, but conjured his father by the gods preſent to form him to victory, and teach him the art of conquering. That I will joyfully do, replied Hamilcar, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will ſwear upon the altars, to be an eternal enemy to the Romans. Hannibal readily complied with the motion; and the ſolemnity of the ceremony and the ſacredneſs of the oath made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface. He then firſt imbibed that hatred for Rome, which ended only with his life. Hamilcar by this proceeding plainly declared, that he paſſed into Spain with no other view, than that of falling afterwards on the Romans. But we muſt leave him making conqueſts there, and return to the affairs of Rome.

Hannibal takes an oath to be an eternal enemy to the Romans.

The Italic Gauls, called Boii, who had been ſubdued by the Romans before the firſt Punic war, threw off the yoke, and joined the Faliſci in Hetruria. On the other hand, the Ligures were in motion, and ſeemed to threaten the republic with an approaching war. The preſent conſuls therefore, C. Mamilius Turinus and Q. Valerius Falto, divided their forces. The latter, who marched againſt the Gauls, was defeated by them with the loſs of three thouſand five hundred men. Upon the news of this defeat, M. Genucius Cipus, one of the prætors, was immediately diſpatched from Rome with a reinforcement for the conſul. But Valerius, looking upon this as a perſonal affront, reſolved

ſolved to conquer the enemy before the ſuccours arrived, or periſh in the attempt. Accordingly, he fell upon the Gauls with ſuch fury, that he killed fourteen thouſand of them, and took two thouſand priſoners (H). However, this victory did not procure him a triumph, becauſe he had by his raſhneſs expoſed the Roman army to the danger of a ſecond defeat. As for Sempronius, the other conſul, he gained a battle, though not a deciſive one, againſt the Ligurians; but had not time to purſue his victory, being by the republic ordered into Sardinia. This iſland had been formerly ſubdued by the Romans, as we have related above, but ſoon after returned, we know not how, under the dominion of its antient maſters. The revolted mercenaries had ſeized it, and offered to put the Romans in poſſeſſion of it, in order to engage them to take their part. But Rome made it then a point of honour not to ſide with rebels. However, this ſcrupulous fit of honour was ſhortlived. As this iſland was of great importance, and had never been yielded to the Carthaginians by any treaty, the ſenate thought they might juſtly claim it by right of conqueſt.

The Boii defeated.

(H) It is pretended, that M. Genucius Cipus, then one of the prætors, who was charged to lead theſe reinforcements to the conſul, was ſcarce got out of the city, when two horns grew out of his forehead. Being alarmed at this prodigy, he conſulted a diviner of Hetruria, in order to learn what misfortunes it foreboded to him. The Hetrurian told him, that he ſhould one day be inveſted with royal authority; which made Cipus dread his fate, as the Romans were bred up with an utter averſion to monarchy, and do all that lay in his power to prevent the accompliſhment of the prediction. From that moment he reſolved never to enter Rome, entreated the ſenate to aſſemble without the walls, and there preſſed the conſcript fathers to paſs a decree of perpetual baniſhment againſt him. The ſenate admired his diſintereſted affection for his country, and granted his requeſt; but at the ſame time, to reward his virtue, allowed him as much ground as he could encloſe in a circle in one day, with a plough drawn by two oxen, and guided by himſelf; and beſides, erected a ſtatue of braſs, repreſenting Cipus's head with the two horns, and placed it over the gate of the city, at which he went out. From this monument the gate was called the brazen gate. This prodigy is related by Feſtus, Valerius Maximus, and Ovid; but they look upon it as a fable, though the ſtatue of Cipus was ſtill to be ſeen in their time over the brazen gate (25).

(25) Val. Max. l. v. c. 6. Ovid. Metam. l. xv.

queſt. They therefore ſent, on trifling pretences, Sempronius with a fleet to take poſſeſſion of it. The conſul on his arrival acquainted the Carthaginian commander, that if his republic did not immediately withdraw her troops from Sardinia, and relinquiſh all pretenſions to that iſland for ever, he would, in the name of the ſenate and people of Rome, declare war with Carthage. The Carthaginians, who had juſt put an end to the war with the mercenaries, were ſo terrified at this expreſs declaration made by a conſul at the head of an army, that they readily ſubmitted, and gave up all claims to Sardinia for ever. But this was not enough for the conſul; he obliged them to defray the charges of his armament, and the further ſum of twelve hundred talents. An extortion, which contributed moſt of all to confirm Hamilcar in his hatred to the Romans, and to render Hannibal inexorable in the wars, which we ſhall ſoon ſee him carry on with great cruelty in Italy [i]. The Romans recover Sardinia.

THE new conſuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, purſued the war with the Gauls and Ligurians, in which they were attended with good ſucceſs, ſo long as the two conſular armies encamped together. But the love of glory and booty having made the conſular armies ſeparate, Fulvius, who had entered the country of the Gauls bordering on the Po, was obliged to continue in his intrenchments, and there paſs a melancholy and ſhameful campaign, under continual apprehenſions of a ſurpriſe. Cornelius had better ſucceſs againſt the Ligurians neareſt to Hetruria; for in one action he killed twenty-four thouſand of the enemy and took five thouſand priſoners. For this victory he was honoured on his return with a triumph [k]. The Ligurians defeated.

THE new conſuls, P. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Licinius Varus, were obliged to take the field to oppoſe the Gauls, whoſe chiefs, depending on the vaſt multitudes of men they had aſſembled, and the expectation of a ſtrong reinforcement of their countrymen from the other ſide of the Alps, demanded the reſtitution of Ariminum from the Romans. The conſuls, not having their troops complete, referred the affair to the ſenate, and, in the mean-while, propoſed a truce to the Gauls, who readily conſented to the propoſal, upon the news that they received that a numerous army of Tranſalpine Gauls, under the conduct of Atys

[i] Polyb. l. i. c. 88. Cornel. Nep. in Hannib. [k] Tab. triumph.

Atys and Galatius, two generals, or rather kings, were in full march to join them. This army was ſo numerous, that it gave no ſmall jealouſy to the Italian Gauls, who thereupon turned their arms againſt thoſe who were come to aſſiſt them, killed their two leaders, and put the whole body to flight. The enemy having thus defeated themſelves, Lentulus with one conſular army brought both the Boii and Ligurians to reaſon, depriving the former of a part of their territory, and taking ſeveral ſtrong holds from the latter. In the mean-time, Varus was preparing to paſs over into the iſland of Corſica, which, by the ſecret intrigues of the Carthaginians, had been induced to ſhake off the Roman yoke. The conſul, not finding a fleet ready to tranſport his whole army, was forced to ſend a ſquadron before him, under the command of that Claudius Glycias, who had been formerly named dictator in deriſion. He had ſince that time been honoured with ſeveral military employments, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the troops. When he ſaw himſelf at the head of part of the conſular army, ſwelled with ambition, he thought it would be much to his honour to gain this iſland to the republic without bloodſhed; and therefore without the conſent either of the conſul or ſenate, he made a ſhameful peace with the Corſicans. But the conſul on his arrival diſannulled the treaty, renewed the war, and ſubdued the iſland by force of arms. As for Claudius, he was delivered up to the Corſicans, whom he drew, ſaid they into a bloody war by a fallacious peace. In which ſentence the ſenate had likewiſe the further view of preventing the reproach, which might have been caſt upon the conſul for having made war upon a people, who depended on the faithful execution of a treaty. The Corſicans had more honour than to treat him with ſeverity. They ſent him back to Rome, where he was put to death in priſon; and then his body being carried to the top of the ſteps, called *Scalæ Gemoniæ* (I), was dragged by an iron hook from thence to the Tiber, into which it was thrown [1].

Corſica ſubdued.

However,

[1] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 3.

(I) The Gemoniæ was a place appointed either for torturing criminals, or for receiving their dead bodies after their execution. Some derive the name of Gemoniæ from one Gemonius, who was the firſt executed there; others from the Latin word, gemere, to groan, becauſe the place rung with groans and complaints of thoſe who

HOWEVER, this execution of Claudius did not appeaſe the Corſicans, who had been amuſed by a treaty of peace, that Rome might have the better opportunity of ſubduing them by a war. They communicated their diſcontents to the Sardinians, who, being ſtirred up under-hand by the Carthaginians, attempted to ſhake off the Roman yoke. The republic had too much penetration not to ſee from whence the blow came, and was leſs concerned at the loſs of the two iſlands, than at the renewal of a war with a powerful republic; but the ſenators were all of opinion, that if it was really neceſſary to come to an open rupture with Carthage, war could not be declared too ſoon. Preparations were accordingly made at Rome, and all over Italy, for beginning it with vigor. Carthage, alarmed at this news, ſent embaſſadors after embaſſadors to negotiate an accommodation; but the Romans anſwered them only with reproaches and bitter words. At length ſhe diſpatched ten of her principal men for the ſame end, among whom was one Hanno, a young lord of great ſpirit and vivacity, who, enraged at the haughty anſwers of the proud republic, cried out with an air of equal pride, If you are reſolved to break the treaty, reinſtate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded; reſtore us the cities we poſſeſſed in Sicily. Theſe were the price we paid for the peace, which, it was agreed, ſhould be perpetual; otherwiſe you have made us pay very dear for this ſhort truce. Equity ought to prevail over avarice. Would not that trader be thought unjuſt, who, after he had gone from his bargain, ſhould keep both the money and the merchandize? This diſcourſe filled the ſenators with confuſion, who, being either really juſt, or affecting to appear ſo, diſmiſſed the Carthaginian embaſſadors with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of peace [1].

The Carthaginians ſecretly excite the Sardinians to revolt.

But pacify the Romans by an embaſſy.

THE new conſuls, C. Attilius Bulbus and T. Manlius Torquatus, drew lots for their provinces. The former

[1] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

who were put to death. It was on the hill Aventinus, and there were ſeveral ſteps which led up to it; whence it had the name of Scalæ Gemoniæ. The dead bodies of thoſe who died by the hand of the executioner, were dragged thither with an iron hook, and, after they had been ſome time expoſed to public view, thrown into the Tiber (26).

(26) Vide Plin. l. viii. c. 40.

continued in Italy, while the latter, by a few ſlight engagements, recovered Sardinia, and made it tributary; but without reducing it to the form of a Roman province. And now, peace reigning every-where, the temple of Janus was ſhut for the firſt time ſince the reign of Numa Pompilius. But this tranquillity laſted only a few months. The conſuls for the following year, L. Poſthumius Albinus and Sp. Carvilius, were obliged to raiſe new forces to act againſt the Sardinians, Corſicans, and Ligurians, who had engaged, by mutual treaties, to aſſiſt each other. The conſul Carvilius was employed againſt the Corſicans, whom he ſoon reduced. The prætor Cornelius made war with the Sardinians; but the bad air and water of Sardinia cauſed a plague in his army, and he himſelf was carried off by the contagion; which accident would have ruined the affairs of the republic there, had not Carvilius tranſported his legions thither from Corſica. Upon his arrival, the rebels ventured to face him in the open field; but the conſul had all the advantage over them, which diſciplined troops always have over confuſed multitudes. The Sardinians were defeated; and, by one ſingle victory, the whole iſland was brought under ſubjection. As for the conſul Poſthumius, whoſe province it was to make head againſt the Ligurians, hiſtorians tell us, that he had all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for [m].

The temple of Janus ſhut.

A new oath concerning marriages.

In this conſulſhip, the cenſors, obſerving the number of citizens to be conſiderably leſſened, and imputing it to mens marrying only with a view to intereſt, and afterwards deſerting their wives and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, obliged all the citizens to ſwear, that they would not marry with any other view but that of encreaſing the ſubjects of the republic. This oath raiſed many ſcruples, and cauſed many ruptures between huſbands and wives. Among the reſt one Carvilius Ruga, a man of diſtinction, thought himſelf bound by his oath to divorce his wife, whom he paſſionately loved, becauſe ſhe was barren. Accordingly he put her away and married another. This is the firſt inſtance of a divorce ſince the foundation of Rome, tho' divorces were allowed by the laws of marriage ſettled by the firſt kings. Afterwards they became ſcandalouſly frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic. And now marriage-contracts were introduced, to ſecure womens portions in caſe of divorces.

The firſt divorce.

This

[m] Liv. in epit. Oros. l. iv. c. 12.

This ſame year a veſtal, named Tutia, was condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a ſlave; but ſhe prevented the execution of the ſentence, by laying violent hands on herſelf [n]. In the preſent conſulſhip, the poet Nævius introduced the firſt regular comedy after the Greek manner on the Latin ſtage.

In the following conſulate of M. Pomponius Matho and Q. Fabius Maximus, ſurnamed Verrucoſus, from a wart or wen upon his lip, the Sardinians and Ligurians roſe upon arms anew. It fell to Fabius's lot to make war with the latter; and he drove them out of the plain country, and obliged them to take ſhelter among the Alps. This is that Fabius, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee reſtoring, at the head of the Roman army, the affairs of his diſtreſſed country by his wiſe delays. He had the ſurname of Maximus from his great-grandfather Fabius Rullus, of whom we have made frequent mention above. In his infancy he was called Ovicula, or The little ſheep, on account of his natural ſweetneſs of temper and docility. He was even in his earlieſt years remarkable for that conduct and behaviour, free from all precipitation and raſhneſs, which afterwards rendered him ſo ſerviceable to his country. As for his colleague Pomponius, he ſailed for Sardinia, where he found, that the frequent revolts of that iſland were owing to the intrigues of the Carthaginians, whoſe ſhips were continually paſſing from Carthage to Sardinia and the other iſlands, and inſpiring the people, where-ever they came, with an hatred to the Roman name. In order therefore to ſound their ſentiments, the ſenate ſent an embaſſy to Carthage, under pretence of demanding the ſums which they had ſtipulated to pay the Roman republic. The deputies were ordered to add threatenings of renewing the war, in caſe the Carthaginian ſhips preſumed to touch at any port belonging to the Roman ſtate. But the Carthaginians, flushed with the ſucceſs of Hamilcar in Spain, being no-ways moved by theſe menaces, the deputies, purſuant to their inſtructions, preſented them a caduceus, the ſymbol of peace, and a little javelin, the emblem of war, ſaying, Take your choice. The Carthaginian dictator anſwered, That he was ready to take which ſoever they ſhould think fit to leave him. However, this haughty anſwer did not abſolutely deſtroy the treaties between Rome and Carthage, but raiſed ſuch mutual diſtruſts, as we ſhall ſoon ſee

[n] Liv. ibid.

break out into a flame. As for Pomponius, he gained ſome advantages over the Sardinians, for which a triumph was granted him [o].

A new tribunal inſtituted.

THE Romans at this time inſtituted a new tribunal of juſtice, at the motion of two tribunes of the people, both Ebutii. As the two prætors, who were often obliged to take the field, could not diſpatch all civil affairs, which multiplied in proportion to the encreaſe of the republic, it was enacted, th three able and judicious men ſhould be choſen out of each tribe, and form a new tribunal, ſubordinate to the prætor. Theſe new judges were called, for brevity's ſake, centumviri, tho' they were a hundred and five in number, and were divided into four courts or chambers. The cauſes, which fell under their cognizance, were ſuch as related to proſcriptions, guardianſhips, laſt-wills, inheritances, &c. This tribunal ſubſiſted ever after in Rome, and the judges, tho' in after-ages encreaſed to the number of a hundred and eighty, ſtill continued to be called centumviri [p].

IN the following conſulſhip of M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Poblicius Malleolus, Flaminius, tribune of the people, made a motion to the people, to paſs a law for diſtributing a fruitful country, lately taken from the Gauls, among the poor citizens. The patricians, who had always oppoſed motions of this kind, united their ſtrength and intereſt to hinder the paſſing of this law; but neither the threats of the conſuls, nor the entreaties of the ſenate, nor the tears of old Flaminius, whom the patricians had gained over to their party, could prevail on the tribune to deſiſt from purſuing his point. On the day appointed for propoſing the law to the people, he mounted the roſtra, and began to harangue the multitude with great warmth; but while he was yet ſpeaking, his father appeared, aſcended the roſtra, and taking the hot-headed tribune by the arm, ordered him to follow him home. Flaminius, without pleading either his dignity or the actual exerciſe of his office, obeyed his father, and left the affair he was ſo bent upon, when it was almoſt finiſhed; and, what is moſt extraordinary, not a murmur was heard in the whole aſſembly, which immediately diſperſed. Afterwards indeed the affair took another turn; for the tribune Carvilius revived it and ſucceeded;

[o] Tab. triumph. Zonar. l. viii. c. 18. [p] Aul Gel. l. xvi. c. 10. Pomp. de orig. juris. Plin. jun. l. v. epiſt. Cic. de orat.

ed: but the distribution of lands among the Romans, which had long belonged to the Gauls, so provoked that nation, that they took up arms, and began a war, which endangered Rome itself, as we shall see anon [9].

In the following year, the new consuls, M. Pomponius Matho and C. Papirius Maso, finished the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica, which two islands they reduced to the form of a Roman province, upon the same foot as Sicily. Pomponius continued in the new province, which consisted of both the islands, all the next year, and governed it in quality of prætor. Papirius, who had subdued Corsica, returned to Rome, where he found, that a dictator had been created to hold the comitia for electing new consuls. He demanded a triumph; but not having interest enough to obtain it, he took a method entirely new to do himself justice. He put himself at the head of his victorious army, and marched to the temple of Jupiter Latialis, on the hill of Alba, with all the pomp that attended triumphant victors at Rome. He made no other alteration in the ceremony, but that of wearing a crown of myrtle instead of a crown of laurel, and this on account of his having defeated the Corsicans in a place where there was a grove of myrtles. The example of Papirius was afterwards followed by a great many generals, to whom the senate refused triumphs.

Corsica and Sardinia made a Roman province.

Triumphal processions on the hill of Alba.

The next year, when M. Æmilius Barbula and M. Junius Pera were consuls, a new war sprung up in a kingdom out of Italy. Illyricum, properly so called, which bordered upon Macedon and Epirus, was at this time governed by a woman, named Teuta, the widow of king Agron, and guardian to her son Pinæus, who was under age. The success of her late husband against the Ætolians had flushed her to such a degree, that instead of settling the affairs of her ward in peace, she commanded her subjects to cruize along the coast, seize all the ships they met, take what places they could, and spare no nation. Her pirates had, pursuant to her orders, taken and plundered many ships belonging to the Roman merchants; and her troops were then besieging the island of Issa in the Adriatic, though the inhabitants had put themselves under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints therefore of the Italian merchants, and to protect the people of Issa, the senate sent two embassadors to the Illyrian queen, Lucius and Caius Coruncanius,

The occasion of the war with the Illyrians.

[9] Val. Max. l. v. c. 4.

to demand of her, that ſhe would reſtrain her ſubjects from infeſting the ſeas with piracies. She anſwered them haughtily, That ſhe could only promiſe, that her ſubjects ſhould not for the future attack the Romans, in her name and by publick authority; but as for any thing more, it is not cuſtomary with us, ſaid ſhe, to lay reſtraints on our ſubjects, nor will we forbid them to reap thoſe advantages from the ſea, which it offers them. Your cuſtoms then, replied the youngeſt of the embaſſadors, are very different from ours. At Rome we make public examples of thoſe ſubjects who injure others whether at home or abroad. Teuta, we can, by our arms, force you to reform the abuſes of your bad government. Theſe unſeaſonable threatenings provoked Teuta, who was naturally a proud and imperious woman, to ſuch a degree, that, without regard to the right of nations, ſhe cauſed the embaſſadors to be murdered on their return home. When ſo notorious an infraction of the law of nations was known at Rome, the people demanded vengeance; and the ſenate, having firſt honoured the manes of the embaſſadors, by erecting, as was uſual in ſuch caſes, ſtatues three foot high to their memory, ordered a fleet to be equipped, and troops raiſed, with all poſſible expedition. But now Teuta, reflecting on the enormity of her proceedings, ſent an embaſſy to Rome, aſſuring the ſenate, that ſhe had no hand in murdering the embaſſadors, and offering to deliver up to the republic thoſe who had committed that barbarous aſſaſſination. The Romans, being at that time threatened with a war from the Gauls, were ready to accept this ſatisfaction; but in the mean time, the Illyrian fleet having gained ſome advantage over that of the Achæans, and taken the iſland of Corcyra near Epirus, this ſucceſs made Teuta believe herſelf invincible, and forget the promiſe ſhe had made to the Romans; nay, ſhe ſent her fleet to ſeize on the iſland of Iſſa, which the Romans had taken under their protection. Hereupon the conſuls for the new year, P. Poſthumius Albinus and and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, embarqued for Illyricum, Fulvius having the command of the fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred galleys, and Poſthumius of the land forces, which amounted to twenty-thouſand foot, beſides a ſmall body of horſe. Fulvius appeared with his fleet before Corcyra in the Adriatic, and was put in poſſeſſion both of the iſland and city by Demetrius of Pharos, governor of the place for queen Teuta. Nor was this all;

all; Demetrius found means to make the inhabitants of Apollonia drive out the Illyrian garriſon, and admit into their city the Roman troops. As Apollonia was one of the keys of Illyricum on the ſide of Macedon, the conſuls, who had acted hitherto jointly, no ſooner ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of it, than they ſeparated, the fleet cruiſing along the coaſt, and the army penetrating into the heart of the queen's dominions. The Andyæans, Parthini, and Atintanes voluntarily ſubmitted to Posthumius, being induced, by the perſuaſion of Demetrius, to ſhake off the Illyrian yoke. The conſul, being now in poſſeſſion of moſt of the inland towns, returned to the coaſt, where, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, he took many ſtrong holds, among which was Nutria, a place of great ſtrength and defended by a numerous garriſon; ſo that it made a vigorous defence, the Romans having loſt before it a great many private men, ſeveral legionary tribunes, and one queſtor. However, this loſs was repaired by the taking of forty Illyrian veſſels, which were returning home laden with booty. At length the Roman fleet appeared before Iſſa, which, by Teuta's orders, was ſtill cloſely beſieged, notwithſtanding the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. However, upon the approach of the Roman fleet, the Illyrians diſperſed; but the Pharians, who ſerved among them, followed the example of their countryman Demetrius, and joined the Romans, to whom the Iſſani readily ſubmitted [r].

In the mean time, Sp. Corvilius and Q. Fabius Maximus being raiſed to the conſulate a ſecond time, Poſthumius was recalled from Illyricum, and refuſed a triumph for having been too prodigal of the Roman blood at the ſiege of Nutria. His collegue Fulvius was appointed to command the land-forces in his room, in quality of proconſul. Hereupon Teuta, who had founded great hopes on the change of the conſuls, retired to one of her ſtrong holds, called Rhizon, and from thence early in the ſpring ſent an embaſſy to Rome. The ſenate refuſed to treat with her; but granted the young king a peace upon the following conditions: 1. That he ſhould pay an annual tribute to the republic. 2. That he ſhould ſurrender part of his dominions to the Romans. 3. That he ſhould never ſuffer above three of his ſhips of war at a time to ſail beyond Lyſſus, a town on the confines of Macedon and Illyricum.

The conditions of peace between the Romans and Illyrians.

The

[r] Polyb. l. ii. c. 11. Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Zonar. l. viii. c. 12.

The places he yielded to the Romans in virtue of this treaty, were the iſlands of Corcyra, Iſſa, and Pharos, the city of Dyrrachium, and the country of the Atintanes. Soon after Teuta, either out of ſhame, or compelled by a ſecret article of the treaty, abdicated the regency, and Demetrius ſucceeded her. The proconſul Fulvius, having thus put an end to the Illyrian war, diſpatched embaſſadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, acquainting them with the true motives of their coming into Illyricum, of the ſucceſs of their arms, and the articles of the treaty, which were publicly read in the dyets of theſe two ſtates. The embaſſadors were received with great reſpect by the Greeks, who were overjoyed to ſee themſelves delivered from the piracies of the Illyrians. At the ſame time the ſenate ſent embaſſadors to Athens and Corinth, to acquaint thoſe republics with the advantages they had gained over the Illyrians, and the tranquillity they had procured for all the maritime cities, by reducing thoſe pirates. The Athenians ſhewed their gratitude, by admitting the Romans to partake of the myſteries of Eleuſis, of which we have ſpoken in the hiſtory of Greece; and the Corinthians ever after permitted the Romans to be preſent at the Iſthmian games. Thus the Romans became firſt known to the people of Greece [s]. The proconſul on his return to Rome, was decreed a triumph, which he enjoyed on the tenth of the calends of the month Quintilis [t].

BEFORE this foreign war was ended, the Gauls began to be in motion in Italy, and at the ſame time the republic was greatly alarmed at the incredible progreſs the Carthaginians made in Spain. The ſenate, therefore thought it neceſſary, by ſome means or other, to put a ſtop to their encreaſe of dominion. To this end they ſent a deputation to Carthage, and at the ſame time to Aſdrubal, who had ſucceeded Hamilcar in the command of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. Carthage, unwilling to give her rival umbrage, agreed to the two following articles: 1. That ſhe ſhould not extend her conqueſts beyond the river Iberus; and, 2. that Saguntum, a city between the Iberus and that part of Spain which belonged to the Carthaginians, ſhould remain free [u].

A new treaty with the Carthaginians.

THE new conſuls, P. Valerius Flaccus and M. Attilius Regulus, continued in a manner inactive all their year, though

[s] Polyb. l. ii. c. 13. [t] Tab. triumph. [u] Polyb. ibid. Appian in Hiſp.

though the Gauls were raising troops and making extraordinary preparations for war. Rome seemed to be afraid to enter the lists with so warlike a nation. At this time a prophecy, pretended to be found in the Sibylline books, was spread about Rome, viz. that the Gauls and Greeks should one day make themselves masters of it. The new consuls therefore, M. Valerius Messala and L. Apustius Fullo, having consulted the pontifices, to appease the superstitious populace, caused an edict to be published by the decemviri, who had the care of the Sibylline books, commanding two Greeks, a man and a woman, and two Gauls, likewise a man and woman, to be buried alive in the ox-market. By this they persuaded the credulous multitude, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the Gauls and Greeks had taken possession of Rome [w]. The difficulties, which superstition had raised, being surmounted by this cruel piece of policy, Rome made it her whole business to raise divisions among the Gauls, and found means to gain over to her party the Cænomani and Veneti, two considerable nations among them; but this made the Gauls repaired with the new levies they made beyond the Alps, where, by their embassadors, they engaged the Gæsatæ to join them. The Gæsatæ, according to Polybius, were a very warlike people, and ready to fight for any nation that would pay them; whence they had the name of Gæsatæ, that is, hirelings. Others derive this name from a sort of weapon, which they used, and in their language called Gæsum. The consuls, Valerius and Apustius, spent the greater part of the year in raising troops for their successors; and indeed Rome had never before had so numerous an army on foot. All the nations of Italy, subject to the republic, were exhausted, and none excused from sending their quotas. We are told by a credible historian [x], that the number of forces Rome raised on this occasion amounted in all to eight hundred thousand men. Of this incredible multitude two hundred forty-eight thousand foot and twenty-six thousand six hundred horse were Romans or Campanians. Nevertheless the Gauls, with only fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, began hostilities, forced themselves a passage through Hetruria, and took their rout towards Rome.

Two Gauls and two Greeks buried alive at Rome.

A prodigious army raised against the Gauls.

In the mean time, the republic raised L. Æmilius Papus and C. Atilius Regulus to the consulship. The latter was sent

[w] Liv. epit. l. xx. Oros. l. iv. c. 13. [x] Polyb. l. ii. c. 22.

ſent into Sardinia, to quiet ſome commotions there, while his collegue took upon him the conduct of the war with the Gauls, who were now joined by the Gæſatæ from the other ſide of the Alps, to the number of above two hundred thouſand men, commanded by two kings, Concolatinus and Aneroeſtus. The conſul Æmilius, not knowing what rout the Gæſatæ would take, encamped near Ariminum, in order to prevent them from entering the Roman lands by the coaſts of the Adriatic ſea. At the ſame time a prætor, whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory, was ſent into Hetruria with a body of fifty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. In the mean time, the Gæſatæ, having left the coaſt of the Adriatic, to avoid Æmilius's army, croſſed Inſubria, and joined the troops of their nation in Hetruria; whence this terrible army marched ſtreight to Rome. They found means to bring the prætor to a battle, in which they killed ſix thouſand of his men, and obliged the reſt to fly in confuſion to a neighbouring hill, where they intrenched themſelves; but were the next day inveſted by the Gauls, who attacked their intrenchments with a fury not to be expreſſed. The Romans in this diſtreſs defended themſelves with great reſolution, hoping, that fortune, which had eſpouſed their cauſe, would, by ſome means or other, reſcue them out of the hands of ſo cruel an enemy; and accordingly an unexpected accident delivered them from death or ſlavery. The conſul Æmilius being informed, that the Gauls were in full march to Rome, had left his camp at Ariminum, in order to cover the city. As he drew near Fæſulæ, he received an account of the advantage the Gauls had gained over the prætor's army, and of the deplorable ſituation to which he was reduced. Upon this advice he did not deliberate a moment, but immediately ordered the legions to advance in good order to the enemy's camp, while he himſelf led the cavalry to the foot of the hill, which the Gauliſh cavalry kept cloſely inveſted. The Gauls were ſo alarmed at the unexpected arrival of the conſular army, that they decamped in great confuſion, in order to return home through Inſubria, and ſecure the booty and wealth which they had amaſſed. In their march they kept along the ſhore of the Hetrurian ſea; and Æmilius, ſtrengthening his army with the remains of the prætor's troops, followed them cloſe, with a deſign rather to haraſs than engage them; but it luckily happened, that Attilius having put a ſpeedy end to the troubles of Sardinia, had, on his return home, landed

his

his army at Piſa, and was now marching along the ſhore towards Rome, not expecting to find an enemy in his way. He was overjoyed when he learned by his ſcouts the ſituation of affairs; and, in order to intercept the Gauls, he drew up his troops near Telamon, a little port in Hetruria, making as wide a front as he could. With his cavalry he poſted himſelf on an eminence over which the enemy muſt neceſſarily paſs. The Gauls imagining, that this body of Roman horſe was a detachment from Æmilius's army, ſent ſome ſquadrons of horſe to attack it. As for Æmilius, he knew not that his colleague was ſo near; he had only learned, that he had left Sardinia and was arrived at Piſa; but as ſoon as he perceived at a diſtance the two parties engaged, he immediately concluded that Attilius was attacking the enemy in front, and detached ſome ſquadrons to his relief. Then the attack was renewed with more vigour than ever. The conſul Attilius, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner, was killed, and his head, ſtuck on the top of a lance, was carried through all the files of the enemy's army; but the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the battle was continued with the ſame ardor and reſolution. While the Gauliſh cavalry was engaged with that of the Romans on the top of the hill, their infantry had time to draw up in the plain. As they were to oppoſe two conſular armies, one of which was to attack them in front and the other in the rear, they diſpoſed their troops ſo, that one part of them faced the conſul Æmilius, and the other the army which Attilius had commanded. In the firſt line, over-againſt Æmilius, were placed the Gæſatæ, who were lately come into Italy, and behind them the Inſubres. At the head of the other body were the Taurini, aud behind them the ſeveral nations of the Gauls, who dwelt on both ſides of the Po. This ſecond army, if we may ſo call it, faund the legions, which Attilius had brought from Sardinia, agaid turned their backs to the other. By this diſpoſition the Gauls ſupported each other, and could neither fly nor retreat. Before the action, the Gæſatæ, obſerving that the plain, on which they were going to engage, was covered with brambles and buſhes, and fearing they might, by entangling their clothes, prevent them from uſing their arms with freedom, ſtripped themſelves naked, and in that manner advanced againſt the Romans, who were greatly ſurpriſed at that ſight. The attack began with great ſhouts, while the air at the ſame

The conſul Attilius killed by the Gauls.

time

time rung with an infinite number of horns and trumpets, which were much uſed by the Gauls. The Romans, who engaged the Gæſatæ, kept at a diſtance from them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter with the ſhowers of darts which they diſcharged upon them. Naked as they were, they kept their ground, till the greater part of thoſe, who fought in the firſt file, were either killed or wounded. Then the reſt began to retire, which occaſioned ſome confuſion, and encouraged the legionaries to advance and attack them ſword in hand. The Gauls behaved with great reſolution; and tho' their arms were far inferior to thoſe of the Romans, yet they ſtood the ſhock, till the Roman cavalry, which had been engaged on the hill, came down full ſpeed, and attacked them in the flank. Then the defeat of the Gauls was general; forty thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot, and above ten thouſand taken priſoners, with Concolitanus one of their kings. Aneroeſtus, the other king, and the moſt experienced commander among the Gauls, eſcaped to a neighbouring village, where he laid violent hands on himſelf, as did moſt of the officers who attended him [y].

The Gauls receive a great overthrow.

AFTER this victory, Æmilius, now ſole commander of the two armies, marched along the borders of Hetruria, and entering the territories of the Boii, gave up that fruitful country to be plundered by his ſoldiers. When they were loaded with booty, he began his march to Rome. As he paſſed through Hetruria, he reſtored to the owners all the booty the Gauls had taken from them. He entered Rome in triumph on the third of the nones of March; and as his victory was one of the moſt important the republic had ever gained, his triumphal proceſſion was one of the moſt pompous and magnificent. The triumphant victors generally ſtripped the captives of their military ornaments; but the Gauls were ſuffered to appear in their belts, in deriſion of the vow they had made not to quit them till they were upon the capital, and there they were taken from them, amidſt the hiſſes of all the people [z].

HOWEVER, this terrible defeat did not make the Gauls ſubmit. The republic therefore caſt her eyes on two commanders of great experience, who had been both conſuls before, in hopes they would finiſh this important war. Theſe were T. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus;

[y] Polyb l. xi c. 29—32. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxv. Flor. l. i. Zonar. l. viii. c. 20. [z] Flor. l. i.

cus ; but they performed nothing worth mentioning. Their marches being retarded with violent rains, they could not pass the Po, as they designed ; besides, a plague broke out in their army, which not only kept them in a state of inaction, but prevented them from returning to Rome at the usal time ; so that it was necessary to create a dictator, who was the famous Cæcilius Metellus, to hold the comitia in their absence for a new election of consuls. C. Flaminius Nepos and P. Furius Philo were chosen. These were the first Roman generals who passed the Po ; but they were so terrified at the very sight of the Insubres, whose country they intended to invade, that they entered into a treaty with them, and, repassing the Po, took refuge among their faithful allies the Cænomani. Having rambled about those unknown regions for some time, they resolved to make another attempt upon Insubria ; but the Romans being at this time much frightened with prodigies, the augurs declared, that there must have been some defect in the election of the consuls. Whereupon the senate immediately dispatched a courier with a letter, commanding them to return to Rome and abdicate. The consuls, who were then in sight of the enemy, thinking a retreat through so many nations, whose fidelity was dubious, might be attended with dangerous consequences, resolved not to open the letter till after the battle. The consul Flaminius seems to have taken the whole command upon himself on the day of the battle ; for no historian makes mention of his colleague Furius in describing it. As the Romans were far inferior to the enemy in numbers, the consul designed at first to reinforce his army with those Gauls, who were in amity with the Roman people, and sent orders to them to come and join him ; but, upon their arrival, he began to consider, that it war a dangerous thing to trust those auxiliaries, who were a wavering people, and might, in the heat of the action, out of compassion for their countrymen, desert the Romans, and even turn their arms against them. Upon this consideration, he resolved not to accept them in an affair of so great importance, and therefore ordered them to pass the river Addua ; which they no sooner did, than he caused the bridge to be broken down, and, by that means, as the river was not fordable, prevented them from siding with the enemy, since he could not resolve to trust them as friends. This was the only prudent step the consul took, either before, or in the time of, the action ; so he drew up his men, not after the Roman manner, but so close,

that

that the whole army ſeemed to be one phalanx: and beſides, he poſted the laſt line ſo near the Addua, that, if they had been preſſed ever ſo little, they would have been forced into the river; but the ſkill and management of the legionary tribunes made amends for the conſul's imprudent conduct. Theſe had obſerved, in their battles with the Gauls, that they made but one briſk attack, after which their fire abated; and that their ſwords were only fit for cutting and eaſily bent; ſo that, if they had not time to ſet them ſtrait again with their foot on the ground, after a cut or two, they became quite uſeleſs. The tribunes therefore took two precautions, which determined the fate of the day in their favour. In the firſt place, they diſtributed among the ſoldiers of the firſt line the javelins uſed by the Triarii, which were a kind of halberts, ordering them to preſent the points of their javelins to the enemy, and by that means keep them at ſuch a diſtance, as to prevent them from making uſe of their ſwords. In the ſecond place, the tribunes commanded their men to throw down the javelins, as ſoon as the firſt fire of the enemy was ſpent, and cloſing with them ſword in hand, ſtab them in the throat and breaſt. To theſe orders the Romans owed the victory; for the Gauls having, in the beginning of the attack, blunted their ſwords againſt the long javelins of the Romans, the latter no ſooner perceived that their ardor began to cool, than they ſhortened their ſwords, and cloſing with the enemy, ſo as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, ſtabbed them, as they had been ordered, without running any danger themſelves, the ſwords of the Gauls having no point. Nine thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot. and ſeventeen thouſand taken priſoners.

The Inſubrians defeated.

Thus, in ſpite of all the bad prognoſtics and the orders of the ſuperſtitious ſenate, a complete victory was gained, tho' it was rather owing to the conduct of the ſubalterns, than to the ſkill or prudence of the general [a].

AFTER the action, the conſuls opened the packet, when Furius, who perhaps had declined the command during the action, out of reſpect to the ſenate, was for immediately obeying the order, but Flaminius, thinking a ſucceſsful act of diſobedience more honourable than a blind and timorous ſubmiſſion, was for purſuing the advantages of the victory; which he did accordingly, enriching his ſoldiers with

[a] Polyb. lxi. c. 31, 32. Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Plut. in Marcel. Zonar. l. viii. c. 20.

with booty, while his collegue continued inactive, waiting to join him, when he ſhould return from his incurſions into Inſubria. At length Flaminius rejoined his collegue, and they returned to Rome together, where they met with a very cold reception both from the ſenate and people; but the troops of Flaminius, whom he had enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy, prevailed upon the people to grant both the conſuls a triumph, ſince the victory had been gained under the auſpices of both. However, the ſenate obliged them to abdicate immediately after it; ſo that the republic fell into an inter-regnum when the centuries choſe M. Claudius Marcellus, one of the greateſt men Rome ever produced, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio to the conſulate. They had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the Inſubres ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to beg a peace upon any terms; but the ſenate having, at the inſtigation of their new conſuls, diſmiſſed their deputies with a refuſal, they reſolved to make their laſt effort; and accordingly took into their pay thirty thouſand Gæſatæ, who, paſſing the Alps, entered Italy, under the command of their king Viridomarus. Early in the ſpring the conſuls paſſed the Po, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of Acerræ, a place near that river. Hereupon the Gauls, who were now ninety thouſand ſtrong, in order to make a diverſion and oblige the Romans to raiſe the ſiege they had undertaken, paſſed the Po, and, entering the Roman territories, inveſted Caſtidium, a city placed by Plutarch in Ciſalpine Gaul, but by Livy in Liguria Montana. Upon the news of this motion of the enemy, Marcellus, with two thirds of the cavalry, and about ſix hundred of the light-armed infantry, haſtened to the relief of the place. The Gauls, receiving intelligence of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, and marched in order of battle to meet him. Marcellus drew up his ſmall army with great ſkill, and advanced leiſurely in order of battle againſt the enemy. When the two armies drew near each other, Viridomarus advanced before his troops, and challenged the Roman general to a ſingle combat. Marcellus readily accepted the challenge; ſo that both parties, leaving the middle free for the champions, retired to wait for the iſſue of the combat. Marcellus, ruſhing upon the enemy full ſpeed, pierced his breaſt-plate with his lance, and gave him a deep wound. Then ſpurring his horſe with great violence againſt that of his adverſary, he made him recoil, rear, and throw his rider, whom he ſoon diſpatched with repeated blows. The Gæſatæ being

Marcellus kills the king of the Gæſatæ in ſingle combat.

diſheartened by the death of their leader, the Romans charged them with great fury and put them to flight. Thus a handful of Romans defeated a numerous army of Gauls, and obliged them to ſhelter themſelves in the woods and foreſts of their own country [b].

DURING the abſence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his collegue, who from thence had marched to inveſt Mediolanum, the largeſt, richeſt, and moſt populous city of Inſubria, but he was himſelf more cloſely beſieged by the Gauls, than Mediolanum was by him. But, upon the arrival of Marcellus, the ſcene changed; the Gæſatæ retired with precipitation, repaſſed the Alps, and left the inhabitants of Mediolanum to the mercy of the conquerors. The city immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion, as did alſo Comum, another city of great importance. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian ſea, became entirely Roman. Inſubria and Liguria were now made one province, and called Ciſalpine Gaul, which was governed by a prætor ſent annually from Rome. In order to keep the conquered Gauls from revolting, two Roman colonies were ſettled at Cremona and Placentia, on the oppoſite banks of the Po [c].

Inſubria and Liguria made a Roman province.

MARCELLUS was decreed at Rome an extraordinary triumph, for having conquered, as the decree was worded, the Inſubres and the Germans [d]. And this is the firſt time we find the Germans mentioned in the hiſtory of Rome. Polybius indeed places the Gæſatæ on the banks of the Rhone; but other writers tell us, that they inhabited the countries bordering on the Rhine. Marcellus, in his triumphal proceſſion, carried on his ſhoulders the rich armour and ſpoils of Viridomarus, and dedicated the third and laſt opima ſpolia to Jupiter Feretrius, ſingle combats between generals growing out of uſe after this time. Part of the rich ſpoils taken on this occaſion was ſent to good king Hiero, who was yet living, and a gold cup made out of them ſent to the temple of Apollo at Delphos. As for Cornelius, he did not receive the honours of a triumph, but was continued in the new province in quality of proconſul to regulate affairs there.

The third opima ſpolia.

THE new conſuls, M. Minucius Rufus and P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina, were ordered to make war upon the Iſtrians, for having taken ſome Roman ſhips. All Iſtria

Iſtria conquered.

[b] Plut. in Marcell. Polyb. l. xi, c. 34. [c] Plut. ibid. [d] Tab. triumph.

Iſtria was reduced in one year's time, tho' ſome writers tell us, that the reduction of it coſt the conquerors a great deal of blood [e].

DURING the preſent conſulate, news was brought to Rome of the death of Aſdrubal in Spain; which gave the Romans great concern, becauſe he had been ever faithful to his treaties, and the republic thought ſhe had much more to fear from the bold and enterpriſing genius of young Hannibal, who was appointed to ſucceed him, though at that time not above twenty-five years of age. And indeed the firſt expedition of this young warrior confirmed the Romans in their fears. In his firſt campaign, he made war upon the Olcades, a people bordering on the Iberus, and gave reaſon to believe, that he would ſoon paſs that river, contrary to the treaty. Althœa, and ſeveral other cities in that neighbourhood, ſubmitted to him; however, as Rome had yet no reaſon to declare herſelf his enemy, ſhe turned her arms another way. Demetrius of Pharos, on whom the republic had heaped many favours, ſeeing the government of Illyricum lodged in his hands, and the Romans engaged in a troubleſome war with the Gauls, had deſpiſed their orders; and acting not as regent, but as king of Illyricum, had obliged the Atintanes to renounce their alliance with Rome, and come into meaſures; nay, he even ventured, contrary to the treaty, to ſend fifty ſhips of war, beyond the Lyſſos, to pillage the Cyclades. Complaints being brought to Rome from all parts, the new conſuls, L. Veturius Philo and C. Lutatius, would have immediately ſet ſail for Illyricum, if they had not been obliged to abdicate, upon ſome defect found in their election. They were ſucceeded by M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Valerius Lævinus; but the year being too far advanced to begin the expedition, it was poſtponed to the next conſulſhip. This year ended with a cenſus, by which the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred ſeventy thouſand two hundred and thirteen. At the time of the cenſus, all the libertini or freed-men, who lived diſperſed among all the tribes, and occaſioned great diſturbances in the city, were confined to four tribes, viz. the Eſquilina, the Palatina, the Suburrana, and the Collina [f].

Aſdrubal ſucceeded by Hannibal.

[e] Oros. l. iv. c. 13. Zonar. l. viii. c. 21. Liv. epit. l. xx. Flor. in epit. Liv. l. xx.

An army ſent againſt Demetrius of Pharos.

AND now both conſuls, M. Livius Salinator and L. Æmilius Paulus, embarqued for Illyricum, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of Dimalum, a city of importance in that country, which Demetrius had fortified with ſo many works, that it was deemed impregnable. However, the Romans, by ſurpriſing efforts, took this formidable bulwark, by which the regent pretended to ſcreen himſelf from the vengeance of Rome, in the ſpace of ſeven days. Their next attempt was upon Pharos, an iſland in the Adriatic ſea, and the birth-place of Demetrius. Here he had aſſembled the flower of his troops, looking upon this iſland and city as his laſt refuge. As the Roman fleet had two conſular armies on board, one was landed in the night, with orders to conceal themſelves in the foreſts and behind the rocks, till the ſignal was given. Then the fleet appeared off Pharos in open day, as it were to land ſome forces. Hereupon Demetrius marched out of the town at the head of his troops, to prevent the deſcent; and then the legionaries, leaving their ambuſh, marched ſilently, and ſeized an eminence between the city and the port. Demetrius endeavoured to diſlodge them; but, in the mean time, the Romans on board the ſquadron having made their deſcent, the Illyrians were inveſted on all ſides, and ſoon diſperſed. Demetrius made his eſcape to Macedon, on board a veſſel ready kept for that purpoſe. The city of Pharos was taken, plundered, and razed; ſo that Rome was now the ſecond time miſtreſs of Illyricum, which, however, ſhe did not reduce to the form of a province, having ſome compaſſion for the young king Pinœus, who had been brought into theſe troubles merely by the fault of his guardians [g]. The conſuls, on their return to Rome, were accuſed before the tribes of having applied to their own uſe great part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy, and of diſtributing the reſt partially among the ſoldiers. Æmilius indeed was acquitted; but his collegue Salinator was condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe Mæcia; an affront which he could not brook, and therefore appeared no more in public, but retired to a houſe he had in the country, and there led a ſolitary life, till the calamities of his country brought him upon the ſtage again. When he was afterwards cenſor, he deprived all the tribes, except the tribe Mæcia, of the right of ſuffrage and all the privileges of Roman citizens. To ſuch a height did he carry his reſentment.

Illyricum reduced a ſecond time.

[g] Zonar. l. vii. c. 20.

ment [h]. In this conſulſhip, one Archagathus of Peloponneſus introduced the art of ſurgery into Rome. Till his time every one had their family receipts, as Pliny calls them [i], conveyed down to him by tradition; but the Peloponneſian cured all ſorts of wounds in a regular way; on which account he was honoured with the right of citizenſhip, and had a houſe built for him at the expence of the public; but as he uſed to make large inciſions in order to cure wounds with more certainty, the Romans gave him the name of Butcher, which ſoon brought his profeſſion into diſrepute [k]. The art of ſurgery introduced at Rome.

While the Romans were engaged in the Illyrican war, Hannibal was puſhing on his conqueſts in Spain. The Vaccæi, the Olcades, and the Carpetani had attempted to oppoſe his progreſs with an army of an hundred thouſand men; but that brave commander had defeated them by his ſuperior ſkill in war, and obliged them to ſubmit to the yoke. Elated with this ſucceſs, he advanced, at the head of his army, into the territory of Saguntum, and, contrary to the late treaty between Rome and Carthage, laid ſiege to that city. Hereupon the Roman ſenate diſpatched two embaſſadors, P. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Bebius Tamphilus, to Hannibal, with orders to proceed to Carthage, in caſe the Carthaginian general refuſed to comply with their requeſt. They were ſcarce landed, when Hannibal, who was carrying on the war with great vigour, ſent them word, that he had ſomething elſe to do than to give audience to embaſſadors; however, he admitted them at laſt, and, in anſwer to their remonſtrances, told them, that the Saguntines had drawn their misfortunes on themſelves, by committing hoſtilities againſt the allies of Carthage; and at the ſame time deſired the deputies, if they had any complaints to make of him, to carry them to the ſenate of Carthage. However, the artful Carthaginian immediately diſpatched to Carthage ſome friends, in whom he could confide, to give the ſenate favourable prepoſſeſſions with relation to his enterprize upon Saguntum. He then returned to the attack of that city, which he had interrupted for ſome days, in order to refreſh his troops. The Saguntines defended themſelves for the ſpace of ſix months with ſurpriſing bravery; and when they could hold out no longer, they firſt burnt all their richeſt effects, and then ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes, Hannibal beſieges Saguntum.

[h] Auth. vit. vir. illuſt. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 1. Liv. l. xxix. c. 37. [i] Plin. l. xxix. c. 1. [k] Idem. ibid.

ſet fire to them, and periſhed with their wives and children in the flames [1].

Roman embaſſadors ſent to Carthage.

In the mean time, the Roman embaſſadors arriving at Carthage, found the ſenate there divided into two factions; the Barcan, of which Hamilcar Barcas, the father of Hannibal, had been the head, and that of Hanno, which conſiſted of the oldeſt ſenators and wiſeſt men in the republic. The embaſſadors, after having complained to the ſenate of Hannibal's haughtineſs and unjuſt violences, demanded, that he ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, to be puniſhed according to his deſerts; and at the ſame time declared, that Rome would look on the refuſal of ſo juſt a demand, as a public approbation of the infraction of the treaty and the deſtruction of Saguntum. This demand had the air of authority, which was very ſhocking, eſpecially in times of proſperity. It ſeemed both cruel and ſhameful for the Carthaginians to deliver up to his implacable enemies a young conqueror, who was the glory and hopes of his nation. However, Hanno, in a warm ſpeech, preſſed the ſenate to give the Romans the ſatisfaction they required; but the Barcan faction oppoſed this motion, and, being more numerous, prevailed. A commiſſioner, expert in negotiations, was appointed to diſcuſs the affair with the Roman embaſſadors, and to anſwer their complaints; but, after ſeveral conferences, in which the African negotiator uſed all the chicanery and evaſions poſſible to colour the proceeding of Hannibal, the embaſſadors renewed their demand before the ſenate, and, to cut off endleſs diſputes, the chief of the embaſſadors, having made two folds in his robe, ſaid, addreſſing himſelf to the ſenate, On one ſide is peace, on the other war; chuſe which you pleaſe. The preſident of the aſſembly anſwered, We will chuſe neither; give us which you pleaſe. Take war then, replied the embaſſador. At which words the Barcan faction cried out with joy, War, war; a fatal declaration, which brought both nations to the brink of ruin. If we conſider only the laſt hoſtilities committed by Hannibal, his republic was certainly in the wrong; for they were a manifeſt infraction of the treaty with Aſdrubal: but if we trace the matter higher, we ſhall find that the Carthaginians were not to blame, the Romans having obliged them, by their haughty behaviour, their repeated extortions, and their unjuſt invaſions of Corſica and Sardinia, to take up arms in their own defence.

War declared between Rome and Carthage. Year after the flood, 2785. Before Chriſt, 214. Of Rome 534.

CHAP.

[1] Liv. l. xxi. c. 7.

CHAP. VI.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the beginning to the end of the ſecond* Punic *war.*

THE new conſuls, P. Cornelius Scipio and Tib. Sempronius Longus, had ſcarce entered upon their office, when the embaſſadors ſent firſt to Hannibal, and then to Carthage, returned to Rome. The account they gave of their embaſſy, and the news of the deſtruction of Saguntum, left the ſenate no room to deliberate about war or peace. The former was now unavoidable, and even declared by their embaſſadors, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received before they left Rome. The conſuls were therefore ordered to draw lots for their reſpective provinces. Africa fell to Sempronius, and Spain to Cornelius Scipio. The former was directed to paſs over into Sicily, aſſemble all the troops in that iſland, and ſail from thence to Africa, and begin hoſtilities there. Cornelius, on the other hand, was commanded to go into Spain, and uſe all poſſible means to prevent Hannibal from entering Italy. Extraordinary levies were made all over Italy. Six legions were raiſed, amounting to twenty-four thouſand foot and eighteen hundred horſe; and among the ſeveral nations in Italy ſubject to the republic, four thouſand horſe more and forty-four thouſand foot. As for the fleet, Rome equipped two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty other light veſſels. Two legions, conſiſting each of four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, with fourteen thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe of the allies, were put under the command of Cornelius Scipio, who was to tranſport them on board a fleet of ſixty quinqueremes to Tranſalpine Gaul. Two legions, with fourteen thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe of the allies, were left in Italy, under the command of the prætor L. Manlius, to keep Ciſalpine Gaul in awe. As for the conſul Sempronius, who was deſigned for Africa, his army conſiſted of two legions, ſixteen thouſand foot of the allies, and eighteen hundred horſe. Theſe troops were put on board a fleet of a hundred and ſixty gallies and twenty light veſſels. Before the arrival of Sempronius in Sicily, the Carthaginians had ſent out a ſquadron of twenty ſail to plunder the coaſts of Italy; but theſe ſhips being diſperſed by a ſtorm, king Hiero, who happen-

Levies made for a war with Carthage.

ed to be then at Meſſana with his fleet, had detached part of it, and taken ſome of them. The priſoners informed him, that Carthage had equipped another ſquadron of thirty-five gallies, with a deſign to ſurprize Lilybæum. This intelligence the king immediately communicated to Æmilius prætor of Sicily, who, without loſs of time, ſailed with his ſmall ſquadron to join the Syracuſan fleet, in order to defend the threatened city. The Carthaginians finding, upon their arrival, both fleets riding at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, did not attempt to enter it, but, keeping at ſome diſtance, drew up in line of battle. The Romans and Syracuſans accepted the challenge; ſo that an engagement enſued, in which the Carthaginians were defeated, with the loſs of ſeven ſhips. Seventeen hundred of their men were taken priſoners, and a great many killed in the action. The Romans did not loſe one ſingle galley, and had but a very ſmall number of men killed. The king, on his return to Meſſana, finding Sempronius arrived there, went immediately on board the conſul's ſhip, embraced him tenderly, and aſſured him, that he ſhould continue the ſame affection for Rome in his old age, which he had always ſhewn her in his youth; nor was this all, he cloathed the legionaries and the crews of the Roman ſhips at his own expence, ſupplied the whole army with corn, and then ſet ſail with the conſul for Lilybæum, where they parted with regret [m].

The Carthaginians defeated at ſea.

SEMPRONIUS from Lilybæum ſteered his courſe to the iſland of Melita, ſituated between Sicily and Africa; and he no ſooner appeared before it, than one Hamilcar, the Carthaginian governor, ſurrendered up to him the iſland, the city, and the garriſon. But, in the mean time, the Carthaginians having made a deſcent on the coaſts of Italy, Sempronius was preparing to drive them from thence, when news was brought him, that Hannibal had paſſed the Alps, and at the ſame time an order from the ſenate to return in all haſte to Italy. Leaving therefore the prætor Æmilius in Sicily, with a ſufficient number of troops and ſhips to defend the iſland, he went on board his fleet, and entered the Adriatic ſea, with a deſign to land at Ariminum.

The iſland of Melita ſeized by the Romans.

HANNIBAL, being authorized by the ſenate of Carthage to act againſt the Romans as he thought fit, reſolved not to wait for their coming to attack him in Spain, but to carry the war into the very heart of their dominions. With this

[m] Liv. l. xxi. c. 17. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. c. 24.

this view he had made it his whole buſineſs, during the winter, to ſettle affairs in Spain. He appointed his brother Aſdrubal governor of that country in his abſence; and, in order to put him in a condition to oppoſe any deſcents there, he left him fifty quinqueremes, four quadriremes, and five triremes. As to the land-forces, he did not leave his brother to the mercy of the enemy, but tranſported thirteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty foot, and one thouſand two hundred horſe, of the Spaniſh troops, into Africa, and brought fifteen thouſand Africans into Spain. By this exchange he wiſely provided for the ſecurity of both countries. After theſe prudent regulations, he waited only for the anſwers of the Italic Gauls, to whom he had ſent his emiſſaries, ſoliciting them to ſhake off the Roman yoke. He no ſooner received aſſurances of their earneſt deſire to ſee him in Italy, than he applied himſelf wholly to the preparations for his march. He began by putting himſelf under the protection of Hercules, who was worſhipped at Gades, whither he took a journey to offer ſacrifices and vows to that god. Then he aſſembled his troops, harangued them, and, upon a muſter, found, that they amounted to ninety thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe. However, by the deſertion of ſome of his troops, by his diſmiſſing others, and by the ſeveral detachments he made for the ſecurity of the new conquered provinces, his army, when he croſſed the Pyrenees, conſiſted only of fifty thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe[n]. With theſe troops, having paſſed the Pyrenees without oppoſition, he arrived at Illiberis, a city of Gallia Narbonenſis on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous.

Hannibal begins his march for Italy.

In the mean time, the Boii, receiving intelligence that Hannibal was ſet out on his march to Italy, began to act as if he had already croſſed the Alps. They bore an implacable hatred to the Romans, and therefore, impatient to wait till the arrival of the Carthaginians, they openly revolted, and, being joined by the Inſubres, fell upon the two new colonies of Placentia and Cremona. The inhabitants, who were but juſt come, fled for refuge to Mutina, an old Roman colony, whither the rebels purſued them, with a deſign to beſiege the place; but as they were not ſkilled in taking cities, they had recourſe to treachery, drew the three leaders of the colony, who were men of diſtinction, out of the place, under pretence of a conference, and then

The Boii revolt.

[n] Polyb. l. iii. c. 25. Liv. l. xxi. c. 23.

then ſeized them, with a deſign to exchange them for the hoſtages they had formerly left in the hands of the Romans. This rouzed the prætor Manlius, who had been left, by Cornelius Scipio, with two legions, to keep Ciſalpine Gaul in ſubjection. He immediately led one of them to the relief of Mutina; but as the country, through which he marched, was covered with foreſts, the Gauls, who were acquainted with all the roads, ſurprized him, and cut moſt of his legionaries in pieces, the prætor himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty to an eminence, whence he retired to Tanetum, a city on the banks of the Nicia, where he was immediately inveſted by the enemy. However, upon the approach of the prætor Lucius Attilius, at the head of the other legion and five thouſand auxiliaries, they raiſed the ſieges both of Tanetum and Mutina, and diſperſed [o].

In the mean time, the conſul Cornelius Scipio, having ſailed from Piſa, and kept along the coaſt of Liguria, had landed his troops at that mouth of the Rhone, which is neareſt Maſilia. His deſign was to wait there for Hannibal, and give him battle before he attempted to croſs the Alps. He had indeed received notice of Hannibal's having paſſed the Pyrenees; but could not imagine that he was near, conſidering the vaſt countries, and the many Gauliſh nations, through which he was to paſs. He therefore encamped on an iſland formed by the Rhone, which the antients call Camaria, and the moderns La Camarque, and remained there a few days to refreſh his troops after the fatigues of the ſea. But Hannibal, more expeditious than Scipio imagined, having ſurmounted all difficulties, was actually encamped on the banks of the Rhone, and contriving means to paſs that rapid ſtream. The Gauls on his ſide the river favoured him through fear; but thoſe on the other ſide, jealous of ſo powerful an army, prepared to oppoſe his paſſage with all their might. Scipio knew nothing of this; otherwiſe, by joining the Gauls, who were determined to diſpute his paſſage, he would, in all likelihood, have made the Rhone the boundary of Hannibal's expedition; but, in this great criſis, Hannibal's fortune was equal to his valour. On the other hand, the Carthaginian ſuſpecting that a conſular army was not far off, and being therefore obliged without delay to paſs the river, which was no-where fordable, in ſight of the enemy, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He detached part of his army, under the command of Hanno the ſon of Bomilcar, with orders to march up along the river, croſs

[o] Liv. ibid. Polyb. l. iii. c. 35.

croſs it out of ſight of the enemy's camp, and, by taking a tour, to get behind them and lie in ambuſh. Hanno having executed his commiſſion and given the ſignal agreed on, Hannibal prepared to paſs the river with that part of the army which remained with him. He ordered his cavalry to embarque on the greater veſſels, and his foot on canoes, made only of hollow trees. He directed thoſe who governed the greater veſſels to keep their bow upon the ſtream, thereby to check the current of the river, and cover the others from danger. The horſes were not embarqued but ſwam after the ſmall boats, one man holding three or four by the bridle on each ſide the boat. While they were thus contending againſt the violence of the ſtream, and animating each other, the enemy waited for them on the oppoſite bank, and with their cries and howlings, gave them to underſtand, that they were ready to receive them; but, in the mean time, Hanno's detachment attacking them in the rear, they were ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they immediately betook themſelves to flight, and diſperſed, every one making the beſt of his way to his own village [P].

Hannibal croſſes the Rhone.

In the mean-time, news being brought to Scipio, that the enemy was already encamped on the banks of the Rhone, he did not at firſt believe it, it ſeeming to him incredible, that they ſhould be able to perform ſo long a march in ſo ſhort a time. However, in order to get ſuch intelligence as he might rely on, he commanded out three hundred choſen horſe to reconnoitre. Theſe fell in with a party of five hundred Numidian horſe, ſent out by Hannibal for the ſame purpoſe; whereupon a ſharp action enſued, in which the Numidians loſt two hundred men, and the Romans a hundred and ſixty. The Numidians were put to flight; and this advantage, how inconſiderable ſoever, was looked upon by the Romans, who laid great ſtreſs upon preſages, as a happy omen for the reſt of the war. However, it did not diſcourage Hannibal, who, upon certain information that the conſular army was not far off, was for ſome time in doubt, whether he ſhould attack the Romans, or march ſtreight for Italy; but the deputies from the Ciſalpine Gauls, the chief of whom was one Magalus or Mægilus, determined him, by their advice, to lead his army over the mountains entire, and not run the hazard of weakening it by a diſaſter. They made Hannibal rich preſents, tendered him their ſervice, and took upon them to be his guides over the Alps. The Carthaginian therefore, to avoid Scipio, marched

[P] Polyb. l. iii. c. 45, 46.

marched up the river, and encamped at the conflux of the Rhodanus and the Araris, or the Rhone and the Saone. Here Hannibal found two brothers diſputing for the dominions of the country, and their armies drawn up ready to engage. At the requeſt of the elder brother Hannibal joined him againſt the younger, whom he drove out of the country. The conqueror immediately expreſſed his gratitude, by furniſhing the Carthaginians with clothes, which they greatly wanted, moſt of them being half-naked and bare-foot, and ſupplying them with what was neceſſary to guard them againſt the ſnow and ice of the Alps. Nor was this all; as the Carthaginians were afraid of being attacked by the Gauls diſperſed about thoſe unknown countries, the king guarded them in perſon, and conducted them ſafe to the foot of the mountains, which they reached after ten days march [q].

AND here an hiſtorian is as much at a loſs what rout to take as Hannibal himſelf was, the antients having left us in great darkneſs, as to the exact place where the Carthaginian general paſſed the mountains. Some of the moderns point out one place, and ſome another; but as they may be all, for aught we know, equally miſtaken, we ſhall follow Hannibal, through the immenſe difficulties he met with in this his famous paſſage, without pretending to aſcertain the preciſe place, where he attempted, and happily accompliſhed, ſo bold an undertaking. As ſoon as the king we have mentioned above left the Carthaginian army, Hannibal ordered his troops to begin their march up the mountains; and then the petty kings of the country, aſſembling their troops in great numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminencies, over which the Carthaginians muſt neceſſarily paſs. And indeed, had they concealed themſelves longer, the Carthaginian army would have been in great danger; but, by appearing openly, they leſſened their advantage; and tho' they killed great numbers of the enemy, they loſt an equal number of their own men. However, they continued haraſſing the Carthaginians, and were no ſooner driven from one eminence than they ſeized another, diſputing every inch of ground with the enemy, and deſtroying great numbers of them by the advantage they had of the ground. Hereupon Hannibal made his army halt, and take up their quarters that night among the rocks. In the mean time, being informed by the Gauls, who ſerved him as guides,

Hannibal paſſes the Alps.

[q] Liv. l. xxi. c. 31. Polyb. l. iii. c. 47.

guides, that the barbarians kept guard in thoſe places only in the day-time, and in the night retired to a village not far off, he decamped in broad day, and moving ſlowly, drew near the poſt which the mountaineers poſſeſſed in the evening, as if he deſigned to paſs the night there; but, as ſoon as it was dark, and the enemy were, according to their cuſtom, retired, he put himſelf at the head of a detachment of choſen men, and gained one of the eminences. When day diſcovered to the enemy what had paſſed, they reſolved to attack the Carthaginians from the other eminences, which commanded the narrow, ſtony, and broken way through which they marched. Accordingly leaping from rock to rock with the agility of hinds, they fell upon them from all quarters at once. The Carthaginians loſt in this unforeſeen attack an incredible number of horſes and beaſts of burden; for, the way being narrow and broken, the beaſts of burden were eaſily thrown down: but the horſes that were wounded gave them moſt trouble; for falling in ſo narrow and crouded a way, they threw down others by ſtriving to recover their feet, and by that means occaſioned a general confuſion. Hannibal, obſerving this, immediately left the poſt he had taken, and falling on the enemy from the higher ground, killed moſt of them on the ſpot, and diſperſed the reſt. Having eſcaped this danger, he marched himſelf at the head of a ſtrong detachment againſt the town, which had harboured the enemy, and finding it deſerted, took it without oppoſition. Here he found the priſoners, horſes, and beaſts of burden, which had fallen into the enemy's hands, and beſides, cattle and corn ſufficient to ſupport the army for three days. In this town Hannibal remained a day to reſt and refreſh his troops, and then purſued his march for three days together, without the leaſt moleſtation or alarm; but the fourth day he fell into a greater danger than that he had lately eſcaped. Other mountaineers, who inhabited the towns on the way he was to paſs, met him with olive branches and garlands of flowers, ſymbols of peace and friendſhip, and tendered him their ſervice. Hannibal, thinking it equally dangerous to truſt or diſtruſt them, endeavoured by ſeveral queſtions, to ſound their deſign. They told him, that his having defeated thoſe who oppoſed him, and taken their town, had prompted them to come and implore his protection; and that as to themſelves, they were reſolved to do him no injury, nor ſuffer any to be done him by others. Hannibal at firſt only pretended to truſt them for fear of diſobliging

bliging them ; but after they had ſupplied his army with proviſions, and converſed with all manner of freedom and confidence with his ſoldiers, he began to entertain a better opinion of their ſincerity, and even put ſo much confidence in them, as to accept their tenders of ſerving him as guides. However, as he ſtill retained a ſecret doubt of their ſincerity, he placed his elephants and horſe in the van, and his choiceſt foot in the rear. And this precaution preſerved his army from being entirely deſtroyed ; for theſe faithleſs guides, having led the army into a valley, ſurrounded with rocks and ſteep hills, all on a ſudden faced about, and fell upon them in front, while their countrymen, who lay concealed among the rocks, attacked their rear ; but the elephants ſtopped the fury of the one, and the infantry ſtood their ground againſt the other. Nevertheleſs the Carthaginians ſuffered no ſmall loſs both of men and horſes on this occaſion ; for the enemy, rolling down huge ſtones from the upper ground, killed a great number of them. The conſternation was ſo great in Hannibal's army, that he himſelf was obliged to ſtop, and take up his quarters that night on the top of an eminence, expoſed to the open air, with that part of the army which was with him, remote from the baggage and the reſt of the troops, who had much ado to compaſs their paſſage through the valley before day-break. In the morning, the enemy being now retired, Hannibal joined his army and baggage, and continued his march. After this the Gauls appeared only in ſmall bodies, falling ſometimes on the van, and ſometimes on the rear of the army, and ſeldom failing to carry off part of the baggage. At length, after many fatigues and loſſes, Hannibal arrived at the top of the mountains nine days after he had begun to aſcend them. There he encamped, and halted two days, to give his weary troops ſome repoſe, and to wait for the ſtragglers. During this ſtay, he ſaw with pleaſure many horſes arrive, which he thought loſt, and ſome of his men, who had not been able to keep up with the army. As the ſnow was lately fallen in great plenty on the tops of theſe high mountains and covered the ground, this ſight terrified the Africans and Spaniards, who were much affected with the cold. In order therefore to encourage them, and inſpire them with new reſolution againſt the ſufferings that yet threatened them, the Carthaginian general led them to the top of the higheſt rock on the ſide of Italy, and thence gave them a view of the large and fruitful plains of Inſubria, acquainting them, that

the

the Gauls, whoſe country they ſaw, were ready to join them. He alſo pointed out to them the place whereabout Rome ſtood, telling them, that, by climbing the Alps, they had ſcaled the walls of that rich metropolis. Having thus animated his haraſſed troops, after two days reſt he decamped, and began to deſcend the mountains [r].

THE difficulties they met with in going down were equal to thoſe they had found in the aſcent. They had indeed no enemy to contend with, ſaving ſome ſcattered parties, that came rather to ſteal than to fight; but the deep ſnows, mountains of ice, craggy rocks, and frightful precipices, proved more terrible than any enemy. However, the troops, now inured to the greateſt hardſhips, were proof againſt all difficulties, and went through them with chearfulneſs. After they had for ſome days marched through narrow, ſteep, and ſlippery ways, they came at length to a place, which neither men, elephants, nor horſes could paſs. The way, which lay between two precipices, was exceeding narrow, and the declivity, which was very ſteep of itſelf, was become more dangerous by the falling away of the earth. Here the guides ſtopped, and the whole army being terrified, Hannibal propoſed at firſt to march round about, and attempt another way; but all places round him being covered with ſnow to a great depth, he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity, either of turning back, and climbing up the mountains again, or getting down a place, which was almoſt perpendicular, and where a thin ſurface of freſh ſnow covered a hard and thick ice. However, the infantry began to deſcend; but their feet ſlipping, and there being nothing to catch hold of, they rolled down the precipices, which were on either ſide of this narrow paſſage, and were either cruſhed to pieces, or buried in the ſnow. Hereupon Hannibal, having ordered the ſnow to be removed, which covered all the ground, and the ice to be broken, encamped at the entrance of this paſs, in order to deliberate on the proper method of ſurmounting this preſent difficulty. After he had well conſidered the nature of the place, he concluded, that the only means of getting over it was to cut a way into the rock itſelf, through which his men, horſes, and elephants might paſs, without danger of falling down the precipices. This was a laborious piece of work; but the Numidians ſetting chearfully about it, and frequently relieving

[r] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

relieving one another, with unſpeakable pains made, in one day, a way in the rock for the foot, and in three days more for the horſe, and likewiſe for the elephahts, who had ſuffered much and were almoſt dead with hunger, the ground being in that part of the Alps covered with ſnow; ſo that no forage could be found. Some hiſtorians tell us, that the Numidians uſed vinegar to ſoften the rocks [s]; but the ſilence of the moſt judicious writers, as to this particular, is ſufficient to juſtify our not giving credit to ſo idle a ſtory. All they tell us is, that the Africans made uſe of fire, pick-axes, and other inſtruments of irons, for the accompliſhing of ſo laborious an undertaking. Thus Hannibal, having ſpent nine days in climbing up the Alps, and ſix in deſcending them, gained at length Inſubria, and notwithſtanding his many diſaſters by the way, entered that country with all the boldneſs of a conqueror. [illegible] the account we have given of this ſo much celebrated paſſage of Hannibal over the Alps, we have chiefly followed Polybius, who advanced nothing but what he learned from thoſe who lived at that time, and who took himſelf a journey to the Alps for his better information [t].

Hannibal enters Inſubria.

HANNIBAL, upon his entering Inſubria, reviewed his army, when he found, that of the fifty thouſand foot, with which he had ſet out from New Carthage five months and fifteen days before, he had now but twelve thouſand Carthaginians, and eight thouſand Spaniards; and that his twelve thouſand horſe were reduced to ſix thouſand. Some writers tell us, that Hannibal entered Italy at the head of forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; others make his troops amount to two hundred thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe [u]. But the above-mentioned number was ſpecified by Hannibal himſelf, and engraved, as Polybius informs us, on a column, which he erected near the Lacinian Promontory in Calabria [w]. Hannibal's firſt care, after he had entered Italy, was to refreſh his troops, who, after ſo long a march, and ſo many inexpreſſible hardſhips, looked like ſo many ſkeletons raiſed from the dead, or ſavages born in a deſert. However, he did not ſuffer them to languiſh long in idleneſs; but, joining the Inſubres, who were at war with the Taurinians, laid ſiege to Taurinum, the only city

[s] Liv. l. xxi. c. 37. [t] Polyb. l. iii. c. 55. [u] Cincius Alimentus apud Liv. l. xxi. c. 39. [w] Polyb. l. 3. c. 56.

city in the country, and made himſelf maſter of it in three days time, putting all who made reſiſtance to the ſword. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the neighbouring barbarians, that they all ſubmitted to the conqueror, and ſupplied his army with all ſorts of proviſions *. Takes Taurinum.

But to return to Scipio, whom we left encamped on the iſland of Camaria. When that general underſtood, upon the return of the party he had ſent out, that Hannibal was arrived at the banks of the Rhone, he immediately decamped, and marched up the river, with a deſign to give him battle; but finding that the Carthaginian had croſſed the river three days before, and was purſuing his march over the Alps into Italy, he marched back to his fleet with all poſſible expedition; and, having diſpatched his brother Cneius Scipio with the beſt part of his troops to carry on the war in Spain againſt Aſdrubal, he embarqued the reſt, with a deſign to return to Italy by ſea, and meet Hannibal at his deſcending the Alps. He ſoon arrived at Piſa, and from thence croſſing Hetruria, joined that army, which the conſul Manlius had ſo unfortunately led againſt the Boii. With this, and the few troops he had with him, he paſſed the Po, and encamped on the banks of the Ticinus, which diſcharges itſelf into that river. Hannibal was greatly ſurprized, when he underſtood, that Scipio, whom he had left on the banks of the Rhone, was already returned from Gaul to Italy, had croſſed Hetruria, paſſed the Po, and was ready to receive him. On the other hand, Scipio was no leſs ſtruck with admiration at Hannibal's expedition in croſſing the Alps, through ways which he deemed impaſſable. This reciprocal reſpect, which the two generals had for each other, encreaſed their emulation, and inſpired them with an eager deſire of entering the liſts together. In the mean time, the news of Hannibal's arrival in Italy at the head of a powerful army, of his taking Taurinum, and advancing to meet the conſul Scipio, filled Rome with terror. The ſenate expected every hour the tidings of a battle, and the uncertainty of the ſucceſs kept all men in ſuſpenſe: and indeed the two armies were two near each other to defer entering upon action. Scipio encouraged his troops in an harangue well ſuited to the occaſion; but Hannibal employed a new kind of eloquence, which made deep impreſſions

* Polyb. ibid.

impreſſions on the minds of his Carthaginians. He had treated the priſoners he had taken on the Alps with the utmoſt rigour; ſo that they earneſtly wiſhed to put an end to their miſeries with death. They were loaded night and day with heavy chains, ſtarved almoſt to death, and daily beaten with rods in a moſt barbarous manner. Hannibal, from the time he took them, deſigned them for the diverſion with which he now entertained his troops; for he cauſed them to be brought out at the head of the army, which he aſſembled for that purpoſe, and aſked them whether they were willing to engage each other in ſingle combats, and fight till one of them was killed in ſight of his troops? He ordered horſes and rich habits and furniture to be produced at the ſame time, as rewards for the conquerors, and comforted the vanquiſhed before-hand with the hopes of death, which would put an end to their inſupportable miſeries. There was not one of them, who did not, with great joy, conſent to the propoſal. Hereupon Hannibal ordered a certain number of them to be choſen by lot, in order to enter the liſts two and two. Thoſe on whom the lot fell leaped for joy, while the others broke out into loud lamentations. While they fought, the reſt of the priſoners looked on the conquered as no leſs fortunate than the conquerors, having by their death put a period to the miſeries they endured. The conſtancy of thoſe who died was more admired, by the Carthaginian ſoldiers, than the valour and ſkill of the ſurvivors. While their imaginations were warm with theſe objects, Hannibal told them, that their fate was like that of the captives, whoſe glorious deaths they had admired, and whoſe rewards they had envied; that Italy was a vaſt priſon to them, having the enemy's country before them, and behind them the Alps; that they could not eſcape the miſeries to which hunger, thirſt, nakedneſs, and heavy chains would reduce them, unleſs they purchaſed liberty, neceſſaries, and life itſelf by their bravery; that, ſince they could entertain no hopes of returning to their native countries by flight, they ought to have the ſame ſentiments, which they had juſt before admired in the captives, ſince they were under the ſame neceſſity of conquering or dying; that, if they conquered, not fine horſes only and rich furniture would be their lot, but all the wealth of the richeſt country and city in the world, &c.

THE diſcourſe of the general was applauded by the whole army, every man declaring that he was determined to conquer or die. With this diſpoſition the army drew near the Ticinus, which Scipio had already paſſed. The next day the two armies came in ſight of each other, when Scipio advanced at the head of the cavalry, with ſome companies of dart-men, to obſerve the enemy's motions and diſpoſition. Hannibal marched out againſt him at the head of the Spaniſh and Numidian cavalry. As the leaders on both ſides and the troops they commanded were eager to engage, they ſoon came to blows; but ſcarce had the Roman dart-men, whom Scipio had placed in the front, made their firſt diſcharge, when they retired into the ſpaces between their troops, through fear of being trod down by the horſe. Hannibal's horſe made but one large front, the Numidians in the two wings, and the Spaniards in the center. The onſet began between the cavalry of the Gauls, in the Roman army, and the Spaniſh horſe, in the Carthaginian. The former, ſupported by the dart-men, who were drawn up in the intervals between the ſquadrons, ſuſtained the ſhock of the Spaniſh horſe with great reſolution; but, in the mean time, the Numidians, taking a compaſs, attacked the Romans in flank, and, after an obſtinate and long diſpute, obliged them to give ground. Hereupon the Gauls, who had hitherto fought with great bravery, retired likewiſe in ſome confuſion. Scipio, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, endeavoured to animate his men, more by his example than by words, till he fell from his horſe by a wound he received. Then the Romans, believing their general killed, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight; and Scipio would have been left upon the place, had not his ſon, attended by a few Roman knights, in ſpite of all oppoſition, reſcued him and carried him back to the camp. Some ſay, that a Ligurian ſlave ſaved the conſul; but moſt writers give this honour to young Scipio. Be that as it will, the latter tradition prevailed, perhaps from the inclination of the Romans to magnify the riſing merit of one of the greateſt heroes their republic ever produced [y].

He defeats the Romans on the banks of the Ticinus.

SCIPIO, conſidering that the enemy was ſtronger in horſe, and conſequently that it would be dangerous to give them battle in the champaign country, abandoned his camp, repaſſed the Po, and retired to Placentia. Hannibal, on the

[y] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

the other hand, ſtaid ſome time in the field of battle, in expectation that the legions would appear; but, when he underſtood, that the conſul was decamped, he purſued him cloſe as far as the bridge, over which he had paſſed the Ticinus; but finding it broke down, he took ſix hundred men, whom the Roman general had left to defend a ſmall fort, and, without loſs of time, marched up the Ticinus, till he came to the banks of the Po, which he croſſed on a bridge of boats. He then divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother Mago, with orders to purſue the enemy, while he himſelf remained in the neighbourhood of the Po, to receive the deputies of ſeveral Gauliſh nations, whom his firſt advantage had brought over to him. They engaged to ſupply him with as many men, arms, and proviſions, as he ſhould want. Encouraged by theſe offers, he marched forward, joined his brother, and took the road to Placentia, where the conſul was encamped. Scipio, believing himſelf ſafe there, thought of nothing but curing his own and his ſoldiers wounds. He was therefore greatly ſurprized to ſee Hannibal advance within reach of his entrenchments, draw up his army, and offer him battle. Scipio, inſtead of accepting the challenge, fortified himſelf in his camp; and Hannibal, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to force the enemy's lines, encamped ten miles from him [z].

Treachery of the Gauls in the Roman army.

In the mean time, an unexpected event doubled the apprehenſions of the Romans, and encreaſed the confidence of the enemy. About two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, of thoſe Gauls who ſerved in the conſul's army, about the fourth watch, when all was quiet in the Roman camp, entered the tents that were next to them, murdered the Romans while they were aſleep, and, cutting off their heads, made their eſcape to Hannibal, who, by the kind reception he gave them, ſhewed how acceptable that black and treacherous action was to him. He invited them with great promiſes into his ſervice; but gave them leave for the preſent to retire to their reſpective habitations, thereby to ſpread the fame of this action, and win over their countrymen to the ſervice of the Carthaginians. At the ſame time embaſſadors came to him from the Boii, bringing with them the three commiſſioners of the two Roman colonies, whom they had formerly taken by treachery. Hannibal received the deputies with great demonſtrations of kindneſs;

[z] Liv. l. xxi. c. 47. Polyb. l. iii. c. 66.

A Map of ye Rout nch Hannibal took through Gaul & over the Alpes into Italy.

CELTIC GAUL

TRANSALPINE GAUL

NARBONENSIS

ITALY

Boii

Ædui

Segusiani

Infubres

Lake Lemanus

Seduni

Veragri

Lepontii

Lake Verbanus

Orobii

Alpes Penninæ

Alpes Maritimæ

Salassii

Centrones

Allobroges

Segusini

Libici

Insubria

Gallia Cisalpina

Taurini

Liguria Deciates

Transalpina Oxobii

Vocontii

Tricastini

Cavares

Vulgi

Albici

Vediantii

Sontii

Caturiges

Alpes Cottiæ

Embrunnens

Ligustica

Genoa

Milan

Arles

Marseilles

Salyes

Ligurian Apennines

Limousins

Auvergni

Helvii

Gabali

Cadurci

Ruthreni

Heleuteri

Volcæ Arecomici

Volcæ Tectosages

Nemausus

Narbone

Bezieres

Toulouse

Illiberis

Ruscino

Pyrenees

SPAIN

Rhone R.

Loire R.

Allier R.

Dordogne R.

Lot R.

Tarn R.

Garonne R.

Aude R.

Tet R.

Isere R.

Drac R.

Durance R.

Vienne R.

Cevennes M.

Hannibals Rout

Galauni

Durance

Camargue

The Mouths of ye Rhone

The Marsellois

Suelteri

Camatullici

Stœchades Islands

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

THE SEA OF LIGURIA

Roman Miles of 5000 feet each

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

neſs; but left the three illuſtrious captives in their hands, adviſing them to make uſe of them, as they had formerly propoſed, to redeem their hoſtages [a].

In the mean time, Scipio, not doubting but the Gauls, after their countrymen had acted ſo criminal a part, would all declare for the enemy, reſolved to leave his camp at Placentia, where he was ſurrounded on all ſides by Gauliſh nations, and to ſeek ſome ſafer poſt, where his troops would not be ſo much intimidated by ſuſpected neighbours. Accordingly he decamped about the fourth watch of the following night, and paſſing the Trebia, a ſmall river which falls into the Po, poſted himſelf on an eminence near that river, in the neighbourhood of many of the allies of the Roman people. Hannibal, upon intelligence of the conſul's march, detached his Numidian horſe in purſuit of him, while he himſelf followed with the main body of the army. The Numidians, finding the Roman camp empty, ſtaid to ſet fire to it; and this delay gave the Romans time to paſs the plains, where the cavalry might have made a great ſlaughter of them, and gain the eminences on the other ſide of the river. Scipio intrenched himſelf in his new poſt, reſolved not to leave it till his wound was cured, and his collegue Sempronius, whom he impatiently expected from Sicily, was arrived with another conſular army. Hannibal, that he might not loſe ſight of the enemy, came and encamped within five miles of them, on the other ſide of the Trebia. Hither great numbers of Gauls flocked to him from all parts, inſomuch, that proviſions grew ſcarce in his camp; but he ſoon ſupplied this want, by bribing one Daſius, a Brunduſian, governor of Claſtidium, where the Romans had fixed their magazines of arms and proviſions, to deliver up the place to him; by which means he transferred the ſcarcity from his own camp to that of the Romans [b].

When news was brought to Rome of the battle of the horſe, and the iſſue of that engagement, the ſenate was greatly ſurprized, as expecting quite different ſucceſs. Some blamed Scipio, others imputed that misfortune to the perfidiouſneſs of the Gauls, who, by their deſertion, had given a plain proof of their treachery and hatred to the Romans; but after all, as the legions were entire, they took courage, not doubting but that fine body of foot would be able to ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror. Their

Claſtidium deliv[illegible]d up to Hann[illegible]bal.

[a] Polyb. ibid. c. 67. [b] Idem ibid.

confidence was heightened by the joyful tidings of the arrival of the conſul Sempronius at Ariminum, after a voyage of forty days from Sicily to that place. He immediately ſet out on his march, and in a few days joined his collegue on the banks of the Trebia. After he had refreſhed his troops, and informed himſelf of the circumſtances of the engagement upon the Ticinus, the ſtrength of the enemy, and the character of their leader, impatient to enter upon action, he detached all his cavalry, contrary to the opinion of his collegue, with orders to paſs the Trebia, and attack a party of Numidian and Gauliſh horſe, which Hannibal had ſent out to lay waſte the lands of thoſe Gauls, who yet adhered to the Romans. The trivial advantage he gained on this occaſion made him reſolve to hazard a general engagement. Scipio, whoſe wound, grown worſe by his removing from one camp to another, confined him to his bed, did all that lay in his power to divert his collegue from ſo dangerous a deſign. Among other things he told him, that, as ſoon as his ſtrength would allow him to act, he had an enterprize to put in execution, which, he was confident, would much redound to the ſervice of his country; but this, inſtead of diverting Sempronius from his firſt deſign, made him more eager to engage the enemy, before Scipio could appear in the field and ſhare with him the glory of the victory; nay, becauſe that prudent commander would not by any means approve of his ill-timed eagerneſs for an engagement, he told him, That his mind was more affected than his body, and that his wound gave him an averſion to battles. Thus Sempronius, blinded by ambition, and pleaſed with the hopes of a complete victory, without Scipio's ſharing in the honour of it, reſolved to come to a pitched battle with the Carthaginians. In the mean time, Hannibal, having learned the conſul's deſign by ſome ſpies, whom he ſent into the Roman camp, detached the following night his brother Mago, with two thouſand choſen men, half horſe and half foot, ordering them to conceal themſelves under the banks of a winding rivulet, which watered a neighbouring plain, and wait there, till they ſhould receive orders to quit their ambuſcade. Early next morning the Carthaginian commanded a ſtrong detachment of Numidian horſe to march out, inſult the enemy in their camp, and then retiring ſlowly before the Roman cavalry, who, he did not doubt, would keep cloſe at their heels, to paſs the Trebia, and enter the plain. The Numidians, purſuant to their orders, advanced to the conſul's intrenchments;

trenchments, as if they intended to brave the Romans; which Sempronius not being able to bear, he firſt ſent out his cavalry againſt them, then his dart-men, and laſtly marched out himſelf at the head of all his legionaries. The Romans had not yet taken any nouriſhment, and beſides the day was very cold and ſnowy, and the nearer they drew to the river, the more ſharp the wind blew; however, ſuch was the eagerneſs of the conſul to come up with the enemy, who had juſt paſſed the river on horſeback, that he commanded the Roman infantry to leap into the water, which they did without heſitation, tho' it reached to their waiſts. When they came out of the river, they found themſelves ſo chilled and benumbed with cold, that they could not handle their arms; and beſides, as the day was far advanced before they all got over, they began to be pinched with hunger, for they had not yet taken any food; while, on the other hand, the Carthaginians had refreſhed themſelves with a plentiful repaſt, and anointed their bodies to arm themſelves againſt the cold [b].

The Romans engage Hannibal on the banks of the Trebia.

THE Romans no ſooner appeared in the plain, than Hannibal drew up his army in battalia. He placed eight thouſand Spaniards, moſt of them of the Balearic iſlands, armed with ſlings, in the advanced guard. Theſe were followed by twenty thouſand foot, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, all drawn up in one line, to make the larger front. His cavalry, to the number of ten thouſand, moſt of them Gauls, were poſted in the two wings, and, at the two extremities of the main body, were ranged the elephants, to cover the flanks of the army. Sempronius's troops conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand legionaries, twenty thouſand auxiliary forces, a handful of Cænomani, the only Gauls who continued faithful to the Romans, and four thouſand Roman horſe. The conſul drew up his men in the uſual order, keeping the triarii for a body of reſerve, and poſting his cavalry in the wings. The two armies being thus drawn up, Hannibal, to keep his men warm, ordered them to march briſkly againſt the enemy, who were waiting for them, and ſtarving with cold in the plain. However, at their approach, the Romans gave a great ſhout, the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began. The light armed infantry on both ſides made their diſcharges, the Baleares throwing ſtones with their ſlings, and the Romans their little javelins; but this way of fighting did not laſt long,

[b] Polyb. l. iii. c. 71. Liv. l. xxi. c. 53, 54.

the Romans retiring within the ſpaces in their lines, and the Baleares to the wings of their army. Hereupon the main bodies of the two armies advanced, the cavalry moving with the lines they flanked; but the Roman horſe, being juſt returned from purſuing the Numidians, being already much fatigued, were ſoon put to flight by the Gauliſh cavalry. Hereupon the flanks of the conſular army being expoſed and left naked, the Numidians fell upon them with great fury, and put them in confuſion. Then Hannibal ordered his elephants to advance, which encreaſed the diſorder of the Roman army; but nevertheleſs the legionaries in the ſecond and third lines ſtill kept their ground, and fought with incredible bravery, till the Numidians, under the conduct of Mago, riſing out of their ambuſcade, attacked with great ſhouts their rear. Then the brave legionaries, finding themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, fought like men in deſpair, and being headed by Sempronius, who was a man of great perſonal courage, cut their way through the battalions of the Gauls and Africans, who oppoſed them, ſtrewed the ground with their dead bodies, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, retired in good order, to the number of ten thouſand, to Placentia, their return to the camp being obſtructed by the Trebia and the victorious cavalry of the enemy, who, ſcouring the plain, cut all in pieces they met with. The allies in the two wings endeavoured to regain their camp; but ſome of them were drowned in the river, others killed by the enemy, while they were attempting to paſs it, and moſt of them trod down by the horſe and elephants; ſo that the rout was general, and the ſlaughter great. A ſmall body only of foot and a party of horſe, beſides the ten thouſand legionaries, made their eſcape, the enemy not being able, on account of the exceſſive cold, to purſue them beyond the river. Scipio, who continued indiſpoſed in his tent, no ſooner received the ſad tidings of this defeat, than he decamped, and joined his collegue at Placentia [c].

and are defeated.

SEMPRONIUS, to prevent a conſternation at Rome, ſent diſpatches thither, acquainting the ſenate, that he had engaged the Carthaginian army; but that the ſeverity of the ſeaſon and the coldneſs of the weather had ſnatched the victory out of his hands. This the Romans were at firſt willing to believe; but when they underſtood, that Hannibal was maſter of the conſul's camp; that all the nations of

[c] Polyb. ibid. c. 72. Liv. l. xxi. c. 55.

of the Gauls declared for him; that the Roman forces were all fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; and that the army had no proviſions, but what were conveyed to them by water up the Po, the city was filled with terror, every one taking it for granted, that the conqueror would ſoon appear at their gates. But, notwithſtanding this conſternation, intrigue had a greater ſhare in the election of the new conſuls, than a due regard for the wants of the ſtate. As both the conſuls were abſent, the ſenate had already paſſed a decree for nominating a dictator to preſide in the comitia, when, to their great ſurprize, Sempronius arrived. Raſhneſs had been always his character; and on this occaſion it ſucceeded: for though the roads between Placentia and Rome were much infeſted by Gauls and Africans diſperſed all over the country, yet Sempronius, without either diſguiſe or guard, ventured to croſs thoſe countries, and got ſafe to Rome, where he preſided in the comitia, when the famous C. Flaminius was choſen, a man without either morals or religion, and who had ſix years before ſignalized his conſulſhip, by diſobeying the orders of the republic, commanding him to abdicate, and by an open contempt of the gods and auſpices; but he had joined the tribunes of the people in promoting a law, which confined commerce to the plebeians (K), and therefore was by them raiſed to the conſulate the ſecond time. The collegue appointed him was P. Servilius Geminus, a man of great integrity, but of moderate abilities in war. It fell by lot to Flaminius to oppoſe Hannibal, and to the other to command an army in Ciſalpine Gaul. In the ſame comitia P. Cornelius Scipio, whoſe wound was not yet cured, was appointed to go into Spain in quality of proconſul, whither he had ſent his brother Cn. Scipio to carry on the war againſt Aſdrubal. The elections being over, and the conſulſhip of Sempronius not yet expired, he returned to Placentia, where he had taken up his quarters. As for Hannibal,

(K) Flaminius, entering into all the intrigues of the tribunes of the people againſt the nobility, had been the promoter of a law contrary to the intereſt of the nobility, which from him was called the Flaminian law. It was then cuſtomary for the nobility to fit out ſhips, and trade for their private advantage; but Flaminius confined the liberty of commerce to the plebeians, by getting a law paſſed, forbidding the ſenators to poſſeſs more than one veſſel each, and that only fit to bring proviſions from their own country houſes.

Hannibal, he did not continue idle, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies of the ſeaſon, but made two attempts on two different places belonging to the Romans. The firſt was on a village on the banks of the Po, which the Romans had fortified and made their magazine of corn; but Sempronius, who was very good at theſe ſudden expeditions, hearing from Placentia the ſhouts of the garriſon, haſtened with all his cavalry to their relief, and obliged Hannibal, who was wounded on this occaſion, to retire with great loſs. But the indefatigable Carthaginian, before his wound was well cured, made a new attempt upon Victumviæ, a ſmall city of Inſubria, which the Romans had built and fortified during their war with the Gauls. This place Hannibal took, and gave it up to be plundered by his Africans, who committed ſuch cruelties, as had never before been practiſed in Italy [d].

Victumviæ taken by Hannibal.

In the mean time, the ſenate at Rome provided every thing neceſſary for the next campaign. Forces were diſpatched into Sicily and Sardinia, under the command of their proper prætors; and Tarentum, as well as the other cities on the coaſt, ſecured with ſtrong garriſons, to prevent a deſcent. Sixty quinqueremes were equipped to cruize on the Mediterranean and Adriatic, and great convoys ſent into Ciſalpine Gaul and Hetruria, which were, in all likelihood, to be the ſeats of the war. But now Hannibal, finding the Gauls uneaſy at his reſiding ſo long among them, began to grow jealous of that nation; and his apprehenſions were ſuch, that, fearing they might make ſome attempt upon his life, he invented the uſe of falſe hair of ſeveral colours, which he changed ſeveral times a day, as well as his dreſs, to diſguiſe himſelf; but as this ſubjection did not ſuit his temper, he reſolved to croſs the Appenines, and enter Hetruria, at a time when thoſe mountains were almoſt impaſſable. He was not apprized of the dreadful ſtorms which the wind raiſes on thoſe high rocks, eſpecially towards the end of winter; and therefore unwarily expoſed his troops to great danger, in attempting to croſs them at that ſeaſon. So terrible a hurricane ſurprized him on his march, and the wind blew the ſnow mixed with rain ſo violently in the faces of his men, that not being able to advance a ſtep, they were forced to halt, and let the ſtorm blow over. When the rain ceaſed, the wind became more violent; inſomuch that, after they had in vain attempted

attempts vain to croſs the Appenines.

[d] Liv. ibid. c. 57.

attempted to pitch their tents, they were obliged to return to the plain, after two days fatigue and diſtreſs. Hannibal loſt on this occaſion a great many men, who were ſtarved to death with cold, and ſeven out of the ſmall number of elephants that ſtill remained; however, his natural activity did not allow him to take any reſt. Early the next morning he marched out of his intrenchments, with twelve thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and offered the conſul Sempronius battle. The Roman general, always ready to engage, accepted the challenge, and, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute, which laſted till three hours after noon, repulſed the enemy quite to their camp. The raſh conſul, intoxicated with this ſucceſs, thought now of nothing leſs than forcing Hannibal's camp; but, after he had fatigued his men to no purpoſe in this raſh enterprize, he was forced to ſound a retreat. As the Romans were retiring, Hannibal, having firſt ſent out detachments to attack them in flank, fell upon their rear himſelf with all his infantry. The Romans faced about, and the battle was renewed with ſuch fury, as threatened a dreadful ſlaughter on both ſides, if night coming on had not put an end to it [c].

As Hannibal had only poſtponed his deſign of entering Hetruria, he now began to enquire of thoſe who were acquainted with the country, which was the beſt road to take; and being informed that there were two, the one longer, but more eaſy, the other ſhorter, but leading through marſhy grounds ſcarce paſſable, he choſe the latter, being on all occaſions prompted by his natural inclination to embarque in ſuch enterprizes, as were apt to raiſe admiration and ſtrike terror into the enemy. Being therefore aſſured, that tho' great part of the country, through which he was to paſs, lay under water, the bottom was ſound, he ordered his army to begin their march. He placed the Spaniards and Africans with their proviſions in the van, next to them the Gauls, and the horſe in the rear. Mago, with a body of N[illegible]idians, kept hovering about the flanks of the army, to prevent the ſoldiers from ſtraggling, and the Gauls, who were impatient of labour, from deſerting. The Spaniards and Africans, who were inured to all ſorts of hardſhips, went into the water without heſitation, and tho' they were half-way up the leg in mud, kept their ranks; but the Gauls, who followed them, marched with great d[illegible]culty, the ground being ſcorched

His painful march into Hetruria.

and

[c] Polyb. l. iii. c. 75.

and broken by the multitudes of men and beaſts of burden who went before them. The whole army ſuffered unſpeakable hardſhips on this march, being obliged to paſs four days and as many nights in the water and mire, without finding a dry place on which they could take any reſt. The horſe of the Gauls were moſt part of them loſt by the way, falling and ſticking in the mire; which, however, proved ſome ſort of relief to the ſoldiers, who made uſe of them as they lay with their burdens above water to get a moment's ſleep, the want of which was their greateſt torment. Great numbers of the Gauls ſunk under the fatigue and died. Nor was Hannibal himſelf without his ſhare of the inconveniencies of the march; for tho' he rode the only elephant he had left, yet as he was before much affected with a defluxion in his eyes, the evil grew to ſuch a height, by the unwholeſome qualities of the damp air, that he loſt one entirely [f].

HANNIBAL, having thus, to the great ſurprize of all, paſſed the marſhes, encamped in Hetruria, where he was informed, that Sempronius, immediately after his departure, had left Placentia, marched his army to Lucca, and there ſurrendered the command of it to the new conſul Flaminius. We have obſerved above, that Flaminius obtained the conſulſhip by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the ſenate. Being therefore apprehenſive, leſt, when the came to be inaugurated, the augurs, influenced by his enemies, ſhould find ſome pretence to render his election invalid, he left Rome, without performing the uſual ceremonies of religion; and, putting himſelf at the head of the army, encamped with four legions under the walls of Aretium in Hetruria. The ſenators, highly provoked at this unprecedented ſtep, ſent deputies to him, ordering him to return to Rome, and perform there the uſual ceremonies of religion; but Flaminius, without paying any regard to their orders, continued in his camp, and diſmiſſed their deputies with ſcorn. As for his collegue Servilius, whoſe province was Ciſalpine Gaul, he was detained at Rome, to aſſiſt at various expiations, the people being much terrified by accounts of prodigies. On the other hand, P. Cornelius Scipio, being now cured of his wound, ſailed for Spain, to join his brother Cneius, who had gained great advantages over Aſdrubal. He had defeated th[illegible]thaginian army in a pi[illegible]ed battle, taken Hanno their

The conſul Flaminius leaves Rome without being inaugurated

[f] Idem, c. 78.

their commander, with Indibilis a Spaniſh prince, reduced the whole country bordering on the Iberus, and gained over many princes to his republic. Tho' the news of theſe ſucceſſes raiſed a little the courage of the conſcript fathers, yet they were very anxious about the conduct of Flaminius, who was a man of a fiery temper, bold, and enterpriſing, and had a crafty and experienced enemy to deal with. And indeed Hannibal, having learnt the true character of the conſul, did not doubt but he ſhould ſoon bring him to a battle. With this view he advanced towards Aretium, where the conſul was encamped, and taking the way to Rome, left the Roman camp behind him. Flaminius, looking on this conduct of the enemy as a perſonal affront, reſolved to follow him and venture an engagement. All the officers of the army, in a council of war, endeavoured to divert him from ſo dangerous a reſolution; but he, reproaching them with cowardice, ruſhed out of the council in a rage, and gave the ſignal both for marching and fighting. He mounted his horſe in ſuch a hurry, that he fell from him; which was thought an ill omen. At the ſame time he was told, that the enſigns ſtuck ſo faſt in the ground, that the ſoldiers could not pull them out. This prodigy was no doubt feigned, on purpoſe to keep him in the camp; but the conſul, without paying any regard to ſuch omens, ordered the ſtandard-bearers to make uſe of ſpades and pick-axes, if they could not pull them up with their hands. He then marched out at the head of his troops, whoſe minds he ſo filled with hopes of victory, that the rabble, who followed the army for plunder, carrying with them chains and ſhackles to ſecure the priſoners, were as numerous as the ſoldiers. As for Hannibal, who was before the conſular army, by the terrible ravages he committed in the plains of Cortona, he provoked the conſul ſtill more to follow him, and at length drew him inſenſibly into an ambuſcade. Adjoining to Cortona are ſome pretty high mountains, near a great lake called Thraſimenus, now the lake of Perugia. Between the mountains and the lake is a large valley, into which there is but one narrow paſſage. Through this defile Hannibal marched, and encamped his Spaniſh and African infantry in the valley. His light-armed foot he drew up in one long line, and poſted them at the foot of the hills, on the left-ſide of the valley; and with his horſe he lined the right-ſide of it. Flaminius, without ſending any ſcouts before to diſcover the ſituation of the enemy, entered the dangerous paſs. As it

was late when he came into the valley, he had only time to pitch his camp before it was dark. As he ſaw nothing but Hannibal's camp before him, he was under no apprehenſion; but as ſoon as the Romans began to march again at break of day, they found themſelves attacked on a ſudden in front, in rear, and in flank, and yet, by reaſon of a thick fog from the lake, could not perceive the enemy by whom they were thus galled. Flaminius heard from his poſt the cries of his ſoldiers in different places, and the groans of dying men in the very center of his army; but as he could not, for the thickneſs of the fog, perceive whence the miſchief came, he ran ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, in great perplexity, exhorting his ſoldiers, who in their diſtreſs were imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, not to depend on idle prayers, but on their arms. The confuſion of the Romans was inexpreſſible. Every one endeavoured to ſhift for himſelf; but were ſtopped either by crowds of their fellow ſoldiers, who were flying as well as themſelves, or by the enemy, who ſurrounded them on all ſides. Some conſidering that it was in vain to fly, ſince they were ſhut in by a lake, by mountains, and by narrow paſſes well guarded, reſolved to ſell their lives dear. Accordingly they rallied, as it were by chance; and the officers mixing with the ſoldiers, without obſerving the uſual order in battle, they fell on the enemy with ſuch eagerneſs and fury, that they were not ſenſible of an earthquake, which overturned many cities in Italy. The ſlaughter continued three hours without intermiſſion. At length one Ducarius, an Inſubrian in the Carthaginian army, knowing Flaminius, whom he had formerly ſeen laying waſte his country with fire and ſword, cried out, There is the conſul, who did ſo much miſchief to our fields and cities. I will make him a victim to appeaſe the manes of my countrymen. At theſe words, he ſpurred on his horſe, broke through the Romans who guarded their general, and run his lance through his body. Flaminius fell down dead, and the Gaul was preparing to ſtrip him; but the triarii covered him with their bodies and bucklers. And now the Romans were intimidated to ſuch a degree, that ſome leaped into the lake and were drowned; others attempted to climb over the mountains; and a body of ſix thouſand of them opened themſelves a way through the narrow paſs, ſword in hand, and eſcaped to an eminence, whence they retired to a town in Hetruria, and there intrenched themſelves. Hannibal detached Adherbal after them

The battle of the lake Trafimenus.

Flaminius killed, and the Romans defeated.

them with all his cavalry and a great part of his infantry. The fugitives, being inveſted in the village and deſtitute of all manner of proviſions, ſurrendered to Maherbal, who promiſed them their lives and liberties; but Hannibal, pretending that Maherbal had not been impowered by him to make ſuch a promiſe, loaded the Romans with chains; but diſmiſſed their allies, aſſuring them, that he was come into Italy to deliver them from the tyrannical yoke of Rome, and reſtore them that liberty, which their fathers had enjoyed. By this artful proceeding, he hoped to draw over to his ſide the friends and allies of Rome [g].

AFTER this complete victory, the conqueror ordered the dead to be numbered, and found that he had loſt but fifteen hundred men; whereas the Romans had loſt as many thouſands dead upon the ſpot. The number of priſoners taken by Hannibal amounted, according to Plutarch, to ten thouſand; but Livy and Valerius Maximus tell us, that ſix thouſand only were made captives on this occaſion. About ten thouſand Romans, moſt of them wounded, made their eſcape, and took their rout to Rome, whither few of them arrived, the reſt dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. When news was brought to Rome of this great overthrow, the prætor Pomponius, knowing it could not be long concealed, mounted the roſtra about ſun-ſet, and to an exceeding numerous aſſembly, even the women crouding to it, contrary to cuſtom, pronounced the following words, "We are over come;" which ſtruck all with ſuch terror, that ſome who were preſent and had been in the battle, thought the defeat was greater at Rome, than it had been in the field. The dejection of the citizens was inexpreſſible. They haſtened in crouds to the gates of the city, to wait for thoſe who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and to learn from them the particulars of the action. Two mothers were ſo tranſported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when ſhe ſaw her ſon unexpectedly appear, the other at home, where ſhe found her ſon which ſhe had given up for loſt, that they both expired on the ſpot. In this general conſternation the ſenators alone preſerved their ſteadineſs. The prætor aſſembled them, and kept them ſitting three days together from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, but before they came to any reſolution,

Rome in the utmoſt conſternation.

[g] Polyb. l. iii. c. 84, 85. Liv. l. xxii. c. 7.

reſolution, news was brought of a ſecond defeat. The conſul Servilius, having heard at Ariminum, that his colleague had reſolved to give battle, had detached four thouſand horſe to his aſſiſtance, under the command of the proprætor Centenius; but Hannibal, hearing of this reinforcement immediately after the action, ſent out Adherbal with all his cavalry and a body of infantry, who meeting with the Roman horſe, killed two thouſand of them, and obliged the reſt to take ſanctuary on a neighbouring hill, where they were inveſted, and the next day forced to ſurrender [h].

A detachment of 4000 Roman horſe cut in pieces or taken.

AND now the ſenate, judging that the republic wanted an abſolute governor, without waiting for a nomination from the ſurviving conſul, of their own authority named a dictator; but, out of regard to the antient cuſtom, they gave him only the title of Pro-dictator. The perſon choſen was Fabius Maximus, ſurnamed Verrucoſus, a man as cool and cautious in his conduct, as Sempronius and Flaminius had been warm and impetuous. The people did not ſuffer him as was cuſtomary for dictators, to name his general of the horſe, but appointed one themſelves, and pitched upon one Minucius Rufus, a great favourite of the people, and a zealous partizan of the plebeian party. The new dictator began the functions of his office, by commanding the decemviri to conſult the Sibylline books, in order to learn from thoſe myſterious oracles the cauſes of the preſent calamities. The decemviri reported, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the non-performance of a vow made formerly by Aulus Cornelius to Mars, which was, to ſacrifice to that god all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves that ſhould be brought forth in one ſpring; that is, from the firſt of March to the firſt of May. This is what the antients called ver ſacrum. This vow being renewed, and ſeveral others made, the dictator took the field at the head of the army Servilius had commanded, to which he added two new legions, appointing the city of Tibur for the place of general rendezvous. From thence he ſent orders to all the country people to burn their houſes, and retire with all their effects into places of ſafety. After this he ſet out on his march to meet Hannibal, not with a deſign to engage him, but only to watch his motions, ſtreighten his quarters,

Fabius Maximus dictator.

[h] Polyb. & Ibid.

quarters, and cut off his proviſions, which, he knew, was the moſt effectual means of deſtroying him in a country ſo far from his own. Accordingly he followed him through Umbria and Picenum into the territory of Adria, and then through the countries of the Marrucini and Frentani into Apulia. When the enemy marched, he followed them; when they encamped, he did the ſame; but for the moſt part on eminencies and at ſome diſtance from their camp, watching all their motions, cutting off their ſtragglers, and keeping them in a continual alarm. This cautious way of proceeding, which gained him the ſurname of Cunctator, greatly diſtreſſed the enemy, but at the ſame time raiſed murmurs in the army. Minucius, who was a favourite of the people and ambitious of the chief command, made no ſcruple to accuſe the dictator of cowardice under the appearance of prudence; but neither the invectives of Minucius, nor the devaſtations which Hannibal committed in the countries of the allies of Rome, could make Fabius alter his meaſures. He ſtill continued following the Carthaginian army, without hazarding a battle, and was never above one, or, at the moſt, two leagues from it. Hannibal, who was well appriſed, that the meaſures Fabius had taken muſt at length utterly ruin the Carthaginian army, did all that lay in his power to bring him to a battle. He ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid ſiege to Teleſia, a city at the foot of the Apennines. But finding that neither the rava[illegible] the country, nor even the taking of ſome cities, [illegible]ake Fabius quit his eminences, he reſolved to m[illegible] of a ſtronger bait, which was to enter Campania, [illegible]neſt country in Italy, and lay it waſte under the dicta[illegible]eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an act[illegible] Accordingly he ordered his guides, who were three [illegible]panian horſemen in his army, to lead him to the terri[illegible]y of Caſinum; but, as he ſpoke Latin very indifferently, he pronounced the word Caſinum in ſuch a manner, that the guides underſtood Caſilinum, and led his troops into narrow paſſes, which divide Samnium from Campania, at a ſmall diſtance from Caſilinum. He had no ſooner entered the ſtreights, than Fabius, who watched all his motions, atta[illegible] from the eminences his rear, put it into diſorder, [illegible]led about eight hundred of his [illegible]n. Hannibal, thinki[illegible]m-ſelf betrayed by his guide[illegible]ered them all to be crucified;

Fabius follows Hannibal, without hazarding a battle.

fied; or as Livy has it, vented his rage on one of them only, cauſing him to be firſt beaten with rods, and then crucified, for an example of terror to others [i].

THE ravages he committed in Campania raiſed ſuch complaints in the Roman army againſt the dictator, that, for fear of irritating his men, he pretended to be as impatient of coming to a battle as Minucius, and accordingly marched after Hannibal with more expedition than uſual; but at the ſame time avoided an engagement, under various pretences, with more care than the enemy ſought it. He beheld, from the top of mount Maſſicus, the Carthaginians laying waſte the fruitful plains of Falernum, without ſtirring from his poſt. Hereupon both officers and ſoldiers began to mutiny, and hearken with pleaſure to the invectives of Minucius. We have indeed, ſaid the general of the horſe, a noble leader; for fear of endangering our lives, he hides us in the clouds. When theſe and ſuch like reflections were told Fabius, he only replied, That he ſhould be more cowardly than they ſuppoſed him, if, through fear of idle railleries, he neglected to follow the dictates of his reaſon; and continued the ſame conduct, notwithſtanding he underſtood, that his precaution and delays were blamed even at Rome. Hannibal finding he could not by any means bring the dictator to a battle, reſolved to quit Campania, which he found abounding more with fruit and wine than with corn, and to return into Samnium, through the paſs called Eribanus. Fabius concluded from his march, that this was his deſign, got there before [illegible] and encamped on mount Callicula, which comman[illegible] paſs, after having placed ſeveral bodies in all t[illegible]ues leading to it. Hannibal was for ſome time [illegible]ſs what to do; but at laſt contrived the followin[illegible]agem, which Fabius could not foreſee nor guard [illegible]. Being encamped at the foot of mount Callicula, [illegible] order Aſdrubal to pick out of the cattle taken in the country two thouſand of the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt oxen, to tie faggots to their horns, and to have them and the herdſmen ready without the camp. After ſupper, when all was quiet, the cattle were brought in good order to the hill, where Fabius had placed ſome Roman parties in ambuſh to ſtop up the paſs. Upon a ſig[illegible]n, the faggots on the horns of the oxen were ſet on[illegible]d the herdſmen, ſupported by ſome battalions armed

Fabius is rallied as a coward by his own army.

Hannib[illegible] ſtratag[illegible] to get through the paſs [illegible]banus.

[i] Plut. in Fab. Li[illegible]. 13. Polyb. l. iii. c. 91.

armed with ſmall javelins, drove them on quietly. The Romans ſeeing the light of the fires, imagined, that the Carthaginians were marching by torch-light. However, Fabius kept cloſe in his camp, depending on the troops he had placed in ambuſcade; but when the oxen, feeling the fire on their heads, began to run up and down the hills, the Romans in ambuſh, thinking themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, abandoned their poſts, and, climbing the ways where they ſaw leaſt light, returned to their camp. Then Hannibal, ſeeing the paſs open, entered it, and getting ſafe through with his army and baggage, gained the plain before day-light, and encamped near Allifæ, on the confines of Samnium and Campania. Fabius, tho' rallied by his ſoldiers for having been thus over-reached by the Carthaginian, ſtill purſued the ſame meaſures, marched directly after Hannibal, and encamped on the eminences near Allifæ. From thence he followed him all over Samnium into Apulia, intercepting many of his ſtragglers and convoys; but when he came to Larinum in the county of the Frentani, he received a letter from the ſenate, recalling him to Rome, on pretence of a ſolemn ſacrifice which required his preſence; and then the virtue of this great man was put to a ſevere trial. Not only the blind multitude, but even the conſcript fathers had imbibed falſe prejudices againſt him. As Hannibal had artfully ſpared his lands in the general deVaſtation, they began to ſuſpect him of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy. [redacted] groundleſs ſuſpicion they gave a ſignal proof, b[redacted]g to ſend him a ſum of money for the redemptio[redacted]undred and forty ſeven captives, whom Ha[redacted]aſed, purſuant to an agreement between him[redacted]or concerning the exchange of priſoners; bu[redacted]ude of the ſenate ſerved only to heighten the [redacted]f his virtue; for, as he was a religious obſerver of h[redacted]rd, he ordered his ſon to ſell his lands, and with the money paid the ſum ſtipulated [k].

Fabius recalled to Rome.

The dictator, upon his leaving the army, commanded his general of the horſe not to hazard a battle during his abſence; but Minucius, without paying any regard to his orders, immediately ſent out ſtrong parties to attack the Carthaginian foragers, and in two bloody ſkirm[illegible]ed [illegible]t many of them in pieces, and [illegible]k from them all t[illegible]ar[illegible]y.

[k] Plut, in Fab. Polyb. l. iii. c. 92. Liv. l. xxii. c. 15.

ty. The news of this ſucceſs reaching Rome before the dictator, he found, on his arrival, both the ſenate and people ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed againſt him, and in favour of his general of the horſe. One Metilius a tribune of the people, made an harangue to the multitude in the preſence of Fabius, full of the blackeſt accuſations againſt him; but the dictator, thinking it beneath him to make an apology, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly with the following words: Fabius cannot be ſuſpected by his country. And then, with an air of grandeur and intrepidity ſuitable to his rank, Romans, ſaid he, let us make haſte to finiſh the religious ceremonies, which detain me from returning to the army. I have a refractory man to chaſtize, and a breach of military diſcipline to puniſh. I forbad Minucius to give battle; but he has diſobeyed my orders, and I muſt make an example of him. The friends of Minucius, ſtruck dumb with this declaration, began to conſult how they could ſcreen him from the ſeverity of a magiſtrate inveſted with an uncontroulable power. Metilius adviſed the people to give the general of the horſe an equal authority with the dictator. Terentius Varro was the only tribune, whom Metilius could prevail upon to ſecond his motion. He was the ſon of a butcher, and had followed his father's profeſſion in his youth; but growing rich, he had forſaken that mean calling, and, by the favour of the people, obtained firſt the prætorſhip, and afterwards the tribuneſhip. Now he aſpired to the conſulate, and therefore, ſeeing the people greatly inclir[illegible]vour Minucius, he did not ſcruple to promote his [illegible] the expence of his honour. He ſeconded Meti[illegible]oth together got the law paſſed, eſtabliſhing, [illegible] of innovation, an equality between the di[illegible]eneral of the horſe. The ſenate, out of [illegible]ntable prejudice againſt Fabius, were mean-ſpirit[illegible]ugh to confirm this ſtrange law. Fabius, having aſſiſted at the ſacrifice to which he had been called, and preſided at the election of a new conſul, Attilius Regulus, in the room of Flaminius, had left Rome before the decree was confirmed by the ſenate, but was overtaken on the road by a meſſenger, enjoining him in the name of the Roman people and ſenate, to give his general of the horſe an equal ſhare of the command. When he arrived at the camp, Minucius, in the firſt conference he had with him, propoſed, t[illegible]ach ſhould take his turn in the command of the who[illegible] for a day, or a week; but Fabius choſe to divide the [illegible], and command his ſhare ſeparately,

Minu[illegible] hi[illegible]eneral c[illegible]e horſe, put upon an equal foot with him.

ſeparately, hoping by that means to ſave at leaſt a part of the Roman forces. The army being divided, the two generals did not remove far from each other, but encamped at a due diſtance, Fabius on the hill, and Minucius a little below him, almoſt in the plain. Hannibal poſted himſelf over-againſt the latter, and by his artful management, ſoon brought him to an engagement, in which, by the maſterly ſkill of the Carthaginian in laying ambuſhes, he was ſurrounded on all ſides, and would have been cut off with all his troops, had not Fabius, ſacrificing his private reſentment to the welfare of his country, haſtened to his relief. That brave Roman, moved with compaſſion at the ſight of the terrible ſlaughter that was made of his countrymen, ruſhed down like a torrent from his hills, fell upon the enemy where Minucius was moſt preſſed, cut all in pieces who oppoſed him, and put the reſt into the utmoſt confuſion. Then Minucius's troops rallying, the two armies united, and advanced in good order to renew the fight; but Hannibal, not caring to venture a ſecond action, ſounded the retreat and retired to his camp. He was heard to ſay, as he marched back, I have always foreſeen, that the cloud, which appeared ſo conſtantly on the mountains, would, ſome time or other break out into a ſtorm, and diſcharge itſelf upon our heads. After the action, Minucius and Fabius returned to their reſpective camps. The latter did not drop a word which ſavoured of oſtentation or of contempt for his collegue; and Minucius did juſtice both to himſelf and to Fabius. Having aſſembled [illegible]oops, he told them, He had learned by experience [illegible]e was not born to command, but that obedience ough[illegible]his province; and that he was therefore reſolved to re[illegible]tion, which he had ſo preſumptuouſly left. [illegible]dear fellow-ſoldiers, ſaid he, let us go and offer [illegible]s to the dictator, and put ourſelves again wholly [illegible] conduct. Let him command alone, ſince he alone [illegible] be the ſoul of ſo great a body. I will call him father; and you ought to give his ſoldiers, who delivered you, the title of patrons. It will be a greater glory for us to have conquered ourſelves, than to have conquered Hannibal. Having thus ſpoke, he immediately marched his legions to the dictator's camp, preſented himſelf before him, made his ac[illegible]now-ledgements, and reſigned the authority with whic[illegible] reſigns his been entruſted. He declare[illegible] that he ſhould th[illegible] new authority. ſelf happy, if the di[illegible]tor [illegible] only continue h[illegible]s office of general of t[illegible]horſe, [illegible] begged, that none [illegible] his officers

Fabius ſaves his collegue from being totally defeated.

Minucius reſigns his new authority.

officers might be degraded, ſince his raſhneſs alone had brought diſhonour upon them. Fabius tenderly embraced him, granted him what he aſked; and the day, which began with ſo much terror, ended with an univerſal joy in the camp. The ſix months of the dictatorſhip being ſoon after expired, Fabius returned to Rome, after having reſigned the command of the army to the conſuls Servilius and Attilius, who obſerving the ſame conduct with Fabius, watched from the eminences the enemy's motions, without giving Hannibal, for the remainder of their year, an opportunity of attacking them [1].

The ſtate of affairs in Spain.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, Cneius Scipio made a ſurpriſing progreſs in Spain. All the nations between the Iberus and the Pyrenees ſubmitted to him, and put him in poſſeſſion of a hundred cities. The Celtiberians entered into an alliance with him, and engaging Aſdrubal, defeated him in two pitched battles, killed five thouſand of his men, and took four thouſand priſoners. This was the ſtate of the Roman affairs in Spain, when P. Scipio, the brother of Cneius, arrived there with the character of proconſul, carrying with him eight thouſand Roman troops. With this additional ſtrength the two brothers paſſed the Iberus, and, penetrating into the heart of the Carthaginian provinces, marched towards Saguntum, which Hannibal had rebuilt before he left Spain, and ſecured with a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of Boſtar a Carthaginian, having placed in it all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands, as pledges of their fidelity. [illegible]eſe hoſtages prevented the Spaniſh lords from revo[illegible]he Romans, the two Scipios marched to Saguntu[illegible]er to ſet them free. Their deſign was executed [illegible]belox, a Spaniſh officer in the garriſon, who, [illegible] inclination to go over to the Romans, perſuad[illegible]r, that it would be much for the Carthaginian i[illegible] to oblige the Spaniſh noblemen by a voluntary releaſe of their children, urging, that, if the Romans ſhould take the place, and reſtore them to their parents, innumerable nations would immediately declare for them. He offered to conduct the hoſtages himſelf to their reſpective countries; but the inconſiderate Carthaginian [illegible] ſooner given his conſent to this motion, than Abe[illegible]ling away by night to the Roman camp, acquaint-

[1] Polyb. l. iii. c. 101, [illegible]. Liv. l. xxii. c. 28, 29, 30. Plut. in Fab.

THE CANTABRICAN OCEAN

THE WESTERN OCEAN

THE PART OF GAUL

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Transmontani

Cantabri

Astures

Concani

Autrigones

Varduli

Vascones

Vettones

Carpetani

Oretani

Turdetani

Turduli

Bastitani

Contestani

Deitani

Lacetani

Cempsi

Ceretani

Indigetes

Laletani

Ausetani

Sedetani

Lusones

Berones

Celtiberia

Lusitania

Baetica

The Pyrenees

Mons Pyrenæus

Pompeiopolis

Iliberis

Venaris Janum & Point

Emporiæ

Tarraco

Barcino

Dertosa

Illercao

Saguntus

Valentia

Sucro R.

Carthago Nova

Old Carthage

Gades

Tingis

Calpe point or Columna

Straights of Hecules

Part of Africa

Myla Columna Herculis

Sacred Point

Barbar Point

Mon point

Monda R.

Tagus R.

Iberus R.

Durius R.

Minius R.

Baetis R.

Anas R.

Sucro R.

Illicitanus Gulf

Virgitanus Gulf

Charidemi Point

Balearides or Gymnesiæ Isles

Major

Minor

Pollentia

Palma

Ebusus

Pityusæ

The Gulf of Gades now Cadiz

Ancient Spain

J.T. Barlow Sculp.t

con

ich

ed the proconſul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them, that the following night a detachment of Romans ſhould lie in ambuſh, and ſurprize both the youths and their leader. The project was happily executed; and Scipio, by ſending back the hoſtages to their parents, ſecured ſuch an intereſt in the country, that he was ſtronger there than the Carthaginians [m].

AND now the time for a new election drawing near, one of the conſuls named a dictator to preſide in the comitia, it not being ſafe for either of them to leave the army. The perſon named was L. Veturius Philo; but, the augurs finding ſome defect in his nomination, he was forced to abdicate, and give place to an inter-regnum; when Terentius Varro, of whom we have ſpoken above, was choſen to the conſulate, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the whole body of the nobility. The collegue given him was Æmilius Paulus, as bitter an enemy to the plebeians, as Varro was to the patricians. Servilius and Attilius were continued, in quality of proconſuls, at the head of the armies; but with orders to act under the direction of the new conſuls. That Terentius, who was a great favourite of the people, might have the glory of conquering Hannibal, eight new legions were raiſed, conſiſting each of five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe; and the allies were ordered to furniſh the republic with double their contingents both of horſe and foot. The winter being ſpent in theſe preparations, the conſuls took the field early in the ſpring, and arriving at the camp, found affairs in a good condition there, Servilius and Attilius having avoided a general action, and in ſome ſkirmiſhes gained conſiderable advantages. Hannibal, after the arrival of the new conſuls, whoſe army conſiſted in all of eighty-ſeven thouſand men, being reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, reſolved to leave Samnium, and penetrate into the heart of Apulia. Accordingly he decamped in the night, and, by leaving fires burning and tents ſtanding in his camp, made the Romans believe for ſome time, that his retreat was only feigned. When the truth was diſcovered, Æmilius was againſt purſuing him; but Terentius, contrary to the opinion of all the officers in the army, except the proconſul Servilius, was obſtinately bent on following the enemy, whom he overtook at Cannæ, till

Eight new legions raiſed in Rome.

[m] Polyb. l. iii. c. 95. Liv. l. xxii c. 19, 21, 22.

till this time an obſcure city in Apulia (L). It ſtood on the banks of the Aufidus, in a vaſt plain five miles from Canuſium, and ſix from the Adriatic ſea. Here Hannibal halted, not only becauſe he found a magazine of corn on the place, but becauſe he thought the open country about it very proper for a battle, there being room enough for his cavalry, the main ſtrength and hopes of his army, to extend themſelves. The conſuls being divided in opinion about fighting, courier after courier was ſent to Rome, and even Æmilius went thither himſelf to receive the orders of the ſenate, who judged it neceſſary to fight the enemy; but adviſed Terentius not to do it yet. In the mean time Hannibal took his poſt on the banks of the river, and diſpoſed all things as if he were juſt coming to a battle. His troops had the ſun behind them at noon; ſo that the Romans muſt be expoſed not only to the inconvenience of too great a light, but to that of great clouds of duſt, which the ſouth-weſt wind, that blows almoſt every day in Apulia, would carry in their faces. As for the conſuls, they were no ſooner within reach of Cannæ, than a diſpute aroſe between them. Æmilius was for encamping on the eminences, where the enemy's cavalry, which was far ſuperior to theirs, could not act; and accordingly, when it was his turn to command, he pitched his camp among the hills; but Terentius the next day advanced into the plain, and brought the army into ſuch a ſituation, that Æmilius the following day could not retire, without expoſing the army to great danger.

(L) Cannæ, according to Livy, Appian, and Florus, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous, on account of the battle fought near it; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the ſecond Punic war, ſtyles Cannæ a city; but adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. The account of Silius agrees with that of Polybius.

Ut ventum ad Cannas, urbis veſtigia priſcæ,

ſays that poet. It was afterwards rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia (27). The ruins of Cannæ are ſtill to be ſeen in the territory of Bari, formerly called Apulia Peucetia.

(27) Plin. l. [illegible]

ger. He therefore fortified two camps, the greater on the weſt ſide of the river, and the leſſer on the eaſt, and opened a communication between them by a bridge. And now there was no longer the leaſt harmony between the conſuls; they had quite different maxims and purſued oppoſite meaſures, each ſucceeding day deſtroying the projects of the preceding. Hannibal, perceiving that the Romans could not long avoid a general action, having harangued his troops, drew them up in battalia, and bid the enemy defiance. It was Æmilius's day to command; and he, knowing that Hannibal would be ſoon obliged to decamp for want of proviſions, deſpiſed his bravadoes, and kept cloſe in his intrenchments; but the next morning, by break of day, Terentius, whoſe turn it was to command, marched his troops into the great plain, where the little camp was pitched, and drew them up after the uſual manner, the haſtati in the firſt line, the principes in the ſecond, and the triarii in the third. The cavalry were poſted on the wings. In the right the Roman knights flanked the legionaries; in the left the cavalry of the allies covered their own infantry. The two conſuls commanded the two wings, Æmilius the right, and Terentius the left; and the two proconſuls, Servilius and Attilius, the main body. On the other hand, Hannibal, whoſe army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, placed his Gauliſh and Spaniſh cavalry in his left wing, to face the Roman knights, and the Numidian horſe in his right, over-againſt the cavalry of the allies of Rome. As to his infantry, he divided the African battalions into two bodies, one of which he poſted near the Gauliſh and Spaniſh horſe, the other near the Numidian. Between theſe two bodies were placed, on one ſide the Gauliſh, on the other the Spaniſh, infantry, drawn up in ſuch a manner, as to form a kind of obtuſe angle, projecting a conſiderable way beyond the two wings. Behind this firſt line he drew up a ſecond, which had no projection. Aſdrubal commanded the left wing, Maherbal the right, and Hannibal himſelf, with his brother Mago, the main body. The onſet was begun with the light-armed infantry, the Romans diſcharging their javelins, and the Baleares their ſtones, with equal ſucceſs; nevertheleſs the conſul Æmilius was wounded. Then the Roman cavalry in the right wing advanced againſt the Gauliſh and Spaniſh in Hannibal's left wing. As they were ſhut in by the river on one ſide, and their infantry on

The two Roman conſuls diſagree.

The diſpoſition of the two armies at the battle of Cannæ.

on the other, they did not fight, as uſual, by charging and wheeling off, and then returning to the charge, but continued fighting each man againſt his adverſary, till one of them was killed or retired. After they had made inconceivable efforts on both ſides to overbear each other, they all on a ſudden diſmounted, and fought on foot man to man with incredible fury. But this attack was more bloody than long; the Gauls and Spaniards prevailed, put the Romans to the rout, and purſuing them along the river, ſtrewed the ground with their dead bodies, Aſdrubal giving no quarter. This action was ſcarce over, when the infantry advanced on both ſides. The Romans fell firſt upon the Spaniards and Gauls, who, as we have obſerved above, formed a kind of triangle, projecting beyond the two wings. Theſe gave ground, and, purſuant to Hannibal's directions, ſunk into the void ſpace in their rear; by which means they inſenſibly brought the Romans, who followed them with more ardor than caution, into the centre of the African infantry, and then rallying, attacked them in front, while the Africans charged them on both their flanks. The Romans being, by this artful retreat, drawn into the ſnare and ſurrounded, no longer kept their ranks, but formed ſeveral platoons, in order to face every way. Æmilius, who was in the right wing, ſeeing the danger of the main body, at the head of the legionaries, who were his only hopes, after the defeat of the cavalry, acted the part both of a ſoldier and general, penetrating into the very heart of the enemy's battalions, and cutting in pieces all who oppoſed him. All the Roman cavalry that was left attended the brave conſul on foot, and encouraged by his example, fought like men in deſpair. But, in the mean time, Aſdrubal at the head of a detachment of Gauliſh and Spaniſh infantry brought from the centre, attacked Æmilius's legionaries, who were greatly fatigued, with ſuch fury, that they were forced to give ground and fly. Æmilius, covered with wounds and blood, was too weak to reach the camp; and therefore, being deſerted by his men, ſat down on a ſtone, and in that condition was found by one Lentulus, a tribune, who was flying as well as the reſt. Lentulus, knowing the conſul, immediately diſmounted, and offered him his horſe; but Æmilius replied with a faint voice, I have lived long enough, dear Lentulus; fly, and let me die. Take care to give the ſenate timely notice of our misfortunes, that they may guard and fortify Rome, and tell

The Roman horſe defeated.

tell Fabius, that I have followed the advice he gave me at our parting to the very laſt. Then Lentulus paſſed on, and the enemy's cavalry, who purſued the Romans, coming up, killed the conſul without knowing him (M). Thus fell one of the braveſt conſuls, and beſt citizens, Rome ever had [n].

The conſul Æmilius Paulus killed.

In the main body, the Romans, though inveſted on all ſides, continued to ſell their lives dear, fighting in platoons, and making a great ſlaughter of the enemy. But, being at length overpowered, and diſheartened by the loſs of the two proconſuls, Servilius and Attilius, who headed them, they diſperſed and fled, ſome to the right, and ſome to the left, as the ground or the enemy gave them an opportunity. But the Numidian horſe, more fit for a purſuit than a pitched battle, cut moſt of them in pieces. The whole plain was covered with heaps of dead bodies; inſomuch, that Hannibal himſelf, thinking the butchery too terrible, ordered his men to put a ſtop to it. As for Terentius Varro, the author of all theſe misfortunes, after the Numidians had put the wing he commanded into confuſion, he, without attempting to rally his men, fled to Venuſia with only ſeventy horſe. In this bloody action at leaſt forty-five thouſand Romans were left dead upon the ſpot (N); among whom were one conſul, two proconſuls, two military

And the Roman army defeated with great ſlaughter.

[n] Polyb. l. iii. c. 115, 116. Liv. l. xxi. c. 48, 49.

(M) The account Plutarch gives us of the conſul Æmilius Paulus's death, is ſomewhat different from this. This great man, ſays he, after he had diſcharged all the duties of a good citizen and able commander, was thrown by his horſe, which probably had been wounded. Hereupon the knights round him diſmounted to defend him; which the reſt of the cavalry obſerving, believed that they had diſmounted by the general's order, and did the ſame. In the mean time, Æmilius, having received many wounds, and loſt a great quantity of blood, reſted ſome time on a ſtone; and then threw himſelf into the middle of the enemy's ſquadrons, who diſpatched him with innumerable wounds.

(N) There is a great diſagreement among authors as to the number of Romans killed and taken in the battle of Cannæ. According to Livy, the republic loſt on that occaſion fifty thouſand men, the auxiliaries included. According to Polybius, of ſix thouſand Roman horſe only ſeventy eſcaped to Venuſia with Terentius Varro, and three hundred of the auxiliary horſe. As to the infantry, that writer tells us, that ſeventy thouſand of the Roman

military quæſtors, twenty-nine legionary tribunes, and fourſcore ſenators or magiſtrates who had a right of voting in the ſenate, and had ſerved as voluntiers. Among the reſt, the famous Minucius was killed, who had been general of the horſe the laſt year under Fabius. About ſeventeen thouſand of the right wing had fled to the two camps, ten thouſand to the great camp, and ſeven thouſand to the little one. The former, having loſt their officers, and expecting to be inveſted the next day, invited the latter to join them, that they might march away together in the night, and take refuge in Canuſium, a ſtrong city not far off. But it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Sempronius Tuditanus, a legionary tribune, could prevail upon any of thoſe in the little camp to hearken to his propoſal, they being all afraid, leſt the enemy ſhould intercept them in paſſing from one camp to the other. However, the braveſt of them drew themſelves up at length into a cuneus, that is, in the form of a wedge, marched out in good order, and arrived ſafe at the great camp; where they joined their fellow-ſoldiers, marched away before day-break, and got to Canuſium.

In the Carthaginian camp, the night was ſpent in feaſtings and rejoicings. Hannibal had never gained a more complete or more ſeaſonable victory. As ſoon as the day returned, he beheld with infinite ſatisfaction the whole plain covered with Romans, who had been ſlain in the action, while, in ſurveying the field of battle, he found that his loſs amounted to no more than four thouſand Gauls, fifteen hundred Africans and Spaniards, and about two hundred horſe. Hannibal took, what in the action and what in the purſuit, ten thouſand priſoners. Such a number of knights are ſaid to have been found dead on the field, that three buſhels of their rings were ſent to Carthage. Immediately

Roman foot died on the field of battle, fighting like brave men, and that thirteen thouſand were taken priſoners. According to Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, of ſix thouſand horſe only three hundred and ſeventy eſcaped the general ſlaughter, and of eighty thouſand foot, three thouſand only. If we give credit to a tradition, which continued in Plutarch's time, fifty thouſand Romans were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand made priſoners. exclufive of the ten thouſand who were, according to him, taken in the two camps the day after the battle. Livy ſays that eight thouſand of the beſt Carthaginian troops were killed in the action.

mediately after the victory, Maherbal preſſed Hannibal to march ſtrait to Rome and beſiege that capital; which he refuſing to do, Maherbal took the liberty to tell him, that he knew how to conquer, but knew not how to uſe and improve his victories. Many of the antients have thought as Maherbal did, and have reproached the Carthaginian general with the ſame fault; but whether juſtly or not, may be well queſtioned. The advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could be of no uſe in a ſiege. The Roman infantry were no-ways inferior to his, and would be invincible, when ſheltered by walls and ramparts. The inhabitants of ſo populous a city were all bred up to arms from their infancy, obliged to ſerve as ſoon as they attained to the age of manhood, and would uſe their utmoſt efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domeſtic gods. They had as many generals as ſenators, moſt of them men of great prudence and conduct; whereas the advantages hitherto gained over them were owing to the raſhneſs of ſome preſumptuous and unexperienced generals, who had been placed at the head of their armies by the favour of the people, contrary to the intereſt of the public. Beſides, no one nation or city of Italy had yet declared for him; and he might judge it neceſſary, and not without reaſon, to gain over or conquer ſome of them before he attempted the ſiege of Rome. Hannibal having, probably on theſe conſiderations, determined not to follow the advice of Maherbal, continued ſome days on the field of battle, allowing his ſoldiers to ſtrip the dead, and gather up the booty, which the Romans had left on the plain. On this occaſion the Carthaginians, among other moving objects, found, to their great ſurpriſe, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himſelf headlong on his enemy and beat him down; but being no longer able to make uſe of his weapons, becauſe he had loſt his hands, had tore off the noſe and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired. The Carthaginians, having ſpent a whole day in ſtripping the dead bodies of the unhappy Romans, the victorious general inveſted the two camps in the evening, which he eaſily made himſelf maſter of, there being none in them but wounded men or cowards, who had not had courage enough to retire with their companions to Canuſium. They all ſurrendered upon terms, and were allowed to march out with their cloaths, but without arms. The Romans were to pay three hundred denarii a head for their

The two Roman camps taken.

their ranſom, that is, 91. 7 s. 9 d. their allies two hundred, and each ſlave one hundred. Till this was done, Hannibal divided them into ſeveral companies, and kept them priſoners under different guards. They amounted in all to four thouſand men, the reſt having retired, as we have related above, to Canuſium [o].

AMONG thoſe Romans, who had fled to Canuſium, were four legionary tribunes; and of theſe the ſoldiers choſe two to be their chief commanders, viz. Appius Claudius Pulcher and young Scipio, the ſon of the proconſul in Spain, who was at this time but eighteen years of age. While Scipio was deliberating with his collegue what meaſures to take, notice was given him, that the young nobility among the troops were aſſembled in a houſe, and contriving how to leave Italy, a[1] retire to ſome of thoſe kings who were friends to Rome, which they gave up for loſt. Hereupon the young tribune, filled with zeal, took with him a band of ſoldiers, ſurpriſed the cowards, and with his ſword drawn came up to Cæcilius Metellus, the author of this pernicious deſign; whom he addreſſed thus; I call the great Jupiter to witneſs, that I will never depart my country; nor will I ſuffer any man to do it. This I ſolemnly ſwear; and do you, Cæcilius, either take the ſame oath, or die. The fear of preſent death made them all take the ſame oath; and then Scipio ſecured them with a ſtrong guard. Thus this young Roman, whom we ſhall afterwards ſee honoured with the glorious ſurname of Africanus, ſignalized his zeal for the public welfare on his firſt entering upon public life. The conſul Terentius, ſince his coming to Venuſia, whither he had fled with only ſeventy men, had been joined by five thouſand of the fugitives. With theſe he went to Canuſium, as ſoon as he heard that there were ſix thouſand more in that place, and joined his troops to them; ſo that the whole had now the appearance of a conſular army.

IN the mean time it was reported at Rome, that both conſuls were killed, and that of eighty-ſeven thouſand men there was ſcarce one left alive. Never was the city filled with more terror, nor a more univerſal conſternation ſeen there. All the Roman conſtancy was neceſſary to prevent the fatal conſequences of ſo ſhocking an affliction. For want of conſuls, the two prætors aſſembled the ſenators, who could hardly give their opinions, being every moment interrupted

[o] Liv. ibid. c. 51.

interrupted by the cries of the people, and the ſhrieks of the women, who lamented the loſs of their huſbands, children or fathers. As the conduct of Fabius was now fully juſtified by the defeat of Terentius, his counſel was liſtened to and followed. He adviſed them to ſend to the Appian and Latin ways horſemen well mounted, to learn from the fugitives the ſtate of affairs; what was become of the conſuls? to what place the remains of the army had retired? where Hannibal was encamped? what he was doing? and what he deſigned to do? That the women ſhould by a decree be forbid to appear in public, and diſturb the city with their outcries and lamentations; that when any courier arrived, he ſhould be brought, privately and without noiſe, to the prætors; and that no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to go out of the city, leſt it ſhould be deſerted. This advice was applauded; the crouds that filled the ſtreets were diſperſed; and each ſenator undertook to keep every thing quiet in his own neighbourhood. Such was the ſituation of affairs, when at length a courier arrived from Terentius with letters, importing, that the Roman army had been defeated; that Æmilius was ſlain; that he himſelf was retired to Canuſium, where he was aſſembling the remains of the troops; that about ten thouſand men of different corps had joined him, but moſt of them without officers; that Hannibal was ſtill encamped at Cannæ, and buſy there in fixing the ranſoms of the priſoners he had taken. At the ſame time a veſſel arrived from Sicily, with letters from the prætor Otacilius, acquainting the ſenate, that a Carthaginian ſquadron was ravaging the coaſt of Syracuſe, and waiting for an opportunity to make a deſcent. The conſcript fathers, in the midſt of theſe perplexities, behaved with incredible conſtancy; and aſſembling daily made the neceſſary preparations for the defence both of Italy and Sicily. Marcellus, an hero already honoured with an extraordinary triumph for having defeated the Gauls and killed their king in a ſingle combat, had been appointed prætor of Sicily, and was now equipping a fleet at Oſtia. But the ſenate ordered him from thence into Apulia, to take upon him the command of the army at Canuſium in the room of Varro, who was recalled. Marcellus, purſuant to his orders, ſet out immediately for Rome, and from thence for Canuſium, where he found a body of about fourteen thouſand men. Upon his arrival Varro left Canuſium and returned to Rome. It is almoſt incredible, that the author of ſo many both public and private calamities ſhould be received with reſpect

Meaſures taken at Rome after the defeat at Cannæ.

Marcellus appointed to command the army.

Varro is well received at Rome.

reſpect either by the ſenate or people. Nevertheleſs, all the antients tell us, that he met with as kind a reception from all orders of men in the ſtate, as if he had gained a ſignal victory. All the ſenators in a body, attended with crouds of people, went out to meet him, and thank him for not having deſpaired of the republic [p]. Valerius Maximus tells us, that the ſenate and people offered him the dictatorſhip, which he refuſed, and by his modeſt refuſal wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the ſhame of his former behaviour [q]. Thus the Romans, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, leſſened the diſgrace of their being vanquiſhed or diſcharged, while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, often without their fault, by the enemy.

M. Junius Pera dictator.

As the preſen ſituation of affairs required an abſolute magiſtrate, the ſenators of their own authority, appointed M. Junius Pera, who had bore the offices of prætor, cenſor, and conſul, to be dictator; and he choſe Tib. Sempronius Gracchus for his general of the horſe. Junius made it his whole buſineſs to put the army in a condition to make head againſt the victorious enemy. All the young Romans above ſeventeen years of age, of what rank ſoever, were obliged to inliſt themſelves; as were alſo thoſe who had already ſerved their legal time. By this means four legions and ten thouſand horſe were ſoon raiſed in the city. The allies of Rome, the colonies, and the municipia, furniſhed their contingents as uſual. To theſe were added out of the

Slaves inliſted in the Roman troops.

great number of ſlaves in Rome eight thouſand of the youngeſt and ſtrongeſt. The republic purchaſed them of their maſters, but did not oblige them to ſerve without their own conſent, which they gave, when aſked, by anſwering, Volo, I am willing; whence they were called Volones, to diſtinguiſh them from the other corps, by a name leſs odious than that of ſlaves. As the Romans, after the loſs of ſo many battles, had no ſwords, darts, or bucklers left in their magazines, the Volones were ſupplied with the arms which had been formerly taken from the enemy, and hung up in the public porticos and temples. The finances of Rome were not leſs exhauſted; but this defect was ſupplied by the liberality of her citizens. The ſenators ſhewing the example, were followed firſt by the knights, and afterwards by all the tribes, who, ſtripping themſelves of all the gold they had, brought it to the public treaſury. The

[p] Plut. in Fab. Liv. l. xxii. c. 57. [q] Val. Max. l. iii. c. 6.

The ſenators only reſerved their rings and the bullæ about their children's necks. As for the ſilver coin, it was now the firſt time alloyed with copper, and the value of it raiſed. Thus the finances were again put into a good condition, and a competent army raiſed [r].

In the mean time Hannibal, wanting money, gave the Roman priſoners leave to redeem themſelves. The ranſom of each horſeman he fixed at five hundred denarii, that is, 16l. 2s. 11d. that of each foot ſoldier at three hundred, and of each ſlave at one hundred. As for the allies of Rome, notwithſtanding his want of money, he diſmiſſed them, agreeable to his former practice, without ranſom. The Roman captives agreed to ſend ten of their body to negotiate their redemption at Rome; and Hannibal required no other ſecurity for their return, but their oath. Carthalo was ſent at the head of them to make propoſals of peace to the republic, which Hannibal imagined ſhe would be glad to purchaſe at any rate. But upon the firſt report of Carthalo's arrival to treat of a peace, the dictator ſent a lictor to him, commanding him forthwith to quit the Roman territory. As for the ten deputies, the ſenate, conſidering them as foreigners ſince their captivity, did not ſuffer them to enter the city, but met without the walls to hear what they had to offer, in behalf of themſelves and their fellow-captives. After a warm debate, which laſted many hours, it was abſolutely concluded againſt the redemption of thoſe unhappy men, who, it was pretended, had acted the parts of cowards, in not retiring with their fellow-ſoldiers to Canuſium (O). The priſoners being thus left to the mercy of the

The Romans refuſe to redeem their captives.

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 57, 58. Plut. in Fab. Flor. l. ii.

(O) More preſſing reaſons, than the pretended cowardice of the captives, prevailed on the ſenate to conclude againſt their redemption. They were afraid of enriching Hannibal with the ranſom-money, and at the ſame time willing to let him know, that Rome was not ſo deſtitute of men, but ſhe could ſpare ſeveral thouſands. Beſides, by this ſignal puniſhment Rome taught her ſoldiers this great leſſon, that in ſuch conjunctures they muſt either conquer, die, or live in perpetual ſlavery, which to a Roman was worſe than death itſelf. One of the ten deputies mixed with the croud and diſappeared. But Rome would not ſuffer the perjured wretch to reap the fruit of his iniquity. She ordered him to be taken out of his houſe, and ſent back to Hannibal's camp. The republic was fond of purchaſing the reputation of being juſt, when it coſt little, and the ſtate did not ſuffer by it.

the Carthaginian, he ſent the moſt conſiderable among them to Carthage, and of the reſt made gladiators, obliging them to fight with one another, even relations with relations, for the entertainment of his troops [s].

At length Hannibal left Cannæ, and took his rout towards Compſa, a city of the Hirpini, near the head of the Aufidus, which ſurrendered to him, and was the firſt that fell off from the Romans. From thence he turned towards Capua, the inhabitants of which city, thinking the time now come to ſhake off the Roman yoke and recover their antient liberty, ſent deputies to treat with Hannibal, who promiſed them an entire liberty and independence, and beſides agreed to put into their hands four hundred Roman knights, to be exchanged with the ſame number of Capuan youths in the ſervice of Rome. Upon theſe conditions the Capuans ſurrendered their city to Hannibal. As to the Roman garriſon, the people contrived to ſhut them up in the public baths and ſuffocate them there. When Hannibal made his entry, all the town crouded to met him, except Decius Magius, a friend of the Romans, and a ſmall number of the nobility, among whom was one Perola, the ſon of Pacuvius, who had been the chief author of the revolt. Perola was afterwards obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to Hannibal; but, as he had imbibed the ſentiments of Magius, he afterwards formed a deſign to ſtab the Carthaginian general at a magnificent entertainment, which his father was to give him. But Pacuvius, to whom he imparted his intention, in hopes of gaining his conſent, diſſuaded him from it; and Hannibal eſcaped this danger. The next day the ſenate of Capua being aſſembled, Hannibal complained to them of the diſaffection of Magius, who was thereupon delivered up to him loaded with irons, and by his orders put on board a ſhip bound for Carthage. But the veſſel being driven by a ſtorm into the port of Cyrene, a city belonging to the king of Egypt, the illuſtrious priſoner ran and embraced the ſtatue of Ptolemy Philopator; and the Carthaginians not daring to drag him from that ſanctuary, he appealed to the king, and was conducted to Alexandria, where Ptolemy received him with great humanity, and gave him leave to return either to Capua, or to Rome; but he choſe to continue at Alexandria under the protection of his deliverer.

Capua ſubmits to Hannibal.

And

[s] Liv. ibid. [t] Plut. in Hannibal. Liv. l. xxii. c. 9, 10.

AND now Hannibal diſpatched his brother Mago to give an account at Carthage of his ſucceſs. As ſoon as he arrived there, he acquainted the ſenate, that Hannibal in ſix pitched battles had killed two hundred thouſand Romans, and taken fifty thouſand priſoners; and that the Apulians, Brutians, Lucanians, and Campanians, had ſubmitted to the Carthaginian dominion. So much good fortune ſeemed incredible, and Mago was not believed, till he gave a glaring proof of it, by ſpreading abroad in the ſenate-houſe, ſome ſay, one buſhel, others, three buſhels, of rings, taken from the Roman knights and ſenators (P). Having thus prepoſſeſſed the ſenate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to ſolicit ſuccours for him, that he might be enabled to carry on ſo ſucceſsful a war. The requeſt was approved of, and the Barcan faction triumphed. Himilco, the head of it, turning to Hanno, as it were to inſult him, Well, ſaid he, has the war turned to the diſadvantage of our country? Muſt we deliver up Hannibal to the Romans?

Mago gives an account of Hannibal's victories to the ſenate of Carthage.

(P) Authors are divided about the prodigious quantity of gold rings. Pliny ſeems to inſinuate, that Hanno carried with him to Carthage three buſhels of rings. To make the thing the more credible, he tells us, that in the time of the ſecond Punic war, all the citizens of Rome, without exception, aſſumed the right of wearing a gold ring (28). Florus ſays, that Hannibal ſent to Carthage two buſhels of gold rings, and that by them the ſenate judged of the number of Roman knights, who had loſt their lives in the ſeveral battles Hannibal had gained (29). The moſt probable opinion, according to Livy, is, that one buſhel of rings was ſent to Carthage. The ſame author adds, that Hanno, to ſhew how great the loſs of the Romans was, acquainted the ſenate of Carthage, that at Rome only knights, and the moſt conſiderable among the citizens, had the privilege of wearing gold rings. If all, without diſtinction, had enjoyed this privilege, as Pliny inſinuates, Hannibal might well have ſent three buſhels of rings to Carthage after the many victories he had already gained. But the opinion moſt agreeable to the teſtimony of the antients is, that only knights and patricians at this time were allowed to wear rings. Florus tells us, that Hannibal, to ſhew how many Romans had fallen in the battle, made a bridge with their dead bodies for his troops over the river Vergellus. What Florus ſays is confirmed by Valerius Maximus; but Polybius, Plutarch, and Livy, make no mention either of the river Vergellus, or of this new kind of bridge.

(28) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1. (29) Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

mans? Hanno, though thus provoked, anſwered with moderation: The war, ſaid he, is ſucceſsfully begun, I grant it; but I ſhall not be eaſy, till an end is put to it by an happy peace. Send me troops and proviſions, ſays Hannibal. Is this the language of a conqueror, who is maſter of ſo many nations in Italy? The Roman republic, we are told, is reduced to the laſt extremity. Do the vanquiſhed ſhew any ſigns of deſpair? Tell me, Mago, Do they make any advances towards a peace? Do they ſeem to deſire it? Mago anſwered, that the Romans indeed, notwithſtanding their loſſes, ſtrove to put a good face upon their affairs, however deſperate. I conclude then, reſumed Hanno briſkly, that we are ſcarce any farther advanced, than we were the day Hannibal entered Italy. We have indeed done enough to obtain an advantageous peace with Rome; and that ought to be our utmoſt view. One ſingle defeat may undo all our mighty projects. I therefore vote againſt ſending any ſuccours to the army in Italy. If Hannibal has really gained all theſe victories, he needs no ſupplies; if he ſends us falſe accounts, he deſerves none. But notwithſtanding Hanno's ſpeech, an immediate ſupply of four thouſand Numidians, forty elephants, and a thouſand talents of ſilver, were by a plurality of voices decreed for the army in Italy. Nor was this all; a commiſſioner was ſent with Mago into Spain with powers to raiſe levies there, which were to be equally divided between the Carthaginian armies in Spain and Italy. Aſdrubal, who had juſt obtained a ſignal victory over the revolted Spaniards, and ſubdued the country of the Carpetani, was ordered to leave Spain, and march with his army to the aſſiſtance of his brother in Italy. In his room Himilco was ſent into Spain with a competent army, and a ſufficient number of galleys to keep the ſeas. But, in the mean time, the two Scipios, hearing that Aſdrubal was advancing towards the Iberus in his way to the Pyrenees, and knowing of what dangerous conſequence it would be for Rome, that Hannibal ſhould receive ſo ſtrong a reinforcement, reſolved to oppoſe his paſſing that river. With this view they paſſed the Iberus, and having brought Aſdrubal to a general engagement, gained a complete victory, which prevented the Carthaginian for ſome years from going into Italy. Thus the two Scipios by their victories and prudent conduct in Spain made Rome amends for the loſſes ſhe ſuſtained in Italy.

Hanno's ſpeech in the ſenate.

Aſdrubal defeated in Spain by the Scipios.

THE dictator Junius and the ſenate, encouraged by the news they received from Spain, carried on their preparations

parations for the next campaign with great expedition, while Hannibal was loſing his time at Capua, being captivated with the bewitching pleaſures of that place. The dictator releaſed from priſon all criminals and perſons confined for debt, who were willing to enliſt themſelves. Of theſe he formed a body of ſix thouſand foot, armed with the broad ſwords and bucklers which had been formerly taken from the Gauls. Then the Roman army, to the number of about twenty-five thouſand men, partly citizens, partly ſlaves, and partly criminals, marched out of Rome under the command of the dictator. The remains of Varro's army, about fifteen thouſand men, were kept by Marcellus at Caſilinum in a readineſs to march, whenever there ſhould be occaſion. At length Hannibal began to move from Capua, in order to ſubdue the reſt of Campania. He made a fruitleſs attempt upon Neapolis, and then turned towards Nola. But the inhabitants of that city were kept ſteady by the preſence of Marcellus, who, leaving Caſilinum, paſſed the Vulturnus, croſſed the mountains of Sueſſula with incredible expedition, and unexpectedly appeared before Nola. Then the Carthaginian, after having made another unſucceſsful attempt upon Neapolis, fell upon Nuceria, which, for want of proviſions, was obliged to capitulate. From Nuceria he returned to Nola, with a deſign to beſiege it, Marcellus having ſhut himſelf up with all his troops. The inhabitants were greatly inclined to favour Hannibal, and their affection for the Carthaginian was kept up by a young man, of known valour and great intereſt among the people, by name Bantius. He had ſerved in the Roman armies with credit, and ſignalized himſelf at the battle of Cannæ, fighting near Æmilius, till being covered with wounds, he dropt down on the field of battle, where he was found the next day and brought to Hannibal. As none of his wounds proved mortal, Hannibal, underſtanding that he was a native of Nola, took great care of him, and, when he was cured of his wounds, ſent him home without ranſom. This friendly behaviour had its due effect on the mind of the generous Bantius. He returned to Nola wholly in the Carthaginian intereſt, and gained over many of the chief citizens to his party. Marcellus could have eaſily deſtroyed him, but he choſe rather to gain him. One day, when he came to wait on Marcellus, the Roman, pretending not to know him, aſked him his name. My name, replied the young warrior with a great deal of modeſty, is Bantius; What, are you the

Criminals and priſoners for debt inliſted at Rome.

Hannibal takes Nuceria.

famous Bantius, anſwered the general, ſo much celebrated at Rome? I have often heard of you. It was not your fault that a Roman conſul fell into the enemy's hands. How much blood did you loſe in endeavouring to ſave his life! What pleaſure is it to me, to ſee and embrace a brave man, who does honour to his country, and may be a means of ſaving Rome! Then Marcellus to tender embraces added preſents, and in ſhort rekindled in his heart his former love to Rome. The recovery of this ſingle man brought many Nolans over to Marcellus, who was informed by them of all the ſecrets of the Carthaginian party. This was the ſituation of affairs at Nola, when Hannibal appeared before it, not doubting but he ſhould ſoon become maſter of the place, in which he had all the populace and moſt of the nobility on his ſide. But Marcellus, having by ſound of trumpet forbid any of the citizens to approach the ramparts, or even come out of their houſes on pain of death, drew up his men within the walls, and ſallying out at three ſeveral gates, fell unexpectedly upon Hannibal, killed five thouſand of his men, and obliged the reſt to retire in great confuſion. In this action, which revived the courage of the Romans, by ſhewing them that Hannibal was not invincible, the number of the killed on the ſide of the Romans amounted only to five hundred [u]. Some antient writers quoted by Livy [w], tell us, that the number of the dead on the ſide of the Carthaginians amounted to no more than two thouſand three hundred; but add, that the Romans loſt only one man in the action. This check was a ſenſible mortification to Hannibal, who thereupon left Nola, and marched to Acerræ, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood. But the Acerrani upon his approach with one conſent abandoned their houſes, and retired with their moſt valuable effects to thoſe cities in Campania, which continued faithful to the Romans. The Carthaginian having made himſelf maſter of the empty city of Acerra, in order to recover his reputation, undertook the ſiege of Caſilinum, a ſtrong city on the banks of the Vulturnus, thinking it garriſoned by Campanians. But it happened, that a body of Prænestines having found the inhabitants, as they paſſed through their city, wavering in their fidelity to Rome, had cut their throats in the night, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls. Theſe had been afterwards reinforced by about four hundred Peruſians from Hetruria, and a ſmall

Marcellus gains an advantage over Hannibal before Nola.

[u] Plut. in Marcel. [w] Liv. l. xxiii. c. 16.

ſmall number of Latins and Romans. As they were all men of bravery and reſolution, they made ſuch a vigorous defence, that Hannibal was obliged, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, to turn the ſiege into a blockade [x]. Having therefore left part of his troops in the camp, as winter now approached, he quartered the reſt in the villages and open places of Campania, while he himſelf took up his reſidence in the voluptuous city of Capua, where he got a thorough reliſh for pleaſure, which brought him down to a level with the reſt of mankind. The leſs he had been uſed to an effeminate life, the more he now indulged himſelf in it, ſpending moſt part of his time in feaſting and revelling with the Capuan women. He was more frequently ſeen, ſays Valerius Maximus [y], among the young debauchees in a public place called Seplaſia, than in his camp before Caſilinum. Seplaſia was a public place in Capua, whither all the debauchees reſorted; and therefore ſo infamous, that it was deemed a crime in a Roman barely to appear there [z]. Thus Capua proved more fatal to Hannibal, than Cannæ to the Romans. All the antients reproach him more for the life he led at Capua, than for his having neglected to beſiege Rome after the battle of Cannæ. The example of the general infected the ſoldiery; inſomuch, that when he led them again in the ſpring to the ſiege of Caſilinum, he found them quite altered, and as impatient of military toils as raw levies. They were followed by troops of diſſolute women, and thinking it hard to live in tents, they deſerted in crouds, and returned to Capua and the other places in Campania, where they had ſpent the winter ſo much to their ſatisfaction. Hannibal, inſtead of attempting to ſtorm the beſieged town, endeavoured to reduce it by famine; and indeed the garriſon was brought to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions. Two Roman armies were within reach of the place; but neither in a condition to relieve it. The dictator Junius was ſoon recalled to Rome to conſult new auſpices, and had forbid, before his departure, Sempronius his general of the horſe, to undertake any thing during his abſence. The brave Marcellus was willing to relieve the beſieged at all events; but the inhabitants of Nola would not ſuffer him to leave them, imagining, that the blockade of Caſilinum was

Hannibal enervates himſelf at Capua.

[x] Liv. ibid. c. 18. [y] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. [z] Vide Cic. in Piſonem.

only a feint, and that Hannibal's real aim was at their city. In the mean time, the garriſon of Caſilinum, being almoſt ſtarved to death, were ſcarce able to carry their arms. Many of them, to avoid periſhing with hunger or falling into Hannibal's hands, put an end to their unhappy lives. Sempronius, greatly affected with the diſtreſs of theſe brave men, endeavoured to relieve them, by throwing firſt barrels of meal, and afterwards nuts into the Vulturnus, which ran through the town. But this artifice being diſcovered, and all methods of ſupplying the city entirely ſtopped, Hannibal ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender. But thoſe brave men preferring death to ſlavery, would not hearken to his ſummons, their hunger, in the mean time, not ſuffering them to ſpare any animals whatſoever; not even rats. Nay, at length they pulled off the ſkins of their bucklers, ſoftened them in the water, and lived upon them with great frugality. Laſtly, to give the enemy a proof of their conſtancy and reſolution, they ploughed up the ground near their houſes and ſowed it with pulſe. When Hannibal heard this, he cried out, What then, do the beſieged deſign to keep me here till their ſeed is come to maturity? From that time he ſhewed himſelf inclined to conſent to a capitulation, which was ſoon agreed to by both parties, on this condition, that the freedmen ſhould be allowed to march out of the town upon their paying ſeven ounces of gold a head. Thus Hannibal made himſelf maſter of Caſilinum after a long blockade, during which the Præneſtines and Peruſians gave proofs of a conſtancy ſcarce to be matched by the Romans themſelves. The inhabitants of Petilia, a city in the country of the Brutians, which Hannibal beſieged next, gave him as much trouble as the garriſon of Caſilinum; but was taken at laſt, the Romans not being in a condition to ſend them ſuccours.

The brave defence of the garriſon of Caſilinum.

In the mean time, as the beſt part of the Roman nobility had loſt their lives in the war, the conſcript fathers began to think of filling up the vacant places in the ſenate; and becauſe there were then no cenſors, they ordered Terentius Varro to nominate ſome perſon, who had been formerly cenſor, to be a ſecond dictator, whoſe office ſhould be wholly confined to this province. Terentius named M. Fabius Buteo, the oldeſt of the former cenſors; but did not allow him a general of the horſe. Fabius diſcharged his office with great prudence; for he firſt choſe to the ſenatorial dignity all thoſe, who ſince the laſt cenſors

The vacant places in the Roman ſenate filled up

ſors had obtained curule magiſtracies ; then thoſe without exception who had been tribunes of the people, plebeian ædiles, or quæſtors ; and laſtly, ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the army, or obtained any military rewards from their generals. Thus an hundred and ſeventy-ſeven new ſenators were created without jealouſy, complaints, or contention ; and the dictator had no ſooner read the liſt to the people, than he abdicated his dignity, highly applauded by all ranks of men [a].

The ſenate being thus filled up, the next buſineſs was to chuſe conſuls for the enſuing year. Sempronius Gracchus, general of the horſe to the dictator Junius, and Poſthumius Albinus, who commanded a body of troops in Ciſalpine Gaul, were raiſed to the conſulate. After the election of the conſuls, the prætors and other great officers of the ſtate were appointed ; but in all theſe promotions Marcellus, notwithſtanding the glory he had lately acquired, was entirely forgot, through the jealouſy, as ſome writers conjecture, of the dictator Junius, who preſided at the election of the new magiſtrates. The elections being over the dictator returned to his camp ; but the conſul Sempronius continued in Rome, to conſult with the Senate about the operations of the approaching campaign. But, in the mean time, news was brought to Rome, that Poſthumius Albinus, who was juſt raiſed to the conſulate a third time, had been cut off with all his army by the Boii in a vaſt foreſt, called by the Gauls the foreſt of Litana, which he had been obliged to croſs. Hereupon the conſul Sempronius having aſſembled the ſenate, endeavoured to raiſe their dejected ſpirits, adviſing them among other things to withdraw all their forces out of Gaul and other countries, and turn them againſt Hannibal, the only ſource of all their evils. If we can once drive Hannibal out of Italy, ſaid he, the rebellious nations will be ſoon reduced again. This advice was followed, and all the troops of the republic ordered into the provinces near Hannibal. The army, which the dictator Junius had commanded, was given to the conſul Sempronius. Marcellus's army, which conſiſted of thoſe who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter at Cannæ, was commanded to go into Sicily, and continue there as long as the war ſhould laſt in Italy. In exchange for them, the two legions, which had hitherto ſerved in Sicily, were ordered to Italy to ſerve there under the conſul, whom the centuries

[a] Liv. ibid. c. 22.

centuries were ſoon to appoint in the room of Poſthumius, who had been killed by the Boii. Terentius Varro, notwithſtanding his late miſconduct, was entruſted with the command of an army in Apulia, with the character of proconſul. When the time came for electing a new conſul, the tribes unanimouſly choſe Marcellus, notwithſtanding the intrigues of Sempronius, who, fearing he might be eclipſed by the extraordinary merit of that great man, had kept him out of the way. However, a ſtorm, attended with dreadful claps of thunder, happening to riſe during the aſſembly, it is incredible with what greedineſs the augurs took hold of this accident, to declare that the election of Marcellus was not agreeable to the gods. Marcellus was a plebeian, as was alſo his collegue Sempronius; and the patricians, unwilling to ſee two plebeian conſuls at the ſame time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus diſagreeable to the gods. But the people would ot have acquieſced to the declaration of the augurs, had ot Marcellus ſhewed himſelf on this occaſion as zealous a publican, as he was a great commander; for he refuſed accept the faſces, though offered him by the whole body the people, ſaying, that he had rather lead a private life, an enjoy the greateſt honours in the republic, contrary o the will of the gods and the inclination of any of his ellow-citizens. Then the famous Fabius Maximus was hoſen in his ſtead, and raiſed a third time to the conulate [a].

While the republic was buſy in making theſe elections and preparations for purſuing the war, Hannibal made himſelf maſter of Conſentia on the Crathis, of Croton, Locri, and ſeveral other cities in Great Greece. The Romans therefore took the field. Fabius put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which the late dictator had commanded; Sempronius took upon him the command of the new levies made at Rome, conſiſting moſtly of ſlaves, to whom were added twenty-five thouſand auxiliaries. The prætor Lævinus was ordered to cover Apulia with two legions. Marcellus was appointed to command the troops with which he had defended Nola; but ſuch among them as had eſcaped from the battle at Cannæ were ſent over to Sicily, their room being ſupplied by two legions from that iſland. Laſtly, Terentius Varro led an army into Picenum, to defend that country and raiſe recruits there [b].

As

[a] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Marcell. [b] Liv. & Plut. ibid.

As Campania was now the ſeat of the war, the Campanians, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Hannibal, raiſed an army of about fourteen thouſand men of their own nation, and put one Marius Alfius at the head of it. His firſt attempt was upon the city of Cumæ, which adhered to the Romans. The Cuman ſenators, and thoſe of the other cities of Campania, uſed annually to meet at a place called Hamæ, not far from Cumæ, to perform a ſolemn ſacrifice, and deliberate upon the general affairs of the province. Alfius formed a ſcheme of ſurpriſing on this occaſion the ſenators of Cumæ; but they, ſuſpecting his deſign, gave notice of it to the conſul Sempronius, who, as he lay within ſix miles of them, fell on the Campanian army in the night, killed two thouſand of them, among whom was their leader Alfius, and put the reſt to flight. However, as Hannibal was not far off, Sempronius, unwilling to expoſe his unexperienced troops to the danger of a battle, immediately retired, and ſhut himſelf up in Cumæ, which Hannibal inveſted; but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege after he had loſt thirteen hundred men in that unſucceſsful attempt. At the ſame time, another Sempronius, ſurnamed Longus, who commanded a body of troops in Lucania, gained a conſiderable victory over Hanno, and Lævinus retook three cities in the country of the Hirpini, which had revolted to Hannibal. During theſe tranſactions, embaſſadors from Philip king of Macedon to Hannibal being intercepted and ſent to Rome, the ſenate found, that a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive was actually concluded between the Macedonian and Carthaginian. In order therefore to keep the former out of Italy, Lævinus was ordered to embarque at Tarentum, ſail for Macedon, and find king Philip employment at home. And now Fabius, who had hitherto continued quiet in his camp at Cale, being well appriſed that his rival's remiſſneſs was not feigned, as he had imagined, but real, boldly paſſed the Vulturnus, and croſſing a large plain near mount Tifata, on which Hannibal was encamped, joined his collegue Sempronius at Cumæ. On the other hand, Marcellus, who was encamped at Nola, made daily incurſions into the countries of the Hirpini and Samnites, who had revolted to Hannibal, committing every-where dreadful devaſtations. The Samnites, ſurpriſed to find Hannibal ſo unactive and ſo little zealous in their defence, ſent deputies to him, and by their repeated complaints prevailed upon him at laſt to come to their aſſiſtance. Upon his approach Marcellus retired behind the walls of Nola, which

The conſul Sempronius routs the Campanians.

which Hannibal immediately inveſted with his whole army. After he had for ſome days battered the walls with incredible fury, Marcellus, thinking it leſs dangerous to engage the enemy in the open field, than in the narrow ſtreets of Nola, the walls being already half-ruined, reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a general action. Accordingly, he marched out with his men in good order, and after having obliged the Carthaginians, who were carrying on the ſiege, to retire to their camp, which was about a mile from the city, he drew up his ſmall army in the plain between the Carthaginian camp and the city. Hannibal could not perſuade himſelf, that Marcellus, whoſe forces were ſo much inferior in number to his own, really deſigned to hazard a battle; however, after having encouraged his men with a ſhort harangue, in which he treated the Romans with the utmoſt contempt, he advanced boldly, not doubting but the enemy would retire, at the ſight of his army in battalia, behind the walls of the city. He was therefore greatly ſurpriſed, when he ſaw the Romans not only ſtand their ground, but at the very firſt onſet put his advance-guard into diſorder. Marcellus had armed his infantry with long pikes, uſed only at ſea, and chiefly in boarding of ſhips, and taught them how to manage this new kind of weapon, in order to keep the enemy at a diſtance; ſo that the Carthaginians, who carried only ſhort javelins, finding it impoſſible to hurt the Romans, while they themſelves were run through with their long pikes, began to retire, and, in ſpite of all Hannibal could do, to ſave themſelves by flight to their camp. Marcellus purſued them cloſe, and before they got to the camp killed five thouſand of them, and took ſix hundred priſoners, nineteen ſtandards, and two elephants, which with ſome others had been lately ſent from Carthage. Marcellus loſt about a thouſand men, who were trod down by the Numidian horſe, headed by Hannibal in perſon. The Romans, encouraged by this advantage, aſked leave of their general to attack Hannibal's camp; but the wiſe Marcellus, without hearkening to their requeſt, ſounded a retreat and returned to Nola, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the citizens. After this defeat, Hannibal had the further mortification to be abandoned by twelve hundred and ſeventy-two of his beſt horſe, partly Spaniards and partly Numidians, who had croſſed the Alps with him. Some diſcontent was, without all doubt, the occaſion of their deſertion; but they gave out, that the eſteem they had conceived for the

Marcellus defeats Hannibal in a pitched battle.

A body of Hannibal's beſt horſe deſert to the Romans.

the Romans induced them to it. Be that as it will, they continued ever after faithful to the republic, and did her important ſervices; for which they were, in their old age, rewarded with lands in their own countries, when the Romans had conquered Africa and Spain. Hannibal was ſo touched with the reproach, which this deſertion of his old companions in victory threw upon him, that he left Campania, and, retiring into Apulia, encamped near Arpi. He was no ſooner gone, than Fabius, drawing near to Capua, laid waſte the whole country about it, and then encamped at Sueſſula within reach of Naples and Nola, in order to ſuccour them in caſe they were attacked. In the mean time, winter approaching, Fabius, either out of jealouſy, or to leſſen the expences of the republic, ordered Marcellus to diſband his army, and to leave in Nola a ſufficient garriſon to defend it. Marcellus obeyed, but did not go to Rome with his diſbanded troops, chuſing rather to ſtay at Nola, than to be importuned at Rome by his friends, who were for his ſolliciting the conſulate in the next election. As he had contributed more to the glory of the republic and the diſcredit of Hannibal, than all the generals of Rome, and even Fabius himſelf, he was reſolved to owe his promotion wholly to his merit and ſervices; and therefore, diſdaining to offer himſelf as a candidate in the comitia, or to court the favour of the people, he ſpent the winter in tranquillity at Nola[c].

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, the prætor Manlius Torquatus defeated the Sardinians, who had revolted, Sardinia once more reduced. though aſſiſted by an army ſent from Carthage, under the command of Aſdrubal, ſurnamed The Bald, killed twelve thouſand of the enemy upon the ſpot, took Aſdrubal himſelf with Hanno and Mago his chief officers priſoners, and reduced the whole iſland. The two Scipios were equally ſucceſsful in their wars in Spain, where with an army only of ſixteen thouſand men they gained a complete victory over Aſdrubal, whoſe forces amounted to the number of ſixty thouſand. Aſdrubal defeated by the Scipios in Spain. But the accounts which the ſenate received from Sicily were not ſo ſatisfactory. Good king Hiero, who had continued ſo faithful to the republic for fifty years together, had lately ended his days there, and had been ſucceeded by his grandſon Hieronymus, who, having inſulted the Roman embaſſadors, made a treaty of alliance with the Carthaginians, and was entirely governed by their counſels.

[c] Lib. ibid. 46. Zonar. l. ix. c. 3.

counſels. This gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the ſenate, who thereupon ordered new levies to be raiſed and ſent into Sicily. But, in the mean time, the conſular year being near expired, Fabius returned to Rome to preſide at the election of the new conſuls. On the day appointed the tribes aſſembled, and the majority of the firſt tribe that voted nominated to the conſulſhip T. Otacilius and M. Æmilius Regillus, both men of merit, but yet not of ſuch abilities as the preſent neceſſities required. Fabius therefore, interrupting the election for a ſhort time, exhorted the tribes to chuſe ſuch conſuls as they would name, if they were to appoint two generals to give Hannibal battle. As to thoſe they had already named, he told them, that he could not be ſo partial to them, as to think them capable of making head againſt the crafty and experienced African. He then ordered the firſt tribe to return to their voting-place and give their ſuffrages anew. Otacilius, who was nearly related to Fabius, made at firſt ſome oppoſition to this; but the lictors, ſurrounding him with their axes, ſoon forced him to be ſilent. Then the tribes unanimouſly choſe Fabius himſelf and Claudius Marcellus, though abſent. Rome had never ſeen two greater men together at the head of affairs. Fabius had indeed by an irregular proceeding contributed to his own continuance in the conſular dignity, contrary to law and cuſtom; but yet no one accuſed him of ambition or tyranny, or imagined him actuated by any other motive than that of zeal for his country. The firſt thing the new conſuls did was, to raiſe ſix legions to be added to the twelve already on foot. As the Sicilian expedition ſeemed to require moſt diſpatch, Otacilius was ordered to embarque with all expedition for that iſland; and, in order to equip a fleet for that ſervice, each head of a family, who by the laſt cenſor's regiſter was found worth from fifty thouſand to a hundred thouſand aſſes, was obliged to maintain a rower or ſailor at his own expence for ſix months; and the more wealthy, three, five, ſeven, in proportion to their riches. The ſenators obliged themſelves to maintain eight men each for one year; ſo that a fleet was ſoon manned and equipped, without being any ways chargeable to the republic [d].

Fabius Maximus and Marcellus elected conſuls.

And now the land forces began to be in motion, when the Capuans, terrified at the extraordinary number of the forces of the republic commanded by ſo many able generals,

[d] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 11. Val. Max. l. v. c. 6.

rals, recalled Hannibal, who, quitting Apulia and returning to his camp on mount Tifata, ordered Hanno, at the head of seventeen thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, to seize Beneventum. But Sempronius, by the direction of Fabius, having got to that city before the Carthaginian, made himself master of it, and then marched to meet Hanno, in order to give him battle. Sempronius's army consisted mostly of Volones, and the general, in order to engage them to exert themselves, promised every man his liberty, who should bring off the head of an enemy, the senate having impowered him to set at liberty such of his slaves as he pleased. No soldiers ever shewed a greater eagerness to engage an enemy, than the Volones did after Sempronius had made them this promise. They ranged themselves round the prætorium by break of day, soliciting the general to lead them against the enemy, that they might deliver themselves from slavery, either by death or victory. Sempronius did not suffer their ardor to cool, but immediately led them into a neighbouring plain, through which Hanno was to pass, as Sempronius had been informed, on his march to Beneventum, not knowing that the Romans were already masters of that city. Accordingly, the Roman army was scarce drawn up, when Hanno appeared at the head of seventeen thousand foot, mostly Brutians and Lucanians, and twelve hundred Numidian horse. The Carthaginian advanced in good order into the plain, not doubting, but he should soon put to the rout a handful of slaves, accustomed to tremble, as he told his soldiers, at the voice of their masters. In the mean time the trumpets sounded, and the attack began with incredible fury on both sides. The Volones fought with great bravery; but the promise Sempronius made them had like to have occasioned an entire defeat of his army. He had promised liberty to such only as carried off the head of an enemy; as soon therefore as any of them had dispatched his antagonist, he made it his whole business to cut off his head, and lost a great deal of time in that butchery. Besides the ardor of those who had performed the condition, on which they were to obtain their liberty, immediately abated; so that Sempronius was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, That none should obtain their liberty, unless the Carthaginians were routed. Upon this the brave slaves renewed the fight with fresh vigour, and gained so complete a victory, that scarce two thousand of the enemy escaped. Sixteen thousand of them

Sempronius with an army of Volones defeats Hannibal.

them were killed either on the field of battle, or in the camp, which the volones forced after they had driven them out of the plain. However, four thouſand of Sempronius's ſlaves did not behave ſo well as the reſt, being afraid to purſue the enemy to their camp. Theſe aſhamed of their cowardice, retired after the battle to a high mountain, for fear of becoming the jeſt of their companions. But Sempronius ſent a tribune to invite them back; and then, to perform his promiſe, declared them all free without exception. However, to make ſome diſtinction between the brave and the cowards, he obliged the latter to take their meals ſtanding, all the time they were in the ſervice [c].

Marcellus gains a conſiderable advantage over Hannibal near Nola.

In the mean time, Hannibal, leaving his camp on mount Tifata, took his rout to Nola, being invited thither by the populace, who were ſtill in his intereſt, in oppoſition to the ſenate. But Marcellus receiving timely notice of his march, followed him, and coming up with him near that city, killed two thouſand of his men, with the loſs only of four hundred. The Romans would in all likelihood have given him a total overthrow, had Claudius Nero, whom the conſul had detached with a body of horſe, to take a large compaſs and fall upon the Carthaginians in the rear during the action, come up in time. Marcellus offered Hannibal battle the next day, but he declined it, and decamped in the night, laying aſide all thoughts of taking Nola, which had ſo often proved fatal to his glory. From Nola he led his army to Tarentum, where ſome Tarentine priſoners, whom he had formerly ſent home without ranſom, had engaged many young men in his intereſt. But the proprætor Lævinus, who guarded that coaſt, took ſuch effectual means to prevent the deſigns of the factious, that the Carthaginian, being again diſappointed, abandoned the enterpriſe, and took the road to Salapia, a city in Apulia, with a deſign to ſpend the winter there. As the ſeaſon was not yet far advanced, Fabius undertook the ſiege of Caſilinum, which was garriſoned by two thouſand Campanians and ſeven hundred Carthaginians, under the command of a Capuan of diſtinction, named Statius Metius. The conſul had no ſooner inveſted the place, than Magius, prætor of Capua, which was but two miles from Caſilinum, formed a ſtrong body of troops, and armed even the ſlaves, with a deſign to attack the Romans in their trenches. Fabius receiving intelligence of theſe preparations, wrote to his colleague

[c] Liv. ibid.

legue Marcellus, either to come in perſon, or to ſend the prætor Sempronius, with two legions to cover the ſiege. Hereupon Marcellus, leaving only two thouſand men in Nola, for Hannibal was then in winter-quarters in Apulia, marched with the reſt of his army to join Fabius. And now the two greateſt generals, Rome had, acted together for the firſt time, the one carrying on the ſiege, and the other covering it with an army, ready to engage Hannibal or the Capuans, in caſe they ſhould attempt to relieve the place. The garriſon made ſo vigorous a defence, that Fabius, diſcouraged by the daily ſlaughter of his men, would have raiſed the ſiege, had not Marcellus preſſed him to purſue it; which he did with ſuch vigour, that the Campanians, having loſt all hopes of being relieved, either by Hannibal or their prætor Magius, ſent deputies to Fabius, aſking leave to march out of the place and return to Capua. The conſul conſented to what they aſked, knowing it would not be long ere the city ſurrendered, when defended only by a ſmall number of Carthaginians. But Marcellus, watching the time, when the Campanians were to march out of the city, ſeized the gate before fifty of them were out, and entering the place, put all to the ſword, without diſtinction, who oppoſed him. Thoſe who threw down their arms, whether Capuans or Carthaginians, were made priſoners of war, and ſent to Rome, Marcellus pretending that he was not obliged to ſtand to the agreement made by his collegue. Fabius being now maſter of Caſilinum, laid waſte great part of Campania, killed or took priſoners near twenty-five thouſand men, made incurſions into Samnium, where he ſurpriſed three hundred and ſeventy Roman deſerters, and ſent them to Rome, where they were firſt beaten with rods, and then thrown down the Tarpeian rock. Fabius had alſo the ſatisfaction to hear that his ſon had gained great glory in Apulia, where he took the city of Accua, almoſt in ſight of the Carthaginian army. As for Marcellus, he returned to Nola, where he was ſeized with a diſtemper, which for ſome time ſuſpended his martial ardor [f].

Caſilinum retaken by the Romans.

Accua in Apulia taken by young Fabius.

In the mean time, Philip king of Macedon, who, as we have obſerved above, had concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with Hannibal, began to move and draw towards Italy. He firſt laid ſiege to Apollonia, a city at the

[f] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 19. Plut in Fab.

the head of the Adriatic ſea; but not ſucceeding in that deſign, he turned his arms againſt Oricum; the inhabitants of which city immediately ſent notice of their danger to the prætor Lævinus, who, in two days after the news, arrived at Oricum; and finding the city already taken, eaſily recovered it, and then formed a deſign of ſurpriſing in the night the king of Macedon in his camp; and executed it with ſuch ſucceſs, that Philip himſelf had fallen into the prætor's hands, had not a party of Macedonians, more reſolute than the reſt, carried him off half naked to his ſhips. Lævinus killed about three thouſand Macedonians, and took near twice that number of priſoners. The Macedonian fleet, which lay in the port of Oricum, not being able to get out to ſea, by reaſon the Roman fleet barred up the mouth of the harbour, Philip was obliged to ſet fire to his ſhips, and return by land to his own territories, with the miſerable remains of his ſhattered army [g].

Lævinus ſurpriſes the camp of the king of Macedon.

But Hannibal ſoon made himſelf amends for this diſappointment on the ſide of Macedon, by the troubles he found means to raiſe in Sicily; where, after ſeveral plots, counter-plots, and aſſaſſinations. Hippocrates and Epicydes, the two agents, whom Hannibal had ſent to make a treaty with king Hieronymus, were by the Syracuſans choſen into the college of prætors; ſo that Syracuſe being now wholly devoted to the Carthaginian intereſt, it was thought neceſſary to ſend Marcellus with his army from Nola to the aſſiſtance of Claudius and Lentulus, the two Roman prætors in Sicily. But as to the particulars of this glorious expedition, we refer our readers to our hiſtory of Sicily, where we have given a diſtinct account of all the tranſactions in that iſland, both civil and military, from the death of king Hiero to the entire reduction of the city and kingdom of Syracuſe by the brave Marcellus [h].

Marcellus ſent into Sicily.

In Spain, the two Scipios gained great advantages over the Carthaginians, who in two battles loſt above twenty thouſand men. The fruit of theſe ſucceſſes was the retaking of Saguntum, the city which had given riſe to the war. The old inhabitants, of whom few were now alive, were reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, and the Turdetani, who had formerly joined Hannibal againſt that faithful city, being obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, were made ſlaves and ſold by auction [i].

The

[g] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40.
[h] Vide Vol. vii. p. 338. & ſeq.
[i] Idem ibid. c. 41.

THE conſulſhip of Fabius Maximus and Marcellus being now expired, the conſcript fathers, to keep theſe two great men at the head of the armies, without infringing the laws, continued Marcellus in Sicily with the title of proconſul, and made him governor of all thoſe territories, which had formerly belonged to king Hiero. As for Fabius, that he might ſtill have the conduct of thoſe forces, which were to act againſt Hannibal, the centuries raiſed his ſon Q. Fabius to the conſulate, knowing that the father, who offered to ſerve under him, would have the chief direction of the campaign. With young Fabius was joined Sempronius Gracchus, who with an army of colones had defeated Hanno near Beneventum. The other generals were continued in their reſpective commands; the two Scipios remained in Spain; Terentius Varro in Picenum; Mucius Scævola in Sardinia; Otacilius commanded the fleet in Sicily, and Valerius Lævinus a ſquadron at Brunduſium, to watch the motions of the king of Macedon; the prætor Fulvius had the command of two legions near Sueſſula, and Sempronius Tuditanus was ſent with a body of troops into Ciſalpine Gaul. After the conſuls had continued at Rome as long as was neceſſary to calm the fears of the people, in relation to ſome odd events which ſuperſtition made formidable, young Fabius went to take upon him the command of the army, which was encamped near Sueſſula; and Sempronius at the ſame time ſet out for Lucania, where it had fallen to his lot to act. Fabius, purſuant to his father's directions, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Arpi, in which was a garriſon of five thouſand Carthaginians. As the city was weak on one ſide, but deemed impregnable on the other, the troops in the town, believing it would be undoubtedly attacked on the weaker ſide, all repaired thither; which gave the Fabii an opportunity of ſurpriſing the place in the night. After this the Fabii made it their whole buſineſs to follow Hannibal, who did not ſo much as attempt any conſiderable enterpriſe, during this campaign, but contented himſelf with ſtanding on the defenſive. The prætor Fulvius near Sueſſula watched the motions of the Capuans, and was much ſurpriſed to ſee an hundred and twelve brave men of their nobility arrive at his camp, and, declaring an abhorrence of the revolt of their countrymen, demand to be received again into the friendſhip of the Romans. This change in the minds of the nobility plainly ſhewed how much Hannibal had loſt his credit. The prætor Sempronius Tuditanus

Arpi taken by the Romans.

And Aternum.

nus beſieged and took by ſtorm the city of Aternum, in the country of the Marrucini; and, with the booty he found there and the ranſom of ſeven thouſand priſoners, much enriched the treaſury of the republic. The conſul Sempronius gained conſiderable advantages in Lucania, and obliged part of Brutium to return to its former obedience. In Spain, the two Scipios not only made great progreſs, but extended their views even to Africa, where they engaged Syphax king of Maſæſylia, the weſtern part of Numidia, to take arms againſt Carthage. But, on the other hand, the Carthaginians, alarmed at the motions of Syphax, prevailed on Gala king of Maſſylia, the eaſtern part of Numidia, to join them. Gala himſelf was no warrior, but had a ſon in the flower of his age, whoſe inclinations were wholly for war. The young prince's name was Maſiniſſa; he was then only ſeventeen years old; but his genius and conduct were ſuch as made the Maſſylians conclude, that he would both enrich and enlarge his father's dominions. Gala put him at the head of his troops, and the young warrior, joining the Carthaginians, fell ſo vigorouſly and ſo ſeaſonably on the Maſæſylians, that they were entirely routed, and loſt thirty thouſand men in the action. The vanquiſhed king retired into Mauritania, made new levies, and prepared to paſs the ſtreights, and join the Scipios in Spain; but the great Maſiniſſa gave him a ſecond overthrow, which put him out of a condition of trying the fortune of arms again for a long time [k].

Syphax defeated by Maſiniſſa.

And now the time for the new elections drawing near, as both conſuls were engaged abroad, Sempronius, the elder of them, nominated C. Claudius Centho dictator to hold the comitia, in which Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were choſen conſuls for the new year. At the ſame time P. Cornelius Scipio and his brother Lucius, the ſons of the proconſul in Spain, were elected curule ædiles, though the elder was but twenty years of age, and the laws required that every candidate for that office ſhould be thirty. The perſonal merit of young Cornelius Scipio, and that of his father and uncle, made the people diſpenſe with their old cuſtoms [l]. While the new conſuls were buſy at Rome in raiſing two legions to be added to the twenty-one already on foot, and in proſecuting ſome publicans guilty of notorious frauds, Hannibal, having made himſelf maſter of Tarentum by the treachery of the inhabitants,

Tarentum betrayed to Hannibal.

[k] Liv, l. xxiv. c. 49. [l] Liv. l. xxv. c. 2. Polyb. l. x. c. 5.

bitants, laid ſiege to the citadel, whither Livius, the commander of the Roman garriſon in the city, had retired. Hereupon the conſuls, leaving Rome, joined their forces; and, in order to divert the Carthaginian from purſuing the ſiege he had undertaken, entered Campania, laid waſte the country round Capua, and threatened that city with a ſiege. The Capuans immediately diſpatched deputies to Hannibal, entreating him to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and acquainting him, that, by the devaſtation of their fields, they began already to feel the miſeries of a ſiege. The Carthaginian, unwilling to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel, which began to be ſtreightened for want of proviſions, ordered Hanno with an army from Brutium to the relief of his favourite city. Hanno, purſuant to his orders, left Brutium; and, having collected an immenſe quantity of corn, pitched his camp near Beneventum, ordering the Capuans to ſend their waggons to fetch it from thence. In the mean time, the conſuls being informed by the people of Beneventum of all that paſſed, Fulvius marched thither with all expedition, and entering the town in the night unknown to Hanno, appeared the next morning by break of day before the enemy's camp. Two thouſand waggons were arrived from Capua, and the peaſants, mixing with the ſoldiers, cauſed great confuſion. However, as the camp was ſituated upon an aſcent, and therefore very difficult to be taken by aſſault, the conſul was for quitting the enterprize, or at leaſt ſuſpending it till the arrival of his collegue. But the legionaries ſignalized their bravery, on this occaſion, beyond the expectation of their general. One Vibius, a centurion of the Latin troops, and after his example Pedanius, a centurion of the third Roman legion, threw each a ſtandard over the enemy's ramparts, crying out, Let us be the curſe of all men, if we do not recover theſe enſigns out of the enemy's hands. Hereupon the ſoldiers, encouraging each other, croſſed the ditch, and, climbing up the rampart in ſpite of all oppoſition, forced the Carthaginian camp, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of their troops. Above ſix thouſand of them were killed, and about ſeven thouſand made priſoners. The booty was exceeding great; corn, forage, waggons, horſes, Hanno's baggage, the utenſils of the Carthaginians, and whatever they had brought from the neighbouring countries, fell a prey to the Roman ſoldiers. As for Hanno, he made his

Hanno defeated, and his camp taken by the Romans.

eſcape, attended only by a ſmall body of horſe, and through by-roads returned into Brutium [m].

THE taking of the Carthaginian camp and the abſence of Hanno threw the Capuans into the utmoſt conſternation. Being more apprehenſive of a ſiege than ever, they ſent a new deputation to Hannibal, preſſing him to come to their aſſiſtance. But he was ſo intent upon reducing the citadel of Tarentum, that he could not be prevailed upon to move from thence. Hereupon the conſuls drew near to Capua, with a deſign to beſiege it in form. As they did not doubt, but Hannibal would haſten to the relief of his faithful Capuans, they ordered Sempronius Gracchus to leave Lucania, and encamp with his army of Volones in the neighbourhood of Capua. Sempronius had already named his ſucceſſor to command in that province, and was preparing for his march, when one Fulvius, a Lucanian, who had been hitherto very zealous for the intereſt of Rome, changed his inclination on a ſudden, and in order to recommend himſelf to the Carthaginians by ſome ſignal ſervice, reſolved to betray the proconſul to them. The traitor abuſing the confidence Sempronius placed in him, told him, that before he left Lucania, he would fain procure him the glory of uniting all the hearts of his countrymen in the intereſts of Rome, and pretended, that the heads of the Carthaginian faction deſired a private conference. The brave Roman, not ſuſpecting any deceit, went to the place appointed, attended only with his lictors and a ſmall body of horſe. But he no ſooner arrived, than he was ſurrounded by a great body of horſe and foot under the command of Mago, who had concealed himſelf behind a neighbouring hill. The proconſul, finding it impoſſible to make his eſcape, cried out to his ſmall troop, We are betrayed and muſt die. Let us therefore ſignalize the laſt of our days with a behaviour worthy of Romans. Let us turn our arms chiefly againſt the traitor Fulvius, and ſend him to the infernal regions before us. Having thus ſpoke, he diſmounted, and, wrapping his left arm in his paludamentum, or military cloak, for want of a buckler, flew ſword in hand to the place where he ſaw Fulvius, in hopes of killing the traitor before he fell himſelf. But he periſhed in the attempt, the Carthaginians being obliged by the great ſlaughter he made in the heart of their battalions to diſpatch him, though they had been ordered by Mago to take

The proconſul Sempronius betrayed and killed.

[m] Lib. I. xxv. c. 13, 14. Val. Max. I, iii. c. 2.

take him alive. Thus periſhed one of the beſt generals of the republic, at a time when ſhe abounded with great men [n]. The body of this great man was carried to Hannibal's camp, who could not help ſhewing marks of eſteem for ſo great a commander. He erected a funeral pile for him at the gate of his camp, and ordered his cavalry to make their evolutions round it in honour of the deceaſed. Upon his death, the volones, thinking themſelves diſcharged from their military oath, diſbanded, ſo that the conſul's project of beſieging Capua was a little diſconcerted.

To this misfortune was added another on the ſide of Spain, which threw the republic into the utmoſt conſternation. News was brought to Rome, that both the Scipios were killed. The circumſtances of their death are thus related: The Carthaginians had three armies in Spain commanded by three officers of reputation, viz. Aſdrubal, Hannibal's brother, Mago, and another Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco. The two latter had united their forces and encamped together; the former commanded an army apart, but without removing far from his collegues. The two Roman generals likewiſe ſeparated and divided their troops. Publius, who was proconſul and the eldeſt, took two thirds of the Roman ſoldiers, and, leaving his brother the reſt with thirty thouſand Celtiberian auxiliaries, marched towards the poſt, which Mago and his collegue poſſeſſed, about five days journey from the Roman camp. During his abſence, the Celtiberians, being bribed by Aſdrubal with large ſums, deſerted their general, and, marching away, left him in a melancholy ſituation. His brother Publius was already a great way off, and he was no-ways in a condition, having but a handful of Romans with him, either to keep thirty thouſand in awe, or without them to defend his camp againſt the numerous forces of Aſdrubal. His only refuge therefore was to retire, and keep at a diſtance from the enemy, which he did accordingly, paſſing the Iberus, and keeping that river between him and Aſdrubal's army. In the mean time, his brother Publius, arriving after five days march at the poſt, which Mago, and Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, poſſeſſed, was informed, that Maſiniſſa, after having conquered Syphax in Africa, had paſſed the ſtreights, and joined the Carthaginians with his victorious army. This gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the proconſul,

The two Scipios defeated and killed in Spain.

[n] Idem ibid. c. 16.

ful, who expected to engage only the Carthaginians, under the command of Mago and the ſon of Giſco. Notice was brought him at the ſame time, that a Spaniſh prince, named Indibilis, was in full march from the country of the Lacetani, where he reigned, to join the Carthaginians with ſeven thouſand five hundred men. Upon this intelligence, he decamped in the night, with a deſign to obſtruct the march of Indibilis, and fight him before he reached the enemy's camp. Accordingly, the next morning he met him, and had already ſurrounded him on all ſides, when all on a ſudden Maſiniſſa, who had narrowly watched his motions, appeared at the head of a numerous body of Numidian horſe, and unexpectedly attacked the Roman army in flank. The fight was then renewed with great fury on both ſides. Indibilis returned with his Lacetani to the charge; and at the ſame time Mago and the ſon of Giſco arriving, contrary to the proconſul's expectation, attacked his army in the rear. The brave Scipio, thus ſurrounded by three armies, flew from manipulus to manipulus, fighting as a common ſoldier in one place, and giving orders as a general in another. Thus, by his activity and undaunted courage, he kept up the ſpirits of his legionaries, who withſtood with an unparallelled bravery the numerous forces of the enemy, till their gallant commander was run through with a lance and left dead on the ſpot. Hereupon the Numidian horſe, who ſaw him fall, gave a great ſhout, crying out, The Roman general is dead. The death of ſo brave a commander damped the courage of the Romans, who thought of nothing now but retiring in good order. They cut their way, ſword in hand, through the enemy's infantry; but Maſiniſſa, falling upon them with his Numidian cavalry, put them in diſorder, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of them, that not one of the Romans would have eſcaped, had not night, which very ſeaſonably overtook them, obliged the Numidian to give over the purſuit.

In the mean time, Cneius, knowing nothing either of the death of his brother or the defeat of his legions, kept advancing on the banks of the Iberus towards the provinces of Spain, which were well affected to the Romans; when all on a ſudden he ſaw a very numerous army advancing towards him, and was ſoon after informed, that his brother was killed, his army entirely defeated, and his troops either diſperſed or cut in pieces. At this news he ſunk into a deep melancholy, and not being able to gain

any

any better retreat, he poſted himſelf on the top of an eminence, where the nature of the ground, which was very rocky, would not ſuffer him to make any fortifications, but with the baggage of the army. In this poſt the ſmall body he commanded was attacked by all the Carthaginian forces in Spain, under the conduct of the two Aſdrubals, of Mago, Maſiniſſa, and their ally Indibilis, who, after the defeat of Publius, had united their forces, in order to fall upon Cneius, and put an end to the war in Spain at one blow. The Romans, though ſurrounded on all ſides by numerous armies, forced their way through the enemy's battalions, without ſo much as offering to ſurrender; and, gaining the neighbouring mountains, eſcaped through by-ways to the camp of the deceaſed proconſul, which they found guarded by a ſmall number of troops, under the command of T. Fonteius, one of Publius's lieutenants. As for the brave Cneius, he loſt his life with a conſiderable number of legionaries in the action. Some writers tell us, that he retired, with ſome brave men, to a neighbouring tower, in which, the enemy having ſet fire to it, he was either ſtifled with the ſmoak, or burnt. Thus all the hopes of the Romans in Spain ſeemed extinguiſhed by the death of the two Scipios, who had been the chief ſupport of the republic, and had done her greater ſervices in thoſe countries, than Hannibal had done her hurt in Italy. The conſcript fathers now looked upon the affairs of Rome as quite ruined in Spain. But a young Roman knight, named C. Marcius, who had been brought up under Cneius, and had a wonderful genius for war, ſoon repaired the misfortunes which had made the wiſeſt men in the ſenate deſpond. Marcius, not diſcouraged by the loſs of two battles, put himſelf in motion, and being unanimouſly choſen general by the troops, he gathered together the fugitives, and repulſed Aſdrubal. the ſon of Giſco, who came to attack him in his camp. The brave Marcius, encouraged with this ſucceſs, formed a deſign, which would have been deemed a raſh attempt, had not his preſent circumſtances authorized it. The very next night he marched boldly to the enemy's camp, ſurpriſed it, and, having ſhut up all the paſſages out of it, ſet fire to the tents, which were covered with thatch. In the general confuſion, which the flames and the ſhouts of the Romans occaſioned, ſome of the Carthaginians haſtened to the gates of the camp, where they were cut in pieces by the legionaries who guarded them. Others leaped down from the top of the ramparts, but in endeavouring

The Carthaginians defeated in Spain by C. Marcius.

vouring to make their escape, were intercepted by the squadrons, which Marcius had placed in all the avenues leading to the camp. As they were unarmed and most of them naked, for Marcius surprised the camp in the dead of the night, the massacre was general. We are told, that the number of the dead on the side of the Carthaginians amounted to thirty-seven thousand, and that of the prisoners to eighteen hundred and thirty. Thus the mighty projects of the Carthaginian generals were entirely defeated, and Rome, notwithstanding the great losses she had sustained, maintained herself in possession of the provinces she had given up for lost [o].

The first care of the brave Marcius after so signal a victory was, to dispatch couriers with letters to the senate, informing them of his success, and demanding succours and provisions to enable him to maintain the war. In these letters he unluckily styled himself proprætor, a title which he had acquired only by a military election in the camp; and this slight offence against the authority of the haughty republic was resented to such a degree, that, notwithstanding the important services of Marcius, the senate resolved to recal him, and send another general in his room. Nay, some were for treating him as a criminal, and citing him as such to appear forthwith before the tribes. But the greater number chose to act a more moderate part, and, suppressing the title of proprætor in their answer, sent Marcius word, that they would take care to supply the Roman soldiers in Spain with cloaths and provisions. They thought it a dangerous precedent for the legions to assume the liberty of chusing their own commanders; and therefore they thought it necessary to convene the tribes, as soon as they conveniently could, in order to appoint another commander in the room of Marcius [p]. But, in the mean time, the consular year being ready to expire, Appius Claudius was recalled from Capua to preside in the comitia, when P. Sulpicius Galba and Cn. Fabius Centumalus were raised to the consular dignity. Apulia was assigned to them for their province, while the late consuls were, in quality of proconsuls; to continue the siege of Capua, which they shut up on all sides, proposing to reduce it rather by famine, than by force. But, notwithstanding the vigilance of the two proconsuls, a Numidian horseman, having crossed the

Capua shut up on all sides by the Romans.

Roman

[o] Liv. l. xxv. c. 39. Plin. l. ii. c. 107. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6.

[p] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 22.

Roman camp in the night, without being diſcovered, carried the news to Hannibal of the extremity to which the city was reduced. This engaged him at length to leave the blockade of the citidal of Tarentum, and march to the relief of the diſtreſſed city with his horſe, light-armed infantry, and thirty-three elephants. He found means to give the beſieged notice when he intended to attack the Romans, ordering them to make a vigorous ſally at the ſame time. The proconſuls, upon the firſt notice of the approach of the enemy, divided their troops, Appius taking upon him to make head againſt the garriſon, and Fulvius to defend the intrenchments againſt Hannibal, who, at the time agreed on before-hand with the Capuans, began the attack with incredible fury, while the garriſon, under the command of Hanno and Boſtar, two Carthaginian generals, fell upon the Romans at the ſa e time. Appius found no difficulty in repulſing the garriſon; and would have entered the city with them, had he not been wounded at the very gate, and by his wound diſabled from purſuing his deſign. As for Fulvius, he found it more difficult to withſtand the troops of Hannibal, who exerted themſelves with ſuch courage, reſolution, and intrepidity, as can hardly be expreſſed. A body of Spaniards and Numidians had even the boldneſs to paſs the ditch, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, climbing the ramparts, penetrated into the Roman camp. But as they were not ſeconded by the other troops, they were all to a man cut in pieces, which ſo diſheartened the Carthaginian general, eſpecially after the garriſon was repulſed, that he ſounded a retreat, which was made in good order. Some writers tell us, that eight thouſand of Hannibal's army, and three thouſand of the Capuan garriſon, were killed upon the ſpot, and that fifteen colours were taken from the former, and eigteen from the latter. Be that as it will; for there is a great diſagreement among authors as to the number of the dead; it is certain, that Hannibal was much perplexed what ſtep to take next, it being impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt long in a country, which was ruined and laid waſte. At length he formed a deſign worthy of himſelf, and the fitteſt to ſupport his glory and credit. He reſolved to march directly to Rome, and ſurpriſe that capital, while the inhabitants expected nothing leſs than to ſee Hannibal at their gates. One advantage at leaſt he concluded would attend this enterpriſe, which was a diverſion of the Roman forces before Capua; by which

Hannibal attempts in vain to relieve Capua.

Hannibal marches to Rome.

means

means proviſions might be conveyed more eaſily into that city. That the Capuans might not be ſo diſheartened by his abſence as to haſtily ſurrender, he found means to acquaint them with his deſign. The news of Hannibal's approach cauſed great apprehenſions at Rome. Some of the ſenators were for calling all the armies in Italy into the neighbourhood of Rome. But the great Fabius oppoſed this opinion, telling the conſcript fathers, that Hannibal's deſign was not to take Rome, but to deliver Capua. However, a middle way was taken, and meſſengers were ſent to the proconſuls, informing them of the ſtate of affairs, and leaving it to their judgment, either to continue both before Capua, or for one of them, with ſuch forces as could be ſpared, to come to the relief of the capital. Upon this it was agreed by the two collegues, that Appius ſhould continue before Capua, and that Fulvius, with fifteen thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, ſhould march to Rome. He ſet out accordingly, but took a different rout from Hannibal, the latter going by the Latin way, and the former by the Appian. The Roman troops were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions on their march by the allies and ſubjects of Rome; ſo that they met with no obſtruction, except in paſſing the Vulturnus, Hannibal having ſeized and burnt all the boats, which obliged the proconſul to ſpend ſome time in cutting timber, and makeing rafts to convey over his troops. As for Hannibal, he took a great compaſs before he came in ſight of Rome. From Capua he went to Cale, and from thence to Sidicinum; from Sidicinum he directed his march to Sueſſa, then to Allifæ. From this latter place he returned to the Latin way, and paſſing through Caſinum, Aquinum, and Interamna, encamped in the plains of Fregellæ. Hereupon the Fregellani, having firſt ſent one of their citizens with orders to travel night and day, in order to acquaint the ſenate with the approach of Hannibal, broke down their bridge on the Liris, which ſtopped the enemy's march for ſome time. However, after he had laid waſte the lands of the Fregellani, and built a new bridge over the Liris, he arrived at length by the Prænestine way within eight hundred paces of Rome. The alarm, which the approach of ſo formidable an enemy gave in all the quarters of the city, is not to be expreſſed. Fulvius was not yet arrived with his reinforcement, which occaſioned great uneaſineſs and doubled their fears, the more timorous, eſpecially

cially the women, whoſe ſhrieks were heard in all the ſtreets, believing he had been cut off with his whole army by Hannibal. But whille the city was in the utmoſt alarm, the proconſul appeared with his troops, and entered Rome by the gate Capena, having firſt received from the ſenate an authority equal to that of the conſuls for the better diſcharge of his employment. He marched through the city, and encamped with his army between the gates Eſquilina and Collina. The ædiles were charged to ſupply the camp with proviſions and all ſorts of ammunition; and the two conſuls, who had not yet left Rome, with the ſenate went thither to hold a council of war, in which due meaſures were taken for the defence of the city. The ſituation of Fulvius's camp was approved, and all the officers were aſſigned their poſts. The ramparts were lined with ſoldiers; troops were ſtationed at proper diſtances within the walls; and the ſenate thought it neceſſary to keep their aſſembly continually ſitting in the forum, to be ready againſt all emergencies. Theſe diſpoſitions ſo much intimidated Hannibal, that, deſpairing to compaſs his deſign of making himſelf maſter of Rome, he retired about three miles farther from it, and encamped beyond the Anio. Nevertheleſs, as he had the curioſity to ſatisfy himſelf of the condition of the enemy, he advanced at the head of two thouſand horſe towards the gate Collina, and appeared over-againſt the temple of Hercules. The proconſul Flaminius, provoked at this inſult, ſent out a detachment of cavalry to attack him; and at the ſame time ordered the twelve hundred Numidians, who had formerly deſerted from Hannibal, to ſupport the Roman cavalry. As they had been poſted by Fulvius on mount Aventine, they were obliged to march through the city; which they did in good order. But as the people did not know that the proconſul had any Numidians in his army, they imagined the city ſurpriſed, and ſuch was the fright and conſternation upon this falſe apprehenſion, that moſt of the inhabitants would have abandoned the city, had not Hannibal been at the gates. In this panic many of the citizens took arms, and falling upon the Numidians, killed ſome of them before they were undeceived. At length the Numidians, with the utmoſt difficulty, made their way through the terrified crouds, joined the Roman ſquadrons, and with them obliged Hannibal to retire in ſome confuſion to his camp. But as the Carthaginian general had no mind to give over the enterpriſe, without being obliged to it by

the loſs of a battle, in which he entertained great hopes of ſucceeding, he repaſſed the Anio, drew up his troops within reach of the enemy, and bid them defiance. Fulvius readily accepted the ehallenge, thinking he might venture a battle, almoſt without any danger, in ſight and at the foot of the ramparts of the city. Never were combatants more nearly concerned in intereſt, than both parties now were, to exert all their courage and reſolution. To take or preſerve Rome was the great end which the two armies propoſed to gain by the victory. When all things were ready for the onſet, a ſudden and violent ſtorm prevented the armies from engaging. The ſame thing happened the next day, when the ſtorm returned with ſuch violence, that both Romans and Carthaginians were obliged to return to their tents. To complete this prodigy, for it is looked upon as ſuch by ſome declamatory hiſtorians among the Latins, as ſoon as the armies had left the plain, the clouds diſappeared and the ſun returned. Polybius, who lived in, or ſoon after, thoſe times, and has given us a minute account of what paſſed on this occaſion, makes no mention either of preparations for an engagement, or of prodigies that prevented it. It is therefore probable, that Hannibal continued quiet in his camp, watching ſome favourable opportunity of putting his project in execution. As Rome was no longer alarmed, the ſenate provided for all affairs abroad with as much tranquillity, as if the enemy had been at a great diſtance.

A GOOD number of troops was ſent to reinforce the army in Spain; and this Hannibal looked upon as an inſult. But he was more concerned, when he was told by a deſerter, that a piece of land in the place, where he was then encamped, had been ſold at Rome as dear as if he had not been maſter of it. This exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he put up to ſale the bankers ſhops round the forum, and after this bravado drew nearer to the city, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the gate Capena. (Q). But he ſoon retired again, and encamping on the banks

Hannibal retires from before Rome.

(Q). Feſtus tells us, that Hannibal, when near the city of Rome, ſaw ſpectres in the air, which filled him with a ſudden terror, and obliged him to turn back immediately; and hence, according to that author, came the name Rediculus, which was given by the Romans to a new divinity of their own making. For, after Hannibal's retreat, the Romans erected a temple in the way

banks of the Turia, about ſix miles from Rome, ravaged the neighbouring country, and then marched into the territory of Capena; where he rifled a temple conſecrated to the goddeſs Feronia, carrying thence a conſiderable booty in gold and ſilver. He then purſued his march, paſſed the Liris, and, drawing near Capua, fell unexpectedly on Appius's camp in the night. A great number of Romans were killed on the ſpot, and Appius forced to leave his camp and fly to ſome eminences, where he intrenched himſelf, expecting every moment to be joined by his collegue Fulvius, who he apprehended could not be far off. But Hannibal, expecting to have all the Roman forces immediately upon him, abandoned all thoughts of relieving Capua, marched through Lucania and Brutium, and then entered the territory of Rhegium with ſuch expedition, that he had like to have ſurpriſed the city. In the mean time, Fulvius having rejoined his collegue before Capua, that city was ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. The proconſuls offered to ſpare the lives of all thoſe who ſhould repair to the Roman camp; but not one Capuan accepted the offer. The commanders of the Carthaginian garriſon wrote letters to Hannibal, full of reproaches, and preſſing him not to deſert them in ſo ſhameful a manner. But one of the Numidians, to whoſe care theſe letters were committed, being betrayed by his miſtreſs, who had followed him into the Roman camp, both he and his companions were ſeized, and driven back into the city, after having been whipt and had their thumbs cut off. At the ſight of the maimed Numidians, the people in the utmoſt conſternation obliged the ſenate to aſſemble,

way to the gate Capena, where he had encamped, conſecrating it to the god Rediculus. Others derive this name from the word ridiculus, which ſignifies any thing that deſerves to be laughed at. The ill ſucceſs of Hannibal's enterpriſe, ſay they, made the Romans very jocoſe upon him; and to perpetuate his ſhame, they erected a temple to the god Riſus or Laughter, whom they ſtyled rediculus or ridiculus. Varro, in his ſatire called "Hercules tuam fidem," gives this god the name of Tutanus, as if he had defended Rome againſt Hannibal. He makes this god ſpeak thus:

Noctu Hannibalis cum fugavi exercitum
Tutanus hoc, Tutanus Romæ nuncupor.
Hoc propter omnes, qui laborant, invocant.

aſſemble, in order to deliberate about the proper means of delivering them from the calamities which threatened them. Fear brought the ſenators together; and the majority were for ſurrendering upon the beſt terms they could obtain. But Vibius Virius, the chief author of the revolt, oppoſed this motion, and in a long ſpeech ſhewed them, that there was no room to hope for any favour from the Romans after ſo great provocations. He concluded his harangue, in which every thing favoured of rage and deſpair, with theſe words; 'Death is our only remedy. I 'have prepared a great entertainment at my houſe; where, 'after we have eat and drank plentifully, a cup of poiſon 'will end our days and misfortunes together. Let thoſe 'who deſpiſe life, follow me. A glorious death will pro-'cure us reſpect from the enemy, and the perfidious Han-'nibal will lament the loſs of allies, who did not deſerve 'to be thus deſerted and betrayed'. Twenty-ſeven of the aſſembled followed Virius, and cloſed the entertainment, to which they were invited, with a cup of poiſon. The reſt of the Capuans ſubmitted to the Romans, who were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the city, than they ſeized the Carthaginian garriſon and all the Copuan ſenators. The Carthaginians were made priſoners of war; but the ſenators were tried by the proconſuls, and fifty-three of them, who had been the moſt active againſt Rome, were ſent to two neighbouring cities, twenty-five to Cale, and twenty-eight to Teanum, to be kept under cloſe confinement, till their fate was determined. For Appius being inclined to clemency, and Fulvius to ſeverity, the diſpute grew warm between them; and Appius to put an end to it, referred the matter to the conſcript fathers, and in the mean time ſent the priſoners to the above-mentioned cities. But his colleague, without waiting for the decree of the ſenate, marched out of the camp at midnight, and haſtening with two thouſand horſe firſt to Cale, and then to Teanum, cauſed the fifty-three ſenators to be firſt beaten with rods and then beheaded. He received, juſt before the execution of thoſe at Teanum, letters from Rome with orders to ſuſpend it; but he put the packet into his boſom, and did not open the letters till all was over. And yet the republic never blamed him for this inſtance of ſeverity; being, without all doubt, pleaſed to ſee herſelf revenged, without incurring the odious charge of inhumanity among her allies [q]. As to the city of Capua, the republic kept to

Capua ſubmits to the Romans.

[q] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.

to herſelf the property of thoſe fruitful plains and of the houſes in the city, and tranſplanted thither freedmen to manure the lands. Theſe were governed by a præfect ſent thither annually to preſerve order in the place, and to hear cauſes. As to the antient inhabitants, they were deprived of their eſtates and effects, and diſperſed without hopes of ever returning to their native city, ſome of them being ſold for ſlaves, and others confined to ſeveral priſons, where they periſhed with hunger.

THE taking of Capua, in a manner before Hannibal's face, ſunk his reputation in all the provinces of Italy. However, Philip, king of Macedon, was preparing to come into Italy, purſuant to his engagements with the Carthaginian general. But the pro prætor Lævinus, having drawn ſome of the Greek ſtates into a confederacy with Rome, found him ſo much work at home, that he gave over all thoughts of carrying his arms into Italy; as we have related at length in our hiſtory of Macedon.

Aſdrubal outwits the Roman commander in Spain.

IN Spain, Claudius Nero, who had been ſent to ſucceed the Scipios ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully outwitted by Aſdrubal, the brother of Hannibal. He had ſhut up the Carthaginians on a neck of land, where they were reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that Aſdrubal promiſed to leave Spain with all his troops, provided the Romans would only grant them their lives. Claudius accepted the propoſal; but the artful Carthaginian, ſtarting every day new difficulties about evacuating the cities he poſſeſſed, found means to convey in the mean while moſt part of his troops over the mountains in the night-time, without the knowledge of the enemy, who, after the ſigning of the treaty, did not keep ſo watchful an eye over them. At length all the infantry gained the plains, Aſdrubal being left in the camp with the cavalry only and the elephants; and even theſe he found means to ſave by the help of a thick fog, which covered both armies. When the weather cleared up, Claudius found the Carthaginian camp deſerted, and himſelf egregiouſly deluded. He purſued the enemy, but to no purpoſe; for Aſdrubal, having joined his infantry, retired in good order, and eſcaped with the loſs of a ſmall number of his men, who were killed in ſome ſkirmiſhes between his rear-guard and the van-guard of the Romans[r]. The ſenate and people of Rome were much mortified, when

[r] Idem ibid. c. 17.

when they received this news; the centuries were immediately aſſembled to chuſe a proconſul, capable of retrieving the glory of the Roman name in Spain. But no candidates appearing, by reaſon that employment was generally diſliked, young Scipio, the ſon of the deceaſed proconſul, courageouſly offered himſelf for that hazardous enterprize. He was then but twenty-four years of age; and nevertheleſs, not only all the centuries, but every voter in each century, declared him proconſul of Spain [s]. He embarqued ſoon after at Oſtia with ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes, and ſet out for his province.

Young Scipio choſen proconſul of Spain.

AND now the time for electing new magiſtrates drawing near, Fulvius Centumalus was recalled from Campania to preſide in the comitia. The perſons raiſed to the conſular dignity were Marcellus, the fourth time, who had lately taken the city of Syracuſe, and Lævinus, the ſecond time, who lay ſick at Anticyra in Greece, after having ſignalized himſelf againſt Philip of Macedon, as we have related in the reign of that prince. As ſoon as Lævinus arrived, both conſuls applied themſelves wholly to the preparations for the approaching campaign. Sicily fell to Lævinus, and Marcellus was ordered to march againſt Hannibal, who, ſince the reduction of Capua, was marched into Brutium.

Salapia taken by Marcellus.

Marcellus began the campaign with the ſiege of Salapia in Apulia, which was betrayed to him by two leading men in the place. The Carthaginian garriſon, which conſiſted of five hundred brave Numidian horſe, ſeeing themſelves betrayed, reſolved to ſell their lives dear; and accordingly, quitting their horſes, fought on foot, and made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, till they were all cut in pieces, except fifty, who ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. From Apulia Marcellus marched into Samnium, where he recovered many cities, and took above three thouſand Carthaginian priſoners. But, in the mean time, the Romans received two very conſiderable checks; the one at Tarentum, where a ſquadron of ſhips, which they had ſent to ſupply the citadel with proviſions, was entirely defeated by the Tarentine fleet; the other in Apulia, where the proconſul Fulvius Centumalus was ſurpriſed by Hannibal, and cut off with eleven legionary tribunes and a great number of private men, ſome ſay thirteen thouſand, others only ſeven thouſand. However that be, this victory retrieved th

A Roman ſquadron defeat d by the Tarentine fleet.

[s] Polyb. l. x. c. 2.

the affairs and credit of Hannibal, and greatly diſcouraged the Roman ſenate and people, whoſe only hopes were now in Marcellus. This brave conſul was no ſooner informed of the defeat and death of Fulvius, than he marched in queſt of Hannibal, not doubting, as he wrote to the ſenate, but he ſhould ſoon damp the joy that ſwelled the mind of the proud conqueror. He came up with him near Numiſtro in Brutium, and, drawing up his men, offered him battle. The Carthaginian accepted the challenge; whereupon a bloody engagement enſued, which laſted the whole day, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. The next morning Marcellus marched out his army at ſun-riſing, and drew it up in the ſame place, where the battle had been fought the day before. But Hannibal not caring to hazard a ſecond engagement, kept his troops cloſe in their intrenchments, and decamped the night following. Marcellus purſued him from place to place; ſo that theſe two great generals ſpent the reſt of the campaign, the one watching for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other endeavouring to avoid it[t].

The progreſs of Scipio in Spain.

WHILE the Carthaginians were thus kept in awe by Marcellus in Italy, the arms of the republic in Spain proſpered beyond expectation under the conduct of young Scipio; who by the gracefulneſs of his perſon and his wonderful complaiſance, gained, on his firſt arrival, the hearts both of the Spaniards and Romans. The firſt time he reviewed his troops, he aſked for the brave Marcius, tenderly embracing him at the head of the army, heaped marks of diſtinction upon him, took him near his perſon, and was not aſhamed even to conſult him, and on ſeveral occaſions follow his advice. When the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, he bent all his thoughts on the executing of a deſign, which he had formed before he left Rome. This deſign he now communicated to C. Lælius, the commander of his fleet, and his intimate and inſeparable friend; but carefully concealed it from all others. His ſcheme was to ſurpriſe New Carthage, the capital of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, where all the enemy's treaſures, machines of war, and naval ſtores were lodged. It was agreed, that Lælius ſhould ſhut up the port with his fleet, while Scipio inveſted the city by land. With this view the whole army paſſed the Iberus, and, marching always in the night, arrived

[t] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 2. Plut. in Marcell.

rived the ſeventh day early in the morning before New Carthage. Then he imparted his deſign both to the officers and ſoldiers, repreſented to them of what importance the reduction of that city would be with regard to the entire conqueſt of Spain, and told them, that Neptune had appeared to him, adviſed him to that enterpriſe, and promiſed him ſucceſs. He added, that they would ſoon ſee a miracle wrought by the god in their favour. He knew the hour when the tide would ebb, and leave the city acceſſible to his land-forces on the ſide of the port; and he made uſe of this natural event, which was a myſtery to the ſoldiers, to perſuade them, that he had a ſupernatural knowledge. Having thus encouraged his troops, as ſoon as the tide ebbed, Scipio, at the head of five hundred reſolute men, entered the baſon, having learnt from ſome fiſhermen, that it was fordable when the tide was out, and marching up to the waiſt through the water, ſcaled the walls, which on that ſide were very low, while the Carthaginians were wholly intent on repulſing the Romans, who attacked the city on the land-ſide. The confuſion of the beſieged was ſo great, when they ſaw the Romans within the walls, that they abandoned the ramparts, and gave the reſt of the army an opportunity of breaking down one of the gates and entering the city. Mago, who commanded in the town, retired with his garriſon, conſiſting of a thouſand regular troops and two thouſand of the inhabitants, to the citadel; but was ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The priſoners in all amounted to ſix thouſand men, beſides women, children, and ſlaves. The Africans were reduced to ſlavery; but the Spaniards were ſuffered to enjoy their eſtates and live according to their own laws, only in ſubjection to Rome. Eighteen galleys belonging to the enemy were taken in the port, and an hundred and thirteen merchant-ſhips loaded with naval-ſtores. In the granaries were found forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, and two hundred and ſixty thouſand buſhels of barley; and in the armories an immenſe quantity of warlike machines of all ſorts with ſeventy-four ſtandards. As the city was taken by aſſault, Scipio gave it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, ordering them to bring all the booty into the market-place; where, upon taking an inventory of the whole, he found among other valuable effects two hundred and ſixty cups of gold, moſt of them weighing a pound, eighteen thouſand three hundred pounds weight of ſilver money, and a prodigious quantity of plate. All the braſs-money was diſtribu-

Scipio ſurpriſes New Carthage.

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ted among the ſoldiers, and the reſt of the rich ſpoils put into the hands of Caius Flaminius the quæſtor. The hoſtages likewiſe, whom the Carthaginians had demanded of the cities and provinces of Spain, were all found in the city, and ſent home by Scipio loaded with preſents. As for Mago and the other Carthaginian officers, they were put into the hands of Lælius, who treated them with great humanity [u].

AFTER this glorious day, the proconſul, leaving Lælius to command in the city, returned with his army to the camp, and ſpent the night there. The next morning, his officers, knowing that he was a great admirer of the fair ſex, brought to him a young virgin of extraordinary beauty. Where-ever ſhe appeared, ſhe charmed the eyes of all, and Scipio was ſtruck at the firſt ſight of her. But, though he was in the prime of his age, unmarried, and under no reſtraint, he did not ſuffer himſelf to be blinded by his riſing paſſion. He examined the beautiful captive concerning her country, birth, and engagements; and finding that ſhe was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, he ordered both him and the captive's parents to be ſent for, and put her untouched into their hands, telling them, that the only return he expected from them was, their friendſhip for his republic. The young Spaniard was ſo tranſported with joy, that he could not ſo much as return Scipio thanks. As for the parents of the captive, they had brought a conſiderable ſum for the ranſom of their daughter, which they offered to the generous proconſul as a preſent, ſince he had freely given her to her lover without ranſom. They preſſed and entreated him to accept of it, and at length, throwing the money at his feet, retired. But Scipio immediately beſtowed it on Allucius, as an addition on his part to his wife's fortune. This behaviour, truly heroic, did the Roman republic more ſervice than even the taking of new Carthage. Allucius declared in Celtiberia, that the gods had ſent into Spain a young conqueror almoſt equal to themſelves. Upon his report Celtiberia came over to the Roman party; Allucius joined the Roman troops at the head of fourteen hundred choſen horſe, and all Spain began to revolt from the Carthaginians. And now Scipio diſpatched Lælius, and with him Mago and the ſenators of new Carthage, in a quinquere-

A remarkable inſtance of Scipio's continence.

[u] Liv. l. xxvi. c. 43. & ſeq. Polyb. l. x. c. 11. Appian. in Ibericis.

mis to Rome, to give the ſenate an account of his ſucceſs. Never was news received with more applauſe. The republic little expected to recover her affairs in Spain, and feared ſhe had hazarded too much in the hands of a young general. The ſenate therefore was overjoyed to find, that the very firſt enterpriſe of their young commander had eclipſed the glory both of his father and uncle. At the ſame time, the republic received from Sicily the agreeable news of the total reduction of that iſland by the conſul Lævinus, the particulars whereof we have related at length in our hiſtory of the city and kingdom of Syracuſe.

LÆVINUS, having ſettled affairs in Sicily, was recalled by the ſenate to hold the comitia. But he was ſcarce arrived, when he was ordered to return to his province upon certain intelligence, that the Carthaginians were fitting out a new fleet with a deſign to attempt the recovery of Sicily. He was commanded by the ſenate to name a dictator, before he left Rome, to preſide in the comitia for the new elections. But, as he inſiſted upon deferring the nomination till he was in Sicily, and it was not thought proper to interrupt Marcellus in his purſuit of Hannibal, the tribunes of the people took upon them to name a dictator in their aſſembly, viz. Fulvius Flaccus, the proconſul of Campania. Thus the conſuls loſt the prerogative, which they had enjoyed time out of mind, of appointing dictators. The dictator, having aſſembled the tribes, was himſelf named conſul with Fabius Maximus. Two of the tribunes oppoſed the election of Fulvius as contrary to law; but the ſenate, well pleaſed with the choice that had been made of two ſuch able commanders, declared, that the dictatorſhip did not by any means diſqualify Fulvius from being choſen conſul. In the mean time, Lælius arriving from Spain with Mago, the ſenators of New Carthage, and the rich booty which had been taken there, the ſenate, as a mark of diſtinction to Scipio, continued him in his commiſſion of proconſul of Spain, not for one year only, but till an order ſhould be made for recalling him.

The conſuls loſe the prerogative of appointing dictators.

Tarentum beſieged by the Romans.

AND now, the ſeaſon of the year being fit for action, the two conſuls left Rome. Fabius undertook the ſiege of Tarentum, while Fulvius on one ſide, and Marcellus on the other, watched the motions of Hannibal, intercepted his convoys, and prevented his men from going in parties to plunder at any diſtance from their camp. The Carthaginian, being thus haraſſed and reduced to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, reſolved at length to engage Marcellus,

cellus, while the conſul Fulvius was at a great diſtance. Accordingly, having drawn up his men, and exhorted them to complete the work of Cannæ, he fell upon the Romans with incredible fury. After the engagement had laſted two hours with equal ſucceſs, the right wing of the Romans began to give way. Hereupon Marcellus ordered the eighteenth legion, which was poſted in the ſecond line, to advance into the firſt, and take the place of the body that began to retire; but as the legion advanced too ſlowly, and the troops, which they were to ſucceed, retreated with too much precipitation, the enemy laid hold of this opportunity to penetrate a great way into the Roman manipuli, and to put the whole right wing into diſorder. Marcellus ſtrove in vain to make them keep their ranks, and lead them back to the charge. They fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and their example was followed by the reſt of the army; ſo that Marcellus, now unſucceſsful for the firſt time, was obliged to return to his camp, leaving two thouſand ſeven hundred auxiliaries and Romans dead on the field of battle. Among theſe were two of his lieutenants, four centurions, and many perſons of diſtinction. Marcellus the ſame night aſſembled his troops, and, in a very angry ſpeech, reproached them with the bad ſucceſs of that melancholy action, which, he ſaid, was entirely owing to their cowardice. The ſoldiers readily owned their fault, and, aſking pardon for their ſudden flight, proteſted that they were ready to expoſe themſelves to any danger he ſhould think fit, with a firm reſolution either to die or conquer. Make ready then, replied the proconſul, to perform your promiſes to-morrow, and to deſerve the forgiveneſs you deſire. The next morning the legionaries were under arms, and ready to march by break of day. The manipuli, which had behaved ſo ſhamefully the day before, were placed, Plutarch ſays, at their own requeſt, in the firſt line, that they might have an opportunity of wiping off the ſhame of the day before. Marcellus, after his men had taken ſome nouriſhment, without letting their ardor cool, marched out of his camp, and drew up his army as uſual. Hannibal, ſurpriſed at this unexpected ſtep of the Roman general, cried out, What a ſtrange man is this Marcellus! whether conqueror, or conquered, he is always ready to fight. Let us march out, and teach him not to inſult, but to fear and reſpect his conquerors. Having thus ſpoke, he gave orders for the battle; the trumpets ſounded, and the attack began. The victory

Marcellus is routed by Hannibal.

But the next day gains a complete victory over them.

was for ſome hours diſputed with equal ſucceſs; but at length the Romans prevailed, and obliged the enemy to ſhelter themſelves in their camp. In this action Hannibal loſt eight thouſand of his beſt troops. However, Marcellus bought his victory dear; for three thouſand of his legionaries were killed upon the ſpot, and almoſt all the reſt wounded; ſo that he could not purſue Hannibal, who decamped the night after his defeat, retired into Brutium, and there intrenched himſelf, while Marcellus led his troops to Venuſia, to give them ſome reſpite and time to be cured [w].

Tarentum reduced.

In the mean time, the conſul Fulvius recovered, without bloodſhed, the provinces of Lucania and Hirpinia, and great part of Brutium. As for Fabius, who had undertaken the reduction of Tarentum, he was put in poſſeſſion of that wealthy and important city, by the commander of the Brutian troops in garriſon there, who let the Romans into the place in the night-time. The Romans, ſeeing themſelves maſters of the place, ſpared neither Carthaginians, Tarentines, nor Brutians; nay, ſome writers tell us, that thoſe among the latter, who had been privy to the treachery of their leader, were by Fabius's orders maſſacred the firſt, leſt, if he ſpared them, this fine conqueſt ſhould be imputed more to treachery, than to his prudence and bravery. But this conduct is no-ways ſuitable to the character of that great man [x]. The riches found in this maritime city were immenſe. The quæſtors are ſaid to have received, for the public treaſury, eighty-ſeven thouſand pounds weight of gold, and three thouſand talents of ſilver. As to the pictures and ſtatues, Fabius, who had no taſte for arts and therefore neglected them, being aſked by the quæſtors, What he would have done with thoſe maſterpieces of painting and ſculpture? returned the following anſwer, which all the antients mention; Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods. He alluded to the attitudes, in which the gods of Tarentum were repreſented; for, after the Lacedæmonian manner, they were generally armed with ſwords and in fighting poſtures. As for the inhabitants, thirty thouſand citizens, who eſcaped the general maſſacre, were reduced to ſlavery, and ſold to the beſt bidder. In ſhort, the Tarentines were reduced to ſo low a ſtate, that they became a reproach among their neighbours,

[w] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 12---15. Appian. in Hannibal. Plut. in Marcell. [x] Vide Plut. in Fab.

neighbours, and were employed, by Roman magiſtrates in the provinces, only as lictors and executioners [y]. As for Hannibal, upon the firſt news of the ſiege of Tarentum he had left Brutium, and haſtened to its relief. But when he was within five miles of the city, an account was brought him, that the Roman conſul had taken it by artifice. Upon which he cried out in great ſurprize; What! have the Romans then their Hannibal too! However, to ſave his honour, he did not immediately retire; but incamped on the place where he heard the news, and continued there ſome days. As Fabius did not offer to attack him, he marched at length to Metapontus, a city in his intereſt, and there contrived a ſtratagem, which had like to have proved fatal to Fabius. He ſent two of the inhabitants to the conſul with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place and the Carthaginian garriſon into his hands. Fabius, not ſuſpecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambuſh prepared for him, had not the augurs and aruſpices, who doubtleſs were more ſuſpicious and had better intelligence than the general, detained him in the camp, by declaring that the preſages were all unfortunate. Hannibal, impatient of Fabius's delays, ſent new emiſſaries; but theſe, being arreſted and threatened with ſevere puniſhments, confeſſed the ſecret [z].

In Spain, Scipio, having fortified New Carthage and left a ſtrong garriſon in it, marched to Tarracon, where he ſpent the winter in exerciſing his troops, and teaching them the exacteſt diſcipline. Early in the ſpring he took the field, and as the Carthaginian forces were ſtill divided into three bodies under three generals, he marched to attack Aſdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who was the neareſt to him, and whoſe army conſiſted almoſt wholly of Spaniards, except the Numidians Maſiniſſa had brought with him from Africa. The Carthaginian at his approach was much perplexed, not knowing what courſe to take. But at length he reſolved to hazard a battle, intending, if it proved unſucceſsful, to make the beſt of his way to the Pyrenees, and, croſſing Gaul, enter Italy. He poſted himſelf on an eminence in the midſt of a plain watered by a river, which, winding round the eminence, made it a peninſula. This was a very advantageous poſt; but Scipio, after two days

Further progreſs of Scipio in Spain.

[y] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Fab. Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 3.

[z] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 16. Cic. de ſenec. Plut. in Fab.

days conſideration, reſolved to attack him before he was joined by the other Aſdrubal and Mago. He ſucceeded in the attempt; the enemy was entirely routed; and Aſdrubal, accompanied by Maſiniſſa, fled towards the Pyrenees, with as many troops and elephants as he could get together. The fame of this memorable action brought many of the petty princes of Spain to the Roman camp, and induced all the nations beyond the Iberus to renounce the Carthaginian party with great ſincerity. While Scipio continued in the camp of Aſdrubal, the quæſtor brought to him a youth, named Maſſiva, who had been found among the captives, and, by his comelineſs and an air of grandeur in his deportment, ſeemed to be of noble extraction. The proconſul, finding, upon examining him, that he was a nephew of Maſiniſſa, ordered him to be treated according to his rank; and when he had finiſhed ſome other affairs, he ſent for the young prince, and aſked him, whether he deſired to return to his uncle? Maſſiva anſwered with tears in his eyes, that this was the utmoſt of his wiſhes. Upon this the proconſul, having ordered him to be richly dreſſed, preſented him with a horſe finely accoutred, and in this manner ſent him back under a guard. Theſe were the methods by which Scipio gained the affections even of his enemies. The flight of Aſdrubal towards the Pyrenees gave the proconſul no ſmall uneaſineſs; however, he would not purſue him, but choſe rather to lead his victorious army into the heart of the country, and fix the ſeveral nations in an alliance with his republic. As to the Carthaginian generals, they joined their armies, and having conſulted together about the beſt meaſures to be taken, it was reſolved, that the ſon of Giſco ſhould reſign his troops to Mago, and repair to the Balearic iſlands to make new levies there, that Mago ſhould poſt himſelf in Luſitania, and that Aſdrubal ſhould march for Italy, and there join his brother with as many Spaniſh troops as he could get together [a].

Aſdrubal entirely defeated.

In Italy, the time for the new elections drawing near, Fulvius was recalled to preſide in the comitia, when Marcellus was choſen the fifth time, and with him T. Quinctius Criſpinus the ſecond time. The new conſuls no ſooner entered upon their office, than they took the field, and, uniting their forces, formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters of Locri, a ſtrong city in the intereſt of Hannibal. With this view they ordered a body of troops thither, which was

[a] Liv. ibid. c. 19. Polyb. l. x. c. 37.

was encamped before Tarentum. But Hannibal, being informed by the Thurians of the march of this detachment, surprized them near the river Laiis, killed two thousand of them, and took twelve hundred prisoners. Hereupon the two consuls advanced against Hannibal, and, drawing up their forces, offered him battle, which he declined, waiting for an opportunity to deceive the enemy by some stratagem; wherein he succeeded at length even beyond his expectation. Between his camp and that of the Romans was a little hill very convenient for encampments, being well supplied with water. As it was nearest to Hannibal, the Romans were surprised that he had not taken possession of it at first; and murmured against their generals for not being so quick, as they would have them, to seize such an advantageous post. At length Marcellus, to comply with their importunity, proposed to his collegue to go with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, and take a view of the eminence which seemed so inviting to the soldiery. Quinctius approving of the motion, the two consuls set out on an expedition, which would have better become a private centinel or an inferior officer, than the heads of the republic. Marcellus was so little apprehensive of danger, that he left orders with his army to decamp on the first signal, and advance to take possession of this new post. Hannibal had hid a detachment of Numidians in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes which covered it. These, coming out of their ambush, surprised and surrounded the two consuls and their guards; so that they could neither retreat, nor gain the top of the eminence. Being overwhelmed with showers of darts, they fell with fury on those who cut off their retreat; and perhaps the two consuls would have made their way through the enemy, had they not been deserted by the cowardly Hetrurians, of whom their guard chiefly consisted. The Hetrurians having fled or laid down their arms at the first appearance of danger, the consuls were left with only five or six Roman officers and about forty soldiers. These brave men fought with great courage and resolution, and had already opened a passage, when Marcellus, being mortally wounded by a dart, fell from his horse and died. His collegue, though dangerously wounded in two places, and Marcellus the son of the deceased consul, then a legionary tribune, behaved themselves so valiantly, that, with the assistance of their small guard, they returned, in spite of all opposition, to the camp. Thus died the renowned Marcellus

Hannibal gains an advantage over the Romans.

Marcellus is slain, and the other consul mortally wounded.

cellus, ſurnamed The ſword of the republic, a man famou for many victories, the terror of Hannibal, and the conqueror of Syracuſe. Though antiquity has taxed his prudence as a general, on account of this laſt raſh attempt; yet it is certain, that on all other occaſions he diſplayed the accompliſhed hero. Hannibal, upon the news of his death, flew to the place, where the body of his rival lay; and at the ſight of it ſhewed no marks of joy, but ſeemed rather to pity the misfortune of ſo great a man, in loſing his life in a manner unworthy of ſo renowned a commander. His firſt care was to take off the ring which the dead conſul had on his finger, and with which he ſealed his diſpatches, not doubting, but he ſhould have ſome opportunity or other of making uſe of it to his advantage. Then, having for ſome time admired the ſtature and noble mien of the deceaſed, he ordered the body to be wrapt up in a rich ſtuff, laid on a funeral pile, and burnt. He gathered up the aſhes, incloſed them in a ſilver urn, on which he placed a crown of gold and another of laurel, and in this pompous manner ſent the remains of the father to the ſon, who ſhewed them all thoſe marks of diſtinction which the illuſtrious father deſerved [b]. Livy, without mentioning any of theſe circumſtances, only tells us, that the body of the deceaſed conſul was buried by the Carthaginian general [c]. The ſurviving conſul, being dangerouſly wounded, decamped the following night, and poſted himſelf among inacceſſible mountains, and from his aſylum diſpatched meſſengers to all the neighbouring cities in the intereſt of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, leſt Hannibal, who was maſter of his ring, ſhould attempt to deceive them by letters ſent to them in his name. This precaution preſerved Salapia in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himſelf: for a Roman deſerter having brought them a letter, as from the deceaſed conſul, acquainting them, that he would be there the next day, and ordering them to make the neceſſary preparations for his reception, the Salapians admitted ſix hundred of Hannibal's men, moſt of them Roman deſerters, into the town, and then all on a ſudden pulling up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces thoſe who had entered, and with a ſhower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the reſt. Hannibal, being thus diſappointed in his attempt upon Salapia, marched with all his forces to the relief of Locri,

[b] Plut. in Marcell. [c] Liv. ibid.

Locri, which the Romans had cloſely inveſted by ſea and land. Upon his approach the Romans were ſo terrified, that Cincius, the admiral of the fleet, immediately ſounded a retreat, and, having embarqued all the land-forces on board his gallies, ſailed away, and returned to Rome. In the mean time, the conſul Quinctius, having left his poſt among the mountains, came and encamped near Capua, whence he ſent letters to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of his collegue, and deſiring them to depute to him three men of prudence and integrity, with whom he might confer about the proper meaſures to be taken by the republic, ſince, his wounds proving mortal, he was drawing near his end. Accordingly, three ſenators were commiſſioned to receive his laſt advice; and at their requeſt he appointed a dictator to hold the comitia for the next elections. The perſon he choſe was T. Manlius Torquatus, who named C. Servilius for his general of the horſe. Soon after the conſul died. However, the Romans were a little comforted for the loſs of both their conſuls, with news from Sicily, that Lævinus, who commanded a fleet of an hundred ſail, had made a deſcent on Africa, brought from thence an immenſe booty, and afterwards defeated a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea [d].

The Romans are forced to raiſe the ſiege of Locri.

T. Manlius Torquatus dictator.

To retrieve the affairs of the republic, it was neceſſary, that two men of unexceptionable prudence and bravery ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate. The ſenate therefore caſt their eyes on Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator. The former was a man of uncommon bravery, but bold and enterpriſing, the latter more ſedate and calm, and therefore fit to temper the vivacity of his collegue. Livius had diſcharged the office of conſul twelve years before with great prudence; but, being unjuſtly cenſured by the people for a pretended unequal diviſion of the ſpoils of Illyricum, he had out of pique, retired to a country-houſe, and there, letting his hair and beard grow, lived like a man in diſgrace, till the cenſors obliged him to ſhave himſelf, and take his place in the ſenate; and even then he ſtill ſhewed his reſentment, giving his opinion by a yes or a no. As he was a man of unqueſtionable abilities, both the ſenate and the dictator thought him a proper perſon to be joined with Nero. But it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that they prevailed upon him to accept the dignity offered him. It fell to his lot to march againſt Aſdrubal, who was making the

[d] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 28. Appian. in Hannibalic. Plut. in Marcell.

the beſt of his way over the Alps into Italy to join his brother, and to Nero's lot to act againſt Hannibal in Brutium. Levies were raiſed with great rigor, and the Volones, formerly diſciplined by Sempronius, were obliged to ſerve again. Beſides the forces raiſed in Italy, Scipio ſent from Spain to Livius two thouſand legionaries, eight thouſand Spaniards and Gauls, and about two thouſand horſe, partly Numidians and partly Spaniards. Early in the ſpring the two conſuls took the field. Nero, at the head of forty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, encamped within five hundred paces of Hannibal's army; and having privately ſent a conſiderable detachment to fall upon the enemy in the rear from the eminences behind them, gained by this ſtratagem a victory, killed eight thouſand of the enemy, and took ſeven thouſand priſoners, with the loſs only of five hundred men. After this defeat Hannibal decamped in the night from the neighbourhood of Grumentum in Lucania, where the battle was fought. But the Romans purſued him with ſo much expedition, that they came up with him near Venuſia, and in another battle killed two thouſand of his men; which obliged him to make the beſt of his way to Metapontus, in order to join Hanno, whom he had ſent to make new levies in Brutium [e].

Hannibal defeated by the conſul Nero.

While the conſul was thus purſuing and haraſſing Hannibal, a courier fell into the hands of the Romans with letters from Aſdrubal to his brother, importing, that he had paſſed the Alps, and that he was repairing to Umbria, in hopes that Hannibal would join him there. Upon this intelligence, the conſul Nero, having appointed one of his lieutenants to command the army, ſet out in the night with ſix thouſand of his choiceſt troops, cauſing a report to be ſpread, that he was going to attack a Carthaginian garriſon in a neighbouring city of Lucania. But his true deſign, which he diſcloſed to no-body, was to join his colleague, and give Aſdrubal battle, before his brother could come to his aſſiſtance. With this view he took the road to Picenum, and advanced with incredible expedition towards Ciſalpine Gaul, his ſoldiers, to whom he imparted his deſign, when he was got to a conſiderable diſtance from his camp, marching night and day at a great rate. At length he drew near his collegue's camp, and entered it in the night to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A coun-

cil

[e] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 35.

cil of war was held, in which it was resolved to give the enemy battle without delay. But Asdrubal, perceiving that the Romans were reinforced, decamped in the night, and after a long and tedious march came to the Metaurus, a river in Umbria, but postponed the passing of it till day-break. In the mean time, the Romans overtaking him, obliged him to give battle in a disadvantageous situation, and when his men were quite spent with hunger and want of rest. The consuls gained a complete victory, killed about fifty-six thousand of the enemy on the spot, and took a great many prisoners. As for Asdrubal himself, as soon as he saw the total defeat of his army, he threw himself into the midst of a Roman battalion, and died fighting. The Romans are said by some writers to have lost eight thousand men in this action; but others reduce them only to two thousand. The consul Nero after this glorious victory did not continue so much as one whole night in his collegue's camp; but, having cut off Asdrubal's head and taken it with him, he returned with such expedition, that in six days time he reached his camp at Canusium. On his return he sent some of the natives of Carthage, whom he had taken prisoners in the late battle, to Hannibal's camp in chains, that they might publish the victory there. At the same time, he ordered Asdrubal's head to be thrown into the enemy's trenches, or, as some say, to be fixed on a pole near them. This sight, with the report of the captives, filled Hannibal with horror and sadness. He is said in the height of his grief to have cried out, O Carthage; unhappy Carthage! I am sinking under the pressure of thy fate; and then he immediately decamped and retired into Brutium [f].

Asdrubal defeated and slain.

The republic for a whole year had received no account of any new exploits in Spain. But now, to add to her joy, Lucius Scipio, the brother of the proconsul, arrived at Rome, and brought news, that Silanus, the proprætor under Scipio, had, with a detachment of ten thousand foot and five hundred horse, routed the united forces of Mago and Hanno; that he himself with another detachment had besieged and taken Aurinx, a city of importance on the confines of Lower Bœtica; and, lastly, that Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, to whom Mago had fled after his defeat, was confined to a corner of Spain near the streights of Gades.

Advantages gained by Scipio in Spain.

[f] Liv. l. xxvii. c. 46---51. Polyb. l. xi. c. 1. Appian. in Hannibal. Oros. l. iv. Zonar. l. ix. c. 9.

Gades. Lucius Scipio, who brought this news, came to Rome, attended by Hanno and many other Carthaginians of diſtinction taken in the war. Thus was the proſperity of the Romans completed in this happy year [g].

THE next year the new conſuls, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and L. Veturius Philo, carried on the war jointly in Brutium againſt Hannibal, who, though his troops were in a manner ſtarving, and in want of the common neceſſaries of life, with which Brutium could not ſupply them, gained notwithſtanding ſome advantage over the conſuls in the plains of Coſentia, where he continued encamped the reſt of the ſummer, the conſuls not daring to attack him. But, while Hannibal was upon the defenſive in Italy, Scipio gave the Carthaginians no reſpite in Spain. He marched at the head of forty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, againſt the united forces of Mago and Aſdrubal, conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand foot and four thouſand five hundred horſe, engaged them in a large plain near Bœcula, on the confines of Bœtica, and gained a complete victory over them. The Carthaginians indeed behaved with extraordinary valour, and made ſuch a reſolute reſiſtance, as almoſt diſheartened the Romans; inſomuch, that Scipio was forced to diſmount, ſeize a buckler, and throw himſelf ſword in hand into the midſt of the African battalions, before he could engage his men to make the neceſſary efforts to decide the day in their favour. Aſdrubal fled to his camp, but abandoned it in the night and retired towards the ſea. Scipio purſued him cloſe, and coming up with him, made a ſecond furious havock of his men; inſomuch, that of his vaſt army only ſix thouſand were left about him, the Carthaginians being for the moſt part killed, and the Spaniards returned after the firſt battle to their reſpective countries. With theſe ſmall remains of ſo numerous an army, the three chiefs, Aſdrubal, Mago, and Maſiniſſa, gained the ſummit of a ſteep hill, and there intrenched themſelves as well as they could. As the ſea was near, firſt Aſdrubal, and afterwards Mago, eſcaped in the night by a ſhameful flight, and finding ſhips ready to ſail, embarqued for Gades, leaving their men to ſhift for themſelves. Maſiniſſa continued on the hill, where he was inveſted by Silanus, whom Scipio left there with a detachment, while he himſelf returned to Tarracon. A few days after the departure of the proconſul, Silanus had a private interview with Maſiniſſa; and

Scipio gains a complete victory over the Carthaginians in Spain.

[g] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 1.

and though we know not the conditions of the engagement, into which the Numidian king entered with Rome, it is certain he bound himſelf by ſuch ties as proved indiſſoluble. The effects of his good underſtanding with Silanus immediately appeared, the troops he commanded on the rock being allowed to diſperſe, and he to return into his own dominions, where he took proper meaſures to ſupport the party he had newly embraced [h].

SPAIN being now almoſt totally reduced, Scipio ſent Lælius into Africa to negotiate an alliance with Syphax, king of Maſæſylia, who had eſpouſed the Carthaginian party. As Lælius was only a ſubaltern in Scipio's army, the king, for his greater ſecurity, inſiſted upon having a perſonal conference with the proconſul himſelf. Hereupon Scipio, whoſe great ſoul was above the fear of danger, having left the brave Marcius at Tarracon with part of the army, and ſent Silanus with the reſt to New Carthage, embarqued with Lælius for Africa, and arrived at the capital of king Syphax. As the fugitive Aſdrubal happened to arrive there at the ſame time, the Numidian king would fain have had Scipio enter into a conference with the Carthaginian, in order to an amicable accommodation. But the proconſul excuſed himſelf, as not having received any commiſſion to treat of peace. However, he accepted the invitation to dine at the king's table with Aſdrubal; on which occaſion he appeared as much ſuperior to his rival in the charms of converſation, as he had been in war. Syphax was ſo taken with his eloquence, addreſs, and noble behaviour, that he entered into a ſecret treaty with him, amuſing the Carthaginian, who had a fleet there, till the proconſul was ſafely arrived at New Carthage. Upon his return he marched in perſon to beſiege Illiturgis, and ſent Marcius to reduce Caſtulo; both which cities had revolted from the Romans. The former being taken by aſſault, all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age, were put to the ſword, and the city razed. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. Marcius in the next place appeared before Aſtapa, the inhabitants of which city, obſtinately devoted to the Carthaginians, ſallied out in good order to attack the Romans, and all died fighting, except fifty, who had been left in the city to guard their effects, their wives

Scipio paſſes over into Africa to treat with king Syphax.

Illiturgis, Caſtulo, and Aſtapa taken by the Romans.

[h] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 15, & ſeq. Appian. in Ibericis. Polyb. l. xi. c. 21.

wives and children, whom they had brought into the market-place deſigning to deſtroy them all with fire and ſword, in caſe the Romans ſhould prevail. This truſt they diſcharged upon the firſt news of the defeat of their countrymen, ſetting fire to a great pile, on the top of which they had placed the women, children, and their moſt valuable moveables. This done, they threw themſelves into the flames, leaving the Romans maſters of an empty city. While Marcius was thus executing vengeance on the rebellious cities, Scipio was returned to New Carthage, where he fell dangerouſly ſick; and a report being ſpread that he was dead, not only Indibilis and Mandonius, two petty kings mentioned above, immediately revolted from the Romans; but eight thouſand legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro, mutinied, drove away their leaders, and choſe two common ſoldiers, Atrius and Albius, to conduct them. Theſe fellows, ſeeing themſelves at the head of eight thouſand Roman legionaries, had the inſolence to uſurp the conſular dignity, and to order lictors to march before them. The pretence for the mutiny was their not having received pay for ſix months. But, in the mean time, the proconſul, having recovered his health, and by a ſtratagem ſecured the ring-leaders of the revolt, cauſed their heads to be ſtruck off; which ſo terrified the reſt, that they all returned to their duty, and took a new military oath. As to the Spaniſh princes, who had revolted, Scipio was informed, that they had raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, and that they were living upon free quarter in the territories of the friends of Rome. Hereupon he marched againſt them, and coming up with them in the country of the Sedetani, gained there a complete victory, ſeventeen thouſand Spaniards being killed upon the ſpot. After this defeat, the two kings had no reſource, but in the clemency of the conqueror, who contented himſelf with obliging them to ſupply him with money enough to pay his troops. After this the proconſul marched with part of his troops towards Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian intereſt. His chief deſign in this journey was, to have an opportunity of conferring with Maſiniſſa, who had ſhut himſelf up in that city with Mago, and was impatient to have a conference with the Roman general. Accordingly the Numidian prince, under pretence of going out to forage, met Scipio, and entered into an alliance with Rome, adviſing the proconſul to paſs over into Africa, and lay ſiege to Carthage

A mutiny in Scipio's army.

The Spaniſh rebels defeated.

Maſiniſſa confers privately with Scipio, and enters into an alliance with Rome.

Carthage itself, which, he said, would be easily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconsul returned to Tarracon, and Masinissa to Gades, after having pillaged some part of the continent to conceal the true design of his journey. Soon after Mago received orders to leave Gades, and hasten with all his forces to the assistance of Hannibal in Italy. Upon his departure, the Gaditani immediately submitted to the Romans, who were now become masters of all Spain. As Mago was coasting along Spain in his way to Italy, he formed a rash design of surprising New Carthage; but lost in the attempt eight thousand men; which misfortune obliged him to stop at the Balearic islands, where he forced ten thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and did not sail from those islands for Italy till the spring. At Rome, the senate no sooner received an account of the entire reduction of Spain, but they determined to recal Scipio; and accordingly, without giving him time to enjoy any rest after his fatigues, or even waiting for the new comitia, they dispatched two persons to succeed him, Cornelius Lentulus and Manlius Acidinus; the former was to govern the Hither Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Sucro, and the latter the Further Spain, from the Sucro to the Ocean. To these Scipio surrendered the fasces without murmuring, and, attended by his faithful Lælius and his brother Lucius, immediately set sail with a squadron of ten ships, and returned to Italy [i].

Scipio, having reduced all Spain, is recalled.

As Scipio arrived at Rome about the time of the new elections, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in his favour, though he had not yet attained to the years customarily required for the consular dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The collegue appointed him was P. Licinius Crassus, surnamed Dives, and at this time pontifex maximus. When the fathers came to settle the provinces of the new consuls, Scipio desired to be sent into Africa. But old Fabius, now president of the senate, in a long and studied speech, laboured to set forth the dangers of such an enterprise. It was very visible, that jealousy of a rising merit, which already began to eclipse his own, was what chiefly animated Fabius at this time; and Scipio in his answer did not fail to expose this infirmity of the old president. After long and warm debates, the affair of the provinces of

Scipio is chosen consul.

[i] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 24. & seq. Appian. in Ibericis. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10, 11.

And ſent into Sicily.

the two conſuls was put to the vote, when it was decreed, that Scipio ſhould command in Sicily, and that, if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might, with the fleet there, conſiſting only of thirty ſhips of war, paſs over into Africa. As for Licinius, he was directed to carry on the war againſt Hannibal in Brutium. Scipio, whoſe thoughts were wholly bent on Africa, notwithſtanding his collegue, at the perſuaſion of Fabius, did all he could to obſtruct his meaſures, obtained leave to take with him into Sicily as many voluntiers as he could get together, and a power to aſk of the allies all things neceſſary for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themſelves to furniſh him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for ſails, &c. ſo that in forty days time after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to ſet ſail, with a fleet of thirty new galleys and about ſeven thouſand voluntiers [k].

Mago, the brother of Hannibal, lands with an army in Italy.

In the mean time, news was brought to Rome, that Mago, the brother of Hannibal, had landed in Liguria with twelve thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, and that his army was, ſoon after his landing, greatly ſwelled by the Gauls and Ligurians, who flocked to him from all parts. At the ſame time, the conſul Licinius ſent the ſenate an account, that the plague raged in his camp and obliged him to continue inactive. But, as Hannibal's troops were affected with the ſame diſtemper, and had alſo a famine to ſtruggle with, eighty ſhips, loaded with proviſions for him and his brother Mago, having been lately taken by a Roman ſquadron, the fears of the people were entirely quieted [l].

During this inaction in Italy, Scipio, having diſciplined the voluntiers he had brought with him into Sicily, ſent Lælius with the choiceſt of them on board a fleet of thirty galleys, to make a deſcent in Africa and pillage the country.

Lælius makes a deſcent in Africa.

Lælius landed near Hippo, laid the territory about it waſte, and threw the people of Carthage into the utmoſt conſternation. Maſiniſſa was no ſooner informed of the arrival of Lælius, than he went to confer with him; and expreſſed his ſurprize, that Scipio ſo long delayed his departure from Sicily, ſince there could never be a more favourable opportunity of attacking Carthage, which was deſtitute both of men and proviſions. The Numidian promiſed to join

[k] Liv. l. xxviii. c. 43, & ſeq. Plut. in Fab.

[l] Liv. ibid. c. 45.

join Scipio, the moment he arrived, with all his forces; but adviſed Lælius to embarque his troops, and return without delay, ſince the Carthaginian fleet was getting ready to intercept him. Lælius followed his advice, and, weighing anchor the next day, arrived ſafe in Sicily with an immenſe booty. In the mean time, Mago in Liguria received from Carthage a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, with vaſt ſums for raiſing troops in Ciſalpine Gaul. But, notwithſtanding all he could do, Livius and Lucretius, who commanded two Roman armies in the neighbourhood of Ariminum, took their meaſures ſo well, that he was forced to continue in Liguria, though he had been ordered by his republic to join his brother in Brutium [m].

In the mean time, Scipio, having ſurprized the city of Locri, which ſtood on the ſea-coaſt near Sicily, and left Pleminius governor of the place, returned to the ſaid iſland, and there went on with the preparations for his African expedition, hoping, that, at leaſt the next year, the republic would ſuffer him to carry the war into the neighbourhood of Carthage. In Spain, Mandonius and Indibilis, deſpiſing the new proconſuls, revolted from the Romans; but were entirely defeated in a pitched battle, thirteen thouſand of the Spaniards being killed on the ſpot, among whom was Indibilis himſelf, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. After this defeat, the Spaniards ſeized Mandonius with the other heads of the revolt, and ſent them under a ſtrong guard to the camp of the proconſuls Lentulus and Acidinus, who had inſiſted on this as a condition of their obtaining mercy. In Italy, the plague made a dreadful havock in the camp of the conſul Licinius, as well as in that of the enemy; ſo that nothing was attempted on either ſide during this campaign. Licinius not being in a condition to return to Rome, named Cæcilius, the proconſul in Brutium, to hold the comitia for the new elections. M. Cornelius Cethegus and P. Sempronius Tuditanus were choſen conſuls. The latter was then in Greece, and, before he left that country, he entered into a treaty of peace with Philip king of Macedon, which was confirmed by the ſenate. Licinius in quality of proconſul was ordered to continue the war againſt Hannibal, Livius to watch Mago in Ciſalpine Gaul, and Scipio to remain in Sicily. The latter was allowed to paſs over into Africa, and to chuſe ſuch of the Roman troops in Sicily as he thought fit for that enterpriſe. We

The Spaniſh rebels entirely defeated.

[m] Liv. l. xxix. c. 4.

have obſerved above, that Scipio had gained over to the Roman intereſt the two Numidian kings, Syphax and Maſiniſſa. On the other hand, Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, undertook to draw off one of them at leaſt, by means of his daughter Sophoniſba, who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a woman of extraordinary beauty, ſublime genius, engaging manner, and of a courage above her ſex. Her father, to gain Maſiniſſa, had promiſed her in marriage to him; but, that prince being afterwards unfortunately diſpoſſeſſed of the throne of his anceſtors, Aſdrubal broke his word, and gave her to Syphax, who, forgetting his engagements with Scipio, entered into an alliance with Carthage. However, to keep ſome meaſures with Rome, he wrote to Scipio, acquainting him with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the Carthaginians, and the neceſſity he was under of taking part with them, in caſe they were attacked. The proconſul received this letter with ſome ſurpriſe; but, concealing the contents of it from his army, he aſſembled his troops, and told them, that both Maſiniſſa and Syphax complained of his dilatorineſs, and preſſed him not to delay his departure, ſince they were ready to join him with all their forces; he then ordered his fleet to the port of Lilybæum, and commanded his troops to repair thither by land. It is not certain what number of men Scipio embarqued; but never was embarquation made with more order and ſolemnity. The concourſe of people who came from all parts to ſee him ſet ſail and wiſh him a proſperous voyage, was prodigious. Juſt before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and, after a herald had proclaimed ſilence, addreſſed a ſolemn prayer to the gods; which ended, he ordered a victim to be ſlain, threw the entrails into the ſea, and then, the trumpets ſounding, he weighed anchor, ſailed out of the harbour with a favourable wind, and, arriving ſafe on the coaſt of Africa, landed at the Fair Promontory, where we ſhall leave him a while to return to the affairs of Italy.

Sophoniſba is given in marriage to Syphax, who enters into an alliance with Carthage.

Scipio embarques for Africa.

THE conſul Sempronius no ſooner arrived in his province, but he marched towards Croton, where Hannibal was encamped. The Carthaginian met him unexpectedly on his march, and having forced him to fight before he could draw up his men, killed twelve hundred Romans, and obliged the reſt to retire in diſorder. The conſul encamped at ſome diſtance from the enemy, and reſolved to hazard a ſecond battle, when joined by the proconſul Licinius, who was not far off. Accordingly, he was no ſooner reinforced

Hannibal gains ſome advantage over the conſul Sempronius.

reinforced by the proconſular army, but he marched out of his intrenchments, and bid the enemy defiance. Hannibal was too proud of his late victory not to accept the challenge. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end the Romans prevailed, killed four thouſand of the enemy on the ſpot, and took about three hundred priſoners and eleven ſtandards. After this defeat Hannibal retired to Croton, and appeared no more in the field the whole campaign. But the conſul Sempronius, taking advantage of the enemy's inaction, made himſelf maſter of Petilia, Clampetia, Coſentia, and Pandoſia; and then returned to Rome to erect a temple to Fortune, which he had vowed before the laſt battle, in caſe it proved ſucceſsful. On the other hand, the conſul Cethegus, who acted againſt Mago, kept Hetruria and Ciſalpine Gaul in awe; ſo that the Carthaginian, who was not in a condition to force the Roman intrenchments, gave over all thoughts of joining his brother this campaign[n].

But is afterwards defeated by him.

Several cities in Brutium taken by the Romans.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, Scipio, as we have obſerved above, arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Africa. The alarm and terror, which this unexpected deſcent cauſed at Carthage, is not to be expreſſed. The republic had no general to make head againſt Scipio, except Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, who was not a match for him; nor was ſhe provided with any regular and diſciplined troops. Scipio, having ordered his fleet to Utica, encamped with his land-forces on certain eminences at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, and from thence ſent out a detachment of five hundred men to forage. Theſe were attacked by a flying party under the command of Hanno, a young warrior, who had been ordered to obſerve the enemy's motions. The Romans had all the advantage, and the young Carthaginian was killed in the engagement. Scipio, looking upon this firſt ſucceſs as a good augury, immediately drew near to Locha, a city which ſeemed to promiſe his ſoldiers a rich booty. But he had no ſooner planted his ſcaling-ladders for the aſſault, than the inhabitants ſent a herald to demand their lives with liberty to retire. Upon this Scipio ſounded a retreat; but the greedy ſoldiers carried on the aſſault, ſcaled the walls, and, entering the city, put all, even women and children, to the ſword. But ſo barbarous an action and ſo ſignal a diſobedience did not eſcape unpuniſhed. The centurions, who had encouraged the ſoldiers to carry on the attack, were ordered to draw lots

Scipio arrives in Africa.

Hanno defeated and Locha taken

[n] Liv. l. xxix. c. 27--36. Appian, ibid.

which of them ſhould die. Three of them were executed, and the guilty ſoldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken °.

AFTER this expedition, Maſiniſſa came privately in the night to confer with Scipio. He had been deprived of his kingdom by Syphax, and reſtored to it by the mediation of the Carthaginians, who readily embraced that opportunity of obliging a prince, whoſe bravery and enterpriſing genius gave them no ſmall umbrage. However, Syphax detained Maſiniſſa's mother, whom he had taken priſoner, as a hoſtage to ſecure her ſon's fidelity. Maſiniſſa was ſenſible, that the Carthaginians were not ſincere at the bottom; and therefore he ſtill retained his former affection for Rome, tho', to comply with the times, he had joined Aſdrubal with a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe. In the private interview he had with Scipio, it was agreed, that the Numidian ſhould continue to deceive the credulous Carthaginians, till a favourable opportunity offered of breaking openly with them, and till he could free himſelf from the conſtraint he was under by the captivity of his mother. In the mean time, Aſdrubal, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe, with an hundred and forty elephants, drew near to Utica, which Scipio was preparing to inveſt. Maſiniſſa, who was one of the council of war on all occaſions, perſuaded Aſdrubal to detach his ſon Hanno with a thouſand horſe to watch the motions of the enemy and attempt to enter Utica with that reinforcement, promiſing to favour the enterprize with all his Numidian cavalry. He then gave notice to Scipio of the deſign, who ſurpriſed the detachment and took Hanno priſoner. And now Maſiniſſa, not doubting but Aſdrubal would willingly exchange his mother for Hanno, joined the Romans with all his forces (R). As for Syphax, when he ſaw that his rival

Maſiniſſa joins the Romans.

° Appian. in Punic.

(R) We have followed Appian in this matter; but Livy relates it in quite a different manner. According to him, Scipio had no ſooner landed his troops in Africa, than he advanced towards Utica, and encamped within a mile of that city. The Carthaginians, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Roman army, had recourſe to Syphax, who was entirely governed by Aſdrubal, his father-in-law, and his new wife Sophoniſba. Aſdrubal, who was then at the court of king Syphax, was ordered to leave it, and haſten to the defence

rival had declared for the Romans, he endeavoured firſt to draw him off from the party he had embraced; but not ſucceeding therein, he attempted to bribe one of his ſervants to poiſon him. This treachery was diſcovered; and then Syphax, who had hitherto taken upon himſelf the office of mediator between Rome and Carthage, and encamped apart with his army, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, kept no longer any meaſures with the Romans. He led his troops before Tholus, a place where the Romans had a magazine of corn, ſurpriſed it, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In the mean time, Scipio was ſo haraſſed by the enemy, who ſurrounded him, that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Utica, after he had continued it forty days, and retire as the winter approached, to a more commodious poſt. The place which he choſe was a promontory, under which his fleet was anchored. There he fortified his camp, and waited for the return of the ſpring to renew the war with vigor [p].

And Syphax the Carthaginians.

IN

[p] Liv. l. xxix. c. 35. Appian. in Punic.

defence of his country. Till he arrived, Hanno was appointed to watch the motions of the enemy, and ſecure the country againſt their incurſions. The Carthaginians, purſuant to his commiſſion, found means to draw together a body of four thouſand horſe; and with this ſmall army he took the road to Solera, and cantoned his troops in that neighbourhood, about fifteen miles from the Roman camp. Hereupon Scipio ordered Maſiniſſa, who, according to Livy, had already declared openly for the Romans, to march with a troop of Numidian horſe towards Solera, while he himſelf, at the head of a choice body of Roman horſe, followed him at ſome diſtance through by-ways among the hills, in order to conceal his approach from the enemy. Maſiniſſa, as had been concerted, advanced with his troop to the very gates of Solera, as it were to inſult Hanno, who had retired with his troops into that city. Hanno did not fail to ſally out againſt him; and then the Numidian king, returning in good order, drew the enemy by degrees into the plain, when Scipio, who lay in ambuſh among the rocks, ſtarting up, cut off their retreat, and ſurrounded them on all ſides. Two thouſand of the enemy were either killed or taken, and among the former was, according to Livy, Hanno himſelf, with ſeveral Carthaginians of diſtinction. This is the account Livy gives us of this action; but that of Appian ſeems to us to agree better with the precedent and ſubſequent events. Beſides, Cælius and Valerius, two antient annaliſts quoted by Livy himſelf, tell us, that Hanno was not killed, but taken priſoner: as does alſo Zonaras, whoſe authority is an additional weight to incline the balance in favour of Appian.

In the mean time, cloaths, corn, and proviſions of all ſorts were ſent from Rome to Scipio's army, in ſpite of the peeviſh jealouſy of old Fabius, who was ever inveighing againſt the proconful, and even moved in the ſenate to have him recalled. When the comitia had elected the new conſuls, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, and C. Servilius Geminus, and came to appoint the proconſuls, Scipio was honoured with a particular mark of diſtinction; for while the others were nominated only for one year, he was continued proconſul in Africa till the war was ended. The whole winter was ſpent in fruitleſs negotiations between Scipio and Syphax, who had aſſumed anew the quality of mediator. Early in the ſpring, the proconſul ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the old poſt, where he had encamped when he beſieged Utica. Both the Romans and Africans imagined, that his intention was to renew that enterprize. But his deſign was to attack the two camps of the enemy in the night; for Syphax was encamped with his army apart from the Carthaginians. This ſcheme he imparted to his troops the night before the attack; and the motion being approved of by all, tho' there were more men in each camp than the whole of the Roman army, Scipio divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to Maſiniſſa and of another to Lælius, ordering them to inveſt the camp of Syphax on different ſides, and to ſet fire to their barracks, which were of wood, mats, hurdles, and ſuch combuſtible materials. As for himſelf, he told Maſiniſſa and Lælius, that he would watch the motions of Aſdrubal's army, but ſuſpend the attack of his intrenchments, till he received advice, that they had penetrated to the centre of the Numidian camp. The whole ſcheme was happily executed. The camp of Syphax firſt, and then that of Aſdrubal, was ſurpriſed and burnt. Many of the Carthaginians and Numidians were burnt alive in their beds, ſome were ſuffocated with the ſmoke, others ran to the gates, and were either ſtifled in the croud, or maſſacred by the enemy. Men, beaſts of burden, and elephants, all periſhed, either in the flames, or by the ſword. Thoſe who leaped down from the top of the ramparts, to avoid periſhing in the flames, were cut in pieces by parties of Roman troops, who had ſeized all the avenues to the two camps. The plain was all covered with dead bodies, and the two camps filled with heaps of aſhes and bones. Forty thouſand of the enemy were deſtroyed either by fire or ſword, and five thouſand made priſoners. Among the latter

Scipio ſurpriſes and burns the camps of Syphax and Aſdrubal.

latter were many perſons of diſtinction; particularly eleven Carthaginian ſenators. The Romans ſaved out of the flames a hundred and ſixty ſtandards, two thouſand ſeven hundred Numidian horſes, and ſix elephants. Scipio did not loſe a hundred men in this deciſive action. The two African commanders, Aſdrubal and Syphax, found means to make their eſcape, with two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. The conſternation of the people at Carthage was inexpreſſibly great, when they ſaw Aſdrubal arrive there, with the poor remains of his ſhattered army. The Suffetes, or ſupreme magiſtrates, immediately aſſembled the ſenators, who were divided in opinion, ſome being for recalling Hannibal without delay, others for propoſing a truce with the enemy; but the Barcan faction, which was for purſuing the war and continuing Hannibal in Italy, prevailed. Hanno, the ſon of Hamilcar, was appointed to command the troops in the room of Aſdrubal, who was ſentenced to die for his ill conduct; but, the troops being for him, he avoided the execution of the ſentence, and having aſſembled eight thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, he endeavoured to ſerve his country, without any commiſſion from the republic. As for Syphax, he had retired, after his defeat, to Abba, or Obba, where he was ſoon joined by Aſdrubal and other troops; ſo that the two African commanders found themſelves in a very ſhort time in a condition to appear anew in the field, having drawn together from ſeveral parts near thirty thouſand men. With this army they encamped in a place called The Great Plain, about five days march from Utica, which Scipio had beſieged anew. However, the proconſul was no ſooner informed of their motions, than he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and haſtened to attack them. After ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the Romans prevailed, and gained a complete victory. After this ſucceſs, the proconſul diſpatched Lælius and Maſiniſſa after Syphax, who, with the beſt part of his troops, haſtened back into his own country. Scipio reſolved to make himſelf in the mean time maſter of the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage. With this view he marched to Tunis, from whence Carthage could be ſeen, and took it without the loſs of a ſingle man, the garriſon having deſerted it in a fright at his approach. The Carthaginians, in order to divert Scipio from laying ſiege to their capital, having equipped with incredible expedition a fleet of a hundred galleys, ſent it, under the command of Hamilcar, the

Hanno appointed commander of the Carthaginian forces.

Scipio gains a complete victory over Aſdrubal and Syphax.

Tunis taken by Scipio.

the father of Hanno, to burn the Roman fleet, which lay under the promontory formerly mentioned. Scipio, perceiving from Tunis the courſe which the Carthaginians ſteered, made what haſte he could to preſerve his fleet; and reaching the port by land, before the enemy arrived there by ſea, drew up his galleys as near to the ſhore as he could, and repulſed the enemy, who, nevertheleſs took ſix of his galleys. With this ſmall prize Hamilcar returned to Carthage; and the proconſul thought it adviſeable to continue where he was, till he could receive from Italy a reinforcement of ſhips, his whole fleet conſiſting now but of fourteen galleys [q].

Syphax defeated, and taken priſoner.

In the mean time, Lælius and Maſiniſſa, who, with the third part of the legions, were gone in purſuit of Syphax, penetrated, after fifteen days march, into the heart of Numidia. Syphax, at the head of a very numerous army, advanced to meet them; but was vigorouſly repulſed in a general action which enſued, forced to fly, and purſued to the banks of a river, where Maſiniſſa himſelf took him priſoner, with his ſon Vermina. After this, the victorious Numidian, with the approbation of Lælius, who was to follow him by ſlow marches, haſtened to appear before Cyrtha, the capital of Syphax's dominions. As he had taken the captive king with him, the city, being deſtitute of all hopes of relief, readily ſurrendered. Maſiniſſa entered it in triumph, and haſtened to the palace, with full intention to puniſh Sophoniſba, for entering into engagements with his rival, after ſhe had been betrothed to him. But he was ſoon diſarmed; for he no ſooner entered the palace, than the beautiful queen, ſet off with all the charms of dreſs, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, conjured him in the moſt moving manner not to deliver her up to the Romans, but rather to free her by death from the chains of an inſulting enemy. Theſe words made a deep impreſſion on Maſiniſſa; he looked tenderly on her, and feeling his former flame revive, he reached out his hand to her; which was a token that her requeſt was granted. But as the fair captive properly belonged to Scipio, and Maſiniſſa, who was but a ſubaltern in the Roman army, had no right to make ſuch a promiſe, he was greatly perplexed to know how he ſhould perform it. At length he reſolved to follow the dictates of his love, and marry her, thinking that neither Scipio nor Lælius could lay any claim

Maſiniſſa marries Sophoniſba.

[q] Liv. l. xxx. c. 10. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 10.

claim to her, after he had by a lawful marriage, made her his own. The public rejoicings on this occaſion were not over when Lælius arrived. He was ſo ſhocked at ſo precipitate a marriage, that he reſolved at firſt to ſnatch the queen from the nuptial bed, and ſend her away with the other captives to Scipio; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he determined to refer the matter to the judgment of the proconſul, and in the mean time let the prince enjoy his amours. As for Syphax, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to Scipio's camp, where he was treated with great politeneſs and reſpect, the proconſul remembering the hoſpitable entertainment this prince had formerly given him at his court. As Scipio took frequently pleaſure in converſing with his royal captive, he learned of him, that, if he had been left to his own judgment, he would have continued faithful to Rome; but that his wife Sophoniſba, having by her irreſiſtible charms made herſelf miſtreſs of his heart, had induced him to prefer Carthage to Rome. Hereupon Scipio, fearing ſhe might gain ſuch an aſcendant over her new huſband, reſolved to take her from him. It was not long before Maſiniſſa, having reduced all Numidia, arrived at the proconſul's camp with his new queen. Scipio received him with all the marks of diſtinction, but took no notice of Sophoniſba, though ſhe entered his tent together with Maſiniſſa. From the proconſul's tent ſhe was conducted to Maſiniſſa's quarters, and there reſpected as his wife; but Scipio, by no means liking to ſee a Carthaginian woman with the title of queen in the midſt of a Roman army, had a private conference with Maſiniſſa a few days after his arrival. He complimented him in the firſt place on his heroic behaviour, and then expoſtulating with him on his late conduct, exhorted him to conquer the love of pleaſure, and not ſuffer himſelf to be enſlaved by a woman, after having ſubdued a vaſt kingdom. At the ſame time, he put him in mind, that the ſpoils and captives taken from the enemy belonged not to him, but to the Romans. He concluded his ſpeech thus: I am very ſenſible, that your heart trembles at the thought of the ſacrifice I require of you; but return, Maſiniſſa, return to your reaſon. Hitherto your weakneſs deſerves pity; but it may become unpardonable. Your perſeverance in it may be attended with a long repentance. The Numidian prince bluſhed and wept. His heart was rent with oppoſite paſſions; but at length his virtue and his intereſt gained the aſcendant over his love. He promiſed the general to ſhake off

his

his chains; and ſo far got the maſtery over his paſſion, as to carry in perſon to his beloved Sophoniſba the decree, which Scipio had pronounced againſt her, declaring that ſhe belonged to the Roman people. When he entered his tent, Receive now, ſaid he, the laſt teſtimony of my affection and fidelity. It is abſolutely out of my power to deliver you from the ſlavery with which you are threatened, any other way than by death. Remember only whoſe daughter and whoſe queen you are, and then ſurely you cannot be afraid to deſcend to the ſhades. Maſiniſſa will ſoon follow you thither. Tears flowed down the prince's cheeks while he uttered theſe words; and, as ſoon as he had ſpoke them, he ruſhed out of the tent, where all things were prepared to give the unhappy princeſs the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy death. A ſlave, whoſe buſineſs it was to prepare poiſon, entered the tent as ſoon as Maſiniſſa went out, and preſented to the queen the fatal cup, which ſhe took with an air of great compoſure, upbraiding her weeping nurſe for diſhonouring her death with her tears. Then turning to the ſlave, Let my huſband, ſaid ſhe, know that I die contented, ſince I die by his orders. Aſſure him, that I was forced, contrary to my inclinations, to enter into engagements with another. My heart has been enſlaved to none but him; and as for my body, I readily abandon it to the fury of the Romans. Having thus ſpoke, ſhe drank the poiſon, and almoſt inſtantly expired. Scipio, to conſole the Numidian prince, careſſed and diverted him; and, when he had aſſembled his troops, ſtyled him king for the firſt time in a juridical way, and preſented him with a crown of gold, a curule chair, an embroidered robe, and a tunic adorned with palm-branches. Theſe honours counterbalanced in the prince's heart the remembrance of his dear Sophoniſba, and he now conceived hopes of becoming ſole maſter of all Numidia[r].

The Carthaginians make a fraudulent propoſal of peace.

And now, that the winter kept both armies from entering upon action, Scipio diſpatched Lælius with Syphax and the reſt of the captives to Rome, and returned himſelf to his old poſt near Tunis. The Carthaginians alarmed at his neighbourhood, endeavoured to gain time by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till Hannibal and Mago ſhould arrive from Italy. The better to impoſe upon the proconſul, they ſent deputies to Rome, and with them a ſmall number of Roman captives and deſerters: but at the ſame time

[r] Liv. ibid, c. 14. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 12.

time they prepared to renew the war with vigor, ſtrengthened their alliances on all ſides, and once more prevailed upon Philip of Macedon to engage in their intereſt. While Scipio, deceived by the fraudulent propoſals of the Carthaginians, was ſuſpending hoſtilities in Africa, Lælius, arriving at Rome, gave the conſcript fathers a pompous, but true, account of his friend's exploits. This occaſioned a univerſal joy in the city. The prætor publiſhed a decree for a general ſupplication, and the people crouded to the temples to return thanks for the proconſul's ſucceſs. As for Syphax, the ſenate ordered him to be conducted to Alba, in the country of the Marſi, and there kept to grace the triumph of the Roman general at his return. At the ſame time, the ſenate confirmed the title which Scipio had given to Maſiniſſa, and ſent him new preſents in the name of the republic [s].

In Italy, Hannibal was now wholly confined to a corner of Brutium, and had not attempted any thing this campaign. As for his brother Mago, he did not venture to give battle to the conſul Servilius Geminus, who commanded an army in Hetruria; but falling down upon Inſubria, engaged two Roman armies there, under the conduct of the proconſul Corn. Cethegus and the prætor Quintilius Varus. The victory was long diſputed; but at length, Mago himſelf being wounded, the Carthaginians were routed, and obliged to take ſhelter among the mountains of Liguria. There he received ſtrict orders to repair forthwith to Carthage; but he had ſcarce doubled the iſland of Sardinia, when he died of his wound. Hannibal received the ſame orders, and complied with them, but not without great reluctance. He reſolved to take a body of Brutian troops with him; but theſe, refuſing to abandon their native country, took refuge in the temple of Juno Lucina, where the barbarous Carthaginian cauſed them all to be cruelly maſſacred. When he was out at ſea, he often looked back on the country he had hoped to conquer, and is ſaid to have uttered bitter execrations againſt gods and men. The joy at Rome, on the news of his departure, was inexpreſſibly great; but old Fabius endeavoured to allay it, by exclaiming, that the Roman ſtate was never in a more deplorable condition; but the people confided in the abilities of Scipio, and public thanks were appointed to be offered to the gods for Hannibal's departure [t].

Mago embarques for Africa but dies of a wound at ſea, Hannibal recalled.

Scipio

[s] Liv. l. xxx. c. 16. [t] Idem ibid. c. 19.

The Carthaginians break the truce.

SCIPIO had granted the Carthaginians in Africa a truce, till their embaſſadors returned from Rome; but, in the mean time, an accident diſcovered the inſincerity of their intentions. Scipio had ſent for a reinforcement of ſhips both from Sicily and Sardinia. The ſquadron from Sicily was diſperſed by a tempeſt, and many of the ſhips being driven near the port of Carthage, the Carthaginians ſeized and plundered them. Hereupon the proconſul ſent M. Bœbius with two other deputies to Carthage, to complain of the injuſtice, and require ſatisfaction; but the ſenate, depending on the return of Hannibal, agreed to ſend them back without an anſwer; nay, the quinqueremis, which carried the envoys, was attacked by the Carthaginian admiral, and, after ſome reſiſtance, forced to run aground near the ſhore, where moſt of the Romans were killed; but the embaſſadors themſelves had the good luck to eſcape [u]. This perfidiouſneſs was too plain a proof, that the war would be renewed with freſh vigour, as ſoon as Hannibal arrived; and it was not long before that general, ſo much wiſhed for, came within ſight of Africa, which he had left at nine years of age, and had not ſeen for thirty-three years paſt. He landed at Little Leptis, a city between Suſa and Adrumetum. About the ſame time Lælius and Fulvius returned from Rome, the latter to continue in his poſt of lieutenant in Scipio's army, and the former in quality of quæſtor as well as lieutenant. As for the troops which Mago commanded in Ciſalpine Gaul, the fleet, which carried them, was diſperſed by a ſtorm, and moſt of the ſhips were taken by the Romans.

Hannibal lands in Africa.

AND now the eyes of all nations in Europe and Africa were fixed on the two heroes of the age, Scipio and Hannibal, who were to enter the liſts. The latter, being informed that hoſtilities were begun anew, gained over as many of the princes of Numidia as he could, and among the reſt the ſecond ſon of Syphax, who joined him with a conſiderable body of Numidian horſe. On the other hand, Scipio purſued the war with all the fury, which the perfidiouſneſs of the Carthaginians deſerved. He took ſeveral towns by aſſault, put the garriſons to the ſword, and made the inhabitants paſs under the yoke. However, he diſmiſſed the Carthaginian embaſſadors, who had been arreſted by Bæbius on their return from Rome, after having treated them with great humanity and politeneſs, tho' moſt of the officers were for retaliating upon them the injuries which their embaſſadors had ſuffered.

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[u] Idem ibid. c. 25. Polyb. l. XV. c. 1.

In the mean time, Tib. Claudius Nero and M. Servilius Pulex being choſen conſuls for the next year, they drew lots for their provinces, and it fell to the latter to conduct the army in Hetruria, and to the former to command the fleet in Africa; but, by a decree both of the ſenate and people, he was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to the proconſul.

As Scipio continued ravaging the territories of Carthage and taking her cities, Hannibal was ordered to advance towards the enemy and ſtop their progreſs. Accordingly he left Adrumettum, marched a hundred and ſeventy-five miles, and encamped near Zama, a town in Africa Propria, about ſeventy-five miles from Carthage. From his new camp he ſent out ſpies to obſerve the ſituation and ſtrength of the enemy. Theſe ſpies, being diſcovered and apprehended, were, by Scipio's orders, led into all the quarters of the camp, and, after they had been ſhewn every thing which they came to learn, diſmiſſed with money to defray the expences of their journey. Hannibal was ſo ſtruck with admiration at the magnanimity and confidence of the Roman general, that he immediately reſolved to aſk an interview with him, in order to a peace. With this view he addreſſed himſelf to Maſiniſſa, begging him to intercede with the proconſul, and perſuade him to come to an interview. Maſiniſſa diſcharged his commiſſion with zeal; but the people, having got the aſcendant at Carthage, would hearken to no meaſures that tended to a reconciliation; nay, orders were diſpatched to the general to continue the war, and come to a deciſive battle without delay. But, notwithſtanding theſe orders, which had been extorted from the ſenate by the people, Hannibal, having obtained the proconſul's conſent to an interview, drew near, and encamped with his army about five miles from the Romans. There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, and where no ambuſh could be laid. Thither the two generals repaired, eſcorted by a like number of guards, and then, ſeparating from their attendants each with his interpreter, they held a private conference. Perhaps two greater men never met, nor was ever any deliberation of more importance. Theſe two heroes had never ſeen one another; but fame had given each a high eſteem of the other. Hannibal is ſaid to have been ſtruck with admiration at the firſt ſight of Scipio. His hair flowed down his back to a great length; he had an equal mixture of majeſty and ſweetneſs in his countenance; he was in his full ſtrength

An interview between Scipio and Hannibal.

and bloom, and deemed one of the moſt comely men of his age. There was nothing affected or too negligent about him. His habit was plain, but neat, and ſuch as became a ſoldier, who deſpiſed the ſtudied elegancies of dreſs. Their ſurpriſe at meeting kept them for ſome moments in a profound ſilence, which Hannibal firſt broke with a long deſcant on the viciſſitudes of fortune; and then, having artfully flattered the Roman, he propoſed the ceſſion of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and of all the iſlands between Italy and Africa, as the terms of peace. Scipio anſwered, with all the haughtineſs of a conqueror, that he offered nothing but what the Romans already poſſeſſed; that if he had made ſuch a propoſal before he left Italy, it might perhaps have been thought a tolerable one; but now that his republic would inſiſt upon conditions of a different nature, which he propoſed, adding, If you like theſe conditions, the Roman ſenate and people will condeſcend to enter into a treaty with your republic; if not, let us fly to arms, and decide the controverſy by the ſword. At theſe words the two generals parted, and each returned to his camp to prepare for a general action. Early the next morning, Scipio marched out his troops into the plain, and ſent a detachment to ſeize an eminence between the two camps. Theſe meeting with a detachment ſent by Hannibal for the ſame purpoſe, repulſed them, and made themſelves maſters of that poſt. This brought on a general action, contrary, as

The battle of Zama.

ſome ſay, to the inclination of Hannibal. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we conſider the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the importance of the victory. Both generals diſplayed an uncommon ſkill in drawing up their men and chuſing their ground, and no leſs courage and reſolution in charging the enemy. They both repreſented to their men, that this battle muſt decide, whether Rome or Carthage muſt give law to the world. Never was victory more obſtinately diſputed. The Carthaginians, eſpecially in the ſecond line, performed wonders, repulſing three times the Roman legionaries with great ſlaughter. As for Hannibal's firſt line, which conſiſted of mercenaries, it was put to the rout at the firſt onſet, which occaſioned at length the defeat of the ſecond line; for the Romans, puſhing on the routed mercenaries with their bucklers, forced them back on the Carthaginians, and by that means put the ſecond into confuſion, and at length obliged them to give ground and betake themſelves to flight; but the greateſt difficulty was to break

break into the enemy's phalanx, where Hannibal commanded in perſon. The phalanx was the choice of Hannibal's army, the Carthaginian general having formed it of thoſe veterans, who had made the Romans tremble in the plains of Italy. However, Scipio advanced boldly at the head of his haſtati to attack this formidable body; but the ground he was to croſs to come at the phalanx, being covered with dead bodies, bucklers, and darts, and the earth ſoaked with blood, and ſo ſlippery that his men could ſcarce keep their feet, Scipio commanded the principes and triarii to join the haſtati; and having drawn up all his men in one great front, marched over heaps of dead bodies againſt Hannibal, who, at the head of his phalanx, kept his men cloſe and waited for the enemy. The Romans fell upon this laſt body with a fury not to be expreſſed; but the Carthaginians, encouraged by the preſence and example of their leader, kept their ground, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the whole Roman infantry. Scipio, reſolving either to complete the victory or die in the attempt, exerted, at the head of the legionaries, all his ſkill and perſonal bravery; but could not by any means break into that impenetrable body. The attack was often renewed, but to no purpoſe. The ground was covered with heaps of dead bodies; but not one of the Carthaginians offered to fly, or even quit his rank. The proconſul, finding all his efforts unſucceſsful, was at a loſs what to do; but while he was under the greateſt concern to ſee his brave legionaries fall in great numbers, without being able to gain the leaſt advantage over the enemy, Lælius and Maſiniſſa, returning from the purſuit of the Carthaginian and Numidian cavalry, appeared very ſeaſonably on the field of battle, and attacked the phalanx in the rear. And now Hannibal could hold out no longer; his phalanx was put in diſorder, and ſo terrible a ſlaughter was made of thoſe brave men, that few of them eſcaped. Hannibal, after having ſignalized himſelf by a thouſand acts of valour, was at length obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. Maſiniſſa, tho' wounded, purſued him cloſe, being extremely deſirous to crown his other exploits with the taking of the general himſelf; but the Carthaginian, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, got ſafe into Thon, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood, attended only by twenty horſemen. From thence he fled, with one man only in whom he could confide, and taking the road to Adrumettum, reached that city in two days and two nights. In this action above twenty thouſand men were ſlain on the

Hannibal totally defeated.

ſide of the Carthaginians, and as many priſoners taken, among whom were many Macedonians and Soſipater their commander. The Romans did not loſe above two thouſand men; a memorable victory, which raiſed Scipio above Hannibal, and paved the way for the Romans to the conqueſt of the world [w].

HANNIBAL was ſoon called from Adrumettum to Carthage, where he declared in the ſenate, that they had no reſource but in a peace. Theſe words, in the mouth of the warlike Hannibal, were deciſive; and Carthage now thought of nothing, but uſing all means to ſoften the Roman general, whoſe humane temper was well known. Thirty of the chief nobility were diſpatched away in haſte to Tunis, where Scipio then was. Theſe deputies ſpared neither ſubmiſſions, proteſtations, nor promiſes. Scipio received them at firſt with the haughty air of a conqueror, and ſeemed not to give ear to their propoſals; but, at the bottom, he was as fond of concluding a peace as they; for he had certain intelligence from his friends in Rome, that the conſul Nero was equipping a fleet with all expedition, in order to come into Africa and rob him of the glory of finiſhing the war there. The next day therefore he ſent for the deputies, whom he had rejected the day before, and imparted to them the conditions, on which he was willing to grant them a peace. Theſe were as follow: 1. The Carthaginians ſhall live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in Africa before the war; but the Romans ſhall hold Spain, with all the iſlands in the Mediterranean. 2. The Carthaginians ſhall deliver up to the Romans all their deſerters, fugitive ſlaves, priſoners of war, and all the Italians whom Hannibal forced to follow him. 3. They ſhall deliver up into Scipio's hands all their ſhips of war, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and tame no more. 4. The republic of Carthage ſhall enter into no war, either in Africa or elſewhere, without the conſent of the Roman people. 5. They ſhall reſtore to Maſiniſſa all they have uſurped from him and his anceſtors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 6. They ſhall ſupply the Roman legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambaſſadors they ſhall ſend to Rome. 7. They ſhall pay the Romans, in the ſpace of fifty years, ten thouſand

Articles of peace between Rome and Carthage.

[w] Polyb. l. xv. c. 9. Liv. l. xxx. c. 30. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 19.

and talents at equal payments. 8. They ſhall deliver up to Scipio a hundred ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, the youngeſt of which ſhall not be under fourteen, and the oldeſt not above thirty years of age. 9. Neither the peace nor the truce ſhall take place, till the Carthaginians have reſtored to the Romans the ſhips and effects taken from them during the late truce. 10. The Roman armies ſhall leave Africa within fifty days after the concluſion of the treaty. Theſe were hard conditions, but readily complied with, Hannibal himſelf declaring zealouſly for a peace. Purſuant to his advice, deputies were ſent to Scipio's camp, to make ſatisfaction for the ſhips and effects taken from the Romans during the laſt truce; and the whole ſum amounted to twenty-five thouſand pounds weight of ſilver [x]. Then the ſuſpenſion of arms took place, and embaſſadors were diſpatched to Rome, to obtain of the ſenate and people a ratification of the treaty. When the deputies were introduced into the ſenate, Aſdrubal, ſurnamed The Ram, who was at the head of them, and had always oppoſed the Barcan faction, made a modeſt ſpeech, in which he laid all the blame of the late war on the family of Hamilcar, and endeavoured to move the Romans to compaſſion, by repreſenting the deplorable condition to which the city and republic of Carthage were reduced. The conſcript fathers were divided in opinion; ſome were for concluding a peace on the terms propoſed by Scipio, who, ſaid they, is certainly the beſt judge, in the preſent caſe, of what is moſt for the intereſt of Rome. But, as Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Ælius Pætus had been lately choſen conſuls, and the command of the fleet had fallen to the former, all his friends and relations were for continuing the war, that he might have the glory of completing the great work begun by Scipio. Among the reſt, C. Lentulus maintained, that nothing could be more to the intereſt of Rome, than utterly to deſtroy Carthage, and put it out of the power of the perfidious Africans to hurt Rome for the future. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, turning to the chief of the embaſſy, What gods, ſaid he, will you call to witneſs the ſincerity of your oaths? To which Aſdrubal immediately replied, The ſame who have ſo ſeverely puniſhed us for the breach of them. This anſwer was applauded by the aſſembly; and the ſenate plainly ſeeing, that Lentulus had no other view

[x] Polyb. l. xv. c. 18. Appian. in Punic. Liv. l. xxx. c. 37. Zonar. l. ix. c. 14.

in declaiming with ſo much zeal againſt a peace, but to give the conſul, his relation, an opportunity of finiſhing the war, to the prejudice of Scipio, paſſed a decree, granting the Carthaginians their requeſt. The conſul Lentulus appealed from it to the people; who being aſſembled gave their conſent to a peace with Carthage, declaring, that they would ſuffer none but Scipio to conclude it, or bring back the troops to Rome. The Carthaginian embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed with a favourable anſwer, and ten deputies, attended by the feciales of the republic, ſent with them, to aſſiſt Scipio in ſettling the articles of the treaty. Upon their arrival at the proconſul's camp, the Carthaginians began to execute the articles they had agreed to. In the firſt place, they delivered up all deſerters and priſoners of war, and then their elephants, of which Scipio ſent ſome to Rome, and gave the reſt to Maſiniſſa; but nothing was more mortifying to the Carthaginians, than the delivering up all their ſhips, galleys, and frigates, except ten triremes, to the number of five hundred ſail. Theſe Scipio burnt at ſea, within ſight of Carthage. The laſt thing that remained was, to diſcharge the firſt payment of the tribute, which the Romans had required for fifty years; and this article was alſo executed, a tax being laid on all the citizens of Carthage for the raiſing of this ſum. And now Scipio prepared for his departure; but before he left Africa, with the conſent of the ten commiſſioners, he ſettled Maſiniſſa in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, and of all the places he had taken from Syphax. This done, he ſailed to Lilybæum, and thence to Italy. The news of his landing was no ſooner ſpread in the neighbouring places, but the people flocked from all parts to ſee the deliverer of Rome and the conqueror of the formidable Hannibal. From the port where he landed to Rome, the roads were crouded with infinite numbers of people, not only the citizens, but even the peaſants, running to behold and applaud the man, to whom they owed their liberty and preſervation. As he drew near Rome, the whole city went out to meet him; and ſuch of the citizens and ſenators, as had at firſt oppoſed his expedition, were the moſt earneſt to congratulate him on the ſucceſs of it. He wanted only to have received the congratulations of the great Fabius; but he was dead. However, the conqueror had the ſatisfaction to find, that the predictions of this old general had proved falſe, and ſerved only to augment his glory. Both ſenate and people con-

The ſenate and people of Rome conſent to a peace with Carthage.

The articles of the treaty are executed, and an end put to the war.

Year after the Flood, 2803. Before Chriſt, 196 Of Rome, 552.

curred

curred in decreeing him a triumph, which was the most magnificent one that had ever been seen in Rome. Polybius tells us, that king Syphax was carried in triumph, and that he died a few days after in prison; but he is therein contradicted by all the antients, who say, that the captive king died before the triumph at Tibur, whither he had been removed from Alba, the place of his confinement. Among the captives was, according to some writers, the famous poet Terence, at that time very young; at least it is certain, that he was a native of Africa, and was afterwards enfranchised by Terentius Lucanus, whose name he took. The senator Terentius Culleo, who had been taken by the Carthaginians and delivered by Scipio from a cruel captivity, to shew his gratitude, wore, in the triumphal procession, the pileus, a symbol of his having obtained his freedom. The booty Scipio brought from Africa was immense; among other things he delivered to the quæstors one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. The republic, to shew her gratitude to a man, who had done her more important services than all her other commanders together, would have raised him above the level of other citizens, by bestowing on him, as some authors write, the perpetual dictatorship, and erecting statues to him, in the comitium near the rostra, before the senate-house, and even on the capitol; but Scipio wisely declined these extraordinary honours, contenting himself with the glorious name of Africanus, which history has preserved to him, as a lasting monument of his conquests in Africa [y].

Scipio triumphs, and gets the surname of Africanus.

[y] Vide Liv. l. xxx. c. 43. Polyb. l. xvi. c. 12. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. l. ix. c. 14.

CHAP. VII.

The history of Rome, *from the end of the second* Punic *war, to the destruction of* Carthage.

ROME, by the peace she concluded with Carthage, was delivered from those continual alarms she had long been under from so powerful a rival. However,

ſhe was not yet in ſuch a ſtate of peace and ſecurity as to ſhut the temple of Janus. While the treaty with the Carthaginians was executing, the Boii entering the territories of the allies of Rome, laid them waſte; which obliged the conſul Ælius Pætus to take the field. He detached Oppius with two legions and about two thouſand auxiliaries, to go before him and ravage the enemy's country; but that general was ſurpriſed by the Boii, ſurrounded on all ſides, and cut off with ſeven thouſand of his men. The conſul advanced to revenge his defeat; but the Gauls appearing no more in the field, he pillaged their country, and then falling down on Liguria, he obliged the Ingauni, who inhabited a ſmall canton of Liguria Maritima, to enter into an alliance with Rome [z]. Theſe were the only exploits of the conſul Ælius during this campaign. Upon his return to Rome, a decree was paſſed, impowering him to name a general to go with a fleet into Macedon; for the ſenate had juſt received advice, by embaſſadors from the Rhodians and from Attalus king of Pergamus, that Philip of Macedon was ſoliciting the ſtates of Aſia to join him againſt Rome. The perſon, whom the conſul named for this expedition, was Lævinus, who no ſooner appeared on the coaſts of Macedon, than he was joined by Aurelius, who had long reſided in Greece, to defend it, with a ſmall ſquadron and a few Roman troops. Theſe two, having conſulted together about the ſtate of Macedon and Greece, agreed to write to the ſenate, that they thought it neceſſary to declare war, without delay, againſt king Philip, who was preparing to make a deſcent upon Italy. Theſe letters arrived ſoon after the election of the new conſuls, P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta, who having aſſembled the people, prevailed upon them to vote for a war with the king of Macedon, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Bæbius, a tribune of the people, who endeavoured to perſuade the centuries, that the nobility, from party-views, hindered them from enjoying any repoſe. The conſul Sulpicius, to whoſe lot Macedon fell, paſſed over into that kingdom with two legions; and, being aſſiſted by Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Ætolians, gained great advantages over Philip, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of Greece and Macedon.

The Boii gain a conſiderable advantage over the Romans.

The Romans reſolve upon a war with the king of Macedon.

While the conſul Sulpicius was employed in Macedon, the Gauls, headed by Hamilcar, whom Hanno had left in Italy,

[z] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 2.

Italy, made a ſudden irruption into the lands of the allies of Rome; and having ſeized Placentia, put all the citizens to the ſword. From thence they advanced to Cremona; but the inhabitants of that city, ſhutting their gates againſt them, gave notice of their danger to Furius Purpureo the Roman prætor, who commanded five thouſand men of the allies in the neighbourhood of Ariminum. Furius, before he marched to their relief, wrote to the ſenate deſiring ſuccours, the Gauls being above forty thouſand ſtrong. Hereupon the fathers decreed, that either the conſul Aurelius, who was ſtill in Rome, ſhould put himſelf at the head of his legions, which were encamped in Hetruria, and haſten to the relief of Cremona; or, in caſe he declined it, that thoſe legions ſhould march to Ariminum without him, and be commanded in that expedition by Furius, who ſhould ſend his five thouſand men into Hetruria. As Aurelius choſe rather to continue at Rome, Furius, at the head of his legions, marched againſt the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near Cremona, and killed above thirty thouſand of them on the ſpot. The victorious prætor returned to Rome, where, after a warm debate in the ſenate, he was decreed a triumph. This is the firſt inſtance we find in the Roman hiſtory of a triumph granted to a general, who had fought under the auſpices of another; and on this account it was, that the oldeſt ſenators oppoſed it, though to no effect, the majority being for honouring the brave prætor with that mark of diſtinction [a].

The Gauls entirely defeated by the prætor Furius.

In the following conſulate of Cornelius Lentulus and P. Villius Tappulus, the Ætolians took part with the Romans againſt the king of Macedon; but Villius, to whoſe lot Macedon fell, ſtaid at Rome, till the ſeaſon was too far advanced to undertake any thing of moment this campaign. The other conſul Lentulus, who remained in Italy, inſtead of marching againſt the Gauls, who were not yet quelled, ſtaid at Rome, though there was no buſineſs of ſufficient moment to detain him there. The conſular year being expired, the republic beſtowed the faſces on Quinctius Flaminius and Sext. Ælius Catus, though neither of them had been in the prætorſhip, and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been ſo much as ædile. The war of Macedon fell to the lot of Flaminius, and that of Italy to Ælius. Cato was at the ſame time appointed prætor

[a] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 48. Faſt. Capit.

tor of Sardinia, where he made himſelf remarkable for his frugality, auſterity of life, and ſtrict juſtice in puniſhing offenders. His only amuſement was, to hear the inſtructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek ſciences, and perfected his fine genius. He baniſhed uſurers from his province, and reduced the intereſt upon loans almoſt to nothing [b].

The progreſs of Flaminius in Macedon.

As for Flaminius, he immediately ſet out for his province, where he forced the intrenchments of king Philip, opened himſelf a way into the heart of Macedon, took ſeveral towns in Theſſaly, and, by his inſinuating manner, gained over the Achæans to the intereſt of Rome, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of the Achæans. His collegue Ælius, who had performed nothing worth mentioning in Ciſalpine Gaul, when the time of the elections drew near, was called home to aſſemble the centuries. The perſons raiſed to the conſulate this year were C. Cornelius Cethegus and Q. Minucius Rufus. They were both ſent into Ciſalpine Gaul againſt Hamilcar, who ſtill headed the revolt there. Flaminius was continued, in quality of proconſul, general of all the Roman forces in Greece, till the ſenate and people ſhould think fit to recal him. They alſo granted him a ſupply of five thouſand foot, three hundred horſe, and three thouſand ſeamen and rowers, and appointed his brother Quinctius to command the fleet under him. With this reinforcement Flaminius, having firſt gained over the city of Thebes and all Bœotia to the Roman intereſt, marched into Theſſaly in purſuit of Philip, and came up with him in the plains of Cynocephalæ. Here the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the Macedonians were entirely defeated, eight thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand taken priſoners. At the ſame time Androſthenes, one of Philip's generals, whom that prince had left in Corinth with ſix thouſand men, was defeated by Nicoſtratus prætor of the Achæans. Hereupon the Macedonian, having no other reſource but in a peace, ſubmitted to ſuch terms as Flaminius was pleaſed to impoſe upon him [c]. Thus ended the firſt Macedonian war, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of Greece.

Philip ſubmits to the terms of peace propoſed by Flaminius.

In Italy, the war, which was carried on with the Gauls by the two conſuls, gave the people more concern than that

[b] Plut. in Caton. [c] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 14. Plut. in Flam. Polyb. l. xiii. Juſtin. l. xxx.

that of Macedon. But their fears were ſoon quieted; for Cethegus, who marched againſt the Inſubres and Cenomani, gained a complete victory over them on the banks of the Mincius. Thirty thouſand of thoſe Gauls were killed upon the ſpot, and five thouſand ſeven hundred made priſoners, with their general Hamilcar. Minucius, the other conſul, having no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the Ligures and Boii, over-ran their country, and laid it waſte. For theſe ſucceſſes the ſenate and people ordered public thankſgivings, in all the temples of Rome, for four days [d]. The republic thought fit at this time to encreaſe the number of prætors to ſix, by creating two new ones for the government of Spain, which ſhe divided into two provinces, by the names of Hither Spain and Further Spain. But the Spaniards, highly diſpleaſed to ſee their country reduced to the ſtate of Roman provinces, took arms, and falling upon Sempronius, prætor of Hither Spain, cut him off with moſt of his troops. In Further Spain ſeveral towns revolted; and there was almoſt a general diſpoſition to ſhake off the Roman yoke.

The Ciſalpine Gauls defeated.

The Spaniards revolt.

THE new conſuls, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus, were ordered to continue the war with the Ciſalpine Gauls, who were not yet totally ſubdued; but Flaminius, by a new decree, was appointed to act as general in Greece, till ſuch time as the treaty with Macedon ſhould be concluded. Ten commiſſioners were ſent from Rome to aſſiſt him in this undertaking. Theſe, by the advice of Flaminius, decreed, that all the Greek cities, both in Europe and Aſia, ſhould be reſtored to perfect liberty. This decree was ſoon after proclaimed by a herald in a vaſt aſſembly of Greeks, met together from all parts to celebrate the Iſthmian games. Their amazement and joy on this occaſion was inexpreſſible. Many ſpeeches were made in praiſe of the Roman greatneſs and generoſity. The Ætolians, who had been refuſed ſome towns which they claimed, were the only people diſatisfied with the peace. They complained of it, and at length had recourſe to Antiochus king of Syria, who, at their inſtigation, paſſed over into Europe, under pretence of recovering Thrace, which his great-grandfather Seleucus Nicator had conquered from Lyſimachus.

IN Italy, the two conſuls carried on the war with great ſucceſs againſt the Gauls, and entirely deſtroyed two conſiderable

[d] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13---29. Polyb. Juſtin. ibid.

ſiderable armies of thoſe rebels, plundered their country, and returned to Rome loaded with booty. After this, the republic was wholly employed in publiſhing ſome new edicts. The pontifices and augurs were now required, for the firſt time, to pay a tax towards the expences of the war; but they were at the ſame time eaſed of one burdenſome part of their function, a new ſort of ſacerdotal college being erected, under the name of Epulones, whoſe office was confined wholly to the care of religious feaſts. At firſt theſe epulones were three only, and all choſen out of plebeian families. The three firſt were C. Licinius Lucullus, T. Romuleius, then tribune of the people, who had got the law paſſed, and Porcius Læcas, who, two years before, while he was tribune of the people, had, in ſpite of all oppoſition, carried a law, forbidding, under very ſevere penalties, any magiſtrate to cauſe a Roman citizen to be whipt with rods. This law, which ſecured the ſhoulders of the people, to uſe the expreſſion of one of the antients [e], was called the Porcian law, not from the famous Porcius, known afterwards by the name of Cato the cenſor, as ſome have falſly imagined, but from Porcius Læcas, firſt tribune of the people, and afterwards one of the epulones [f]. However, this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the generals had an abſolute power of life and death.

The Epulones inſtituted.

The Porcian law.

THE conſul Marcellus, when the time for the new elections drew near, aſſembled the centuries, who raiſed to the conſular dignity L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius Cato. The conduct of the war in Spain fell by lot to the latter; but, while he was making the neceſſary preparations for his departure, the Roman ladies took a ſtep, which obliged him to ſtay longer at Rome than he expected. About eighteen years before, when Hannibal was ravaging Italy and the treaſury was exhauſted, a tribune of the people, named Oppius, had got a law paſſed, forbidding even the richeſt of the Roman ladies to uſe above half an ounce of gold in their apparel, to wear habits of various colours, or to make uſe of chariots, either at Rome or in the neighbouring villages, unleſs they were to aſſiſt at a public ſacrifice a mile off. The women of diſtinction, thinking it intolerable to be under this reſtraint, now that the republic abounded with riches, made a great ſtir to

[e] Sext. Pomp. faſt. [f] Cic. de orator. l. iii. Liv. ibid. c. 36.

to get the law repealed. Valerius and Fundanius, two of the tribunes, preſented their requeſt to the comitia; and never was an aſſembly more divided. The capital, where it was held, was full of people crying out for and againſt the law. Even the women, neglecting the orders of their huſbands, the rules of decency, and the public authority, ran thither, beſet the paſſages which led from the capital to the voting place, ſolicited the men as they paſſed for their ſuffrages, and urged the juſtice of their pretenſions. As the affair was more than one day under deliberation, the women flocked to Rome from all the neighbouring colonies and towns, and offered petitions to the conſuls and prætors. But Cato was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the aſſembly in behalf of the law, full of ſatyrical reflections on the women, for their appearing in public to ſolicit votes. But the tribune Valerius made a very eloquent ſpeech in behalf of the women, in which he excuſed their appearing in public to ſolicit their own cauſe, and urged the reaſonableneſs of repealing the Oppian law. His harangue made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, that they all voted for the abrogation of the law, Cato being the only man that diſſented [g]. The Oppian law repealed.

AND now the conſul ſet out for Spain with two legions, five thouſand auxiliaries, and five hundred horſe. He embarqued at Luna in Hetruria, and landed at Rhoda, now Roſes, in Catalonia. From thence he marched by land to Emporiæ, where he was joined by the prætor Helvius, who had juſt gained a conſiderable victory over the Spaniards. As Cato's troops conſiſted for the moſt part of raw ſoldiers, he took great pains to diſcipline them, conſidering they had to deal with the Spaniards, who, in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. The general himſelf was a pattern to his men of vigilance, ſobriety, and aſſiduity in labour. His dreſs was always plain, he readily expoſed himſelf to the inclemencies of the ſeaſon, and his proviſions were the ſame which the common ſoldiers had. When a camp was to be pitched, he was always the firſt to take up the ſpade, and the laſt to lay it down. By this management, the conſul ſoon put his troops on the foot he deſired, and then marched in queſt of the enemy, but firſt ſent away his fleet, that his ſoldiers might place all their hopes in their bravery. With thi

[g] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 2---7.

the ſame view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compaſs, and poſted his army behind them in the plain; ſo that the Spaniards were between him and his camp. In the general action which enſued, the Spaniards were, by Cato's admirable conduct, entirely defeated and driven out of the field. After this victory, deputies flocked to his camp from all the neighbouring cities, entreating him to pardon them; but he did not accept their ſubmiſſions, till they had given him hoſtages. As the dread of his name had procured him great reſpect from all the neighbouring provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the ſame day private letters to the commanders of ſeveral fortified towns, ordering them to demoliſh without delay their fortifications, aſſuring them, that he would pardon none, but ſuch as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the order to be ſent only to himſelf, immediately beat down their walls and towers; ſo that all the places in the two provinces beyond the Iberus were left defenceleſs, and ſeized by the Romans without oppoſition [h]. After this, the conſul marched into Further Spain, to aſſiſt Manlius the prætor, who commanded in thoſe parts; but not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he returned to his old camp on the banks of the Iberus. In his way he took ſeveral towns and a prodigious booty, beſtowing on each of his ſoldiers, beſides the ſpoils, a pound weight of ſilver. When ſome of the officers ſeemed ſurpriſed at this liberality, he told them, It is better that many of the Romans ſhould return home with ſilver, than a few with gold. Of all the booty he appropriated nothing to his own uſe, but continued to live in as frugal a manner as the meaneſt ſoldier [i]. The campaign being ended, he ſailed back to Rome with his troops, and was honoured the next year with a triumph; after which he led a private life, employing his leiſure in ſtudy. He wrote a book of the origin of the cities of Italy, and another of agriculture, in which he took great pleaſure. He often pleaded before the ſenate and people, and was always ready to ſerve his country even as a private ſoldier [k].

Cato defeats the Spaniards.

But to return to Flaminius: Tho' a peace was concluded with Philip, yet the ſenate being well appriſed, that, ſooner or later, they muſt break with Antiochus, judged it neceſſary,

[h] Liv. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Iberic. Plut. in Caton. [i] Plut. ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

neceſſary, that Flaminius ſhould continue in Greece; and as there was reaſon to ſuſpect, that Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, would join the king of Syria, orders were ſent to the proconſul to attack and cruſh that tyrant. Purſuant to theſe orders, Flaminius marched with all his forces to beſiege Lacedæmon; and at the ſame time his brother Quinctius appeared on the coaſt with forty ſhips of war. Upon their appearance, ſeveral cities on the coaſt of Laconia ſubmitted to the Roman admiral, and among the reſt Gythium, a ſtrong town, and, as it were, the port of Lacedæmon. Hereupon Nabis ſent deputies to deſire a conference with the proconſul; which being granted, a peace was ſoon after concluded upon ſuch terms as Flaminius thought fit to impoſe. And now the proconſul, having entirely reſcued Greece from ſlavery, and put it out of the power either of Philip or Nabis to diſturb the peace he had eſtabliſhed in all parts, returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a triumph which laſted three days [l].

Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, ſubmits to the terms of peace propoſed by Flaminius.

THE following year, when Scipio Africanus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were conſuls, nothing happened worth mentioning, except a victory which the latter gained over the Ciſalpine Gauls. The enemy loſt eleven thouſand men, and the Romans five thouſand. Scipio hoped to be ſent againſt Antiochus; but as that prince had not yet openly declared againſt Rome, that illuſtrious Roman had no opportunity to ſignalize himſelf in his ſecond conſulate. In the beginning of the next year, when Cornelius Merula and Minucius Thermus were conſuls, three embaſſadors came to Rome from Antiochus, to propoſe an alliance with the republic; but the Romans requiring him to renounce all his pretenſions to Thrace, Æolis, and Ionia, to which he had an undoubted right, the embaſſadors returned to Antioch, much diſſatisfied with the reception they had met with at Rome [m]. This year P. Cornelius Scipio, ſurnamed Naſica, gained a conſiderable victory over the Luſitanians, who inhabited the country we now call the kingdom of Portugal. After this, he left Spain, and reſigned his army to Fulvius his ſucceſſor, who defeated in a pitched battle the united forces of the Vaccæi, Vectones, and Celtiberians, and took Hilermus, one of

The ſucceſs of the Romans in Spain and Ciſalpine Gaul.

[l] Liv. ibid. c. 24---36. Polyb. l. iv. c. 81. Plut. in Flamin.
[m] Liv. ibid. c. 58. Appian. in Syriac.

of their kings, priſoner. In Hither Spain, Flaminius can late into his province; but nevertheleſs made himſelf maſt of Ilucia, a ſtrong town, and cleared the country of ſom banditti who infeſted it. In Ciſalpine Gaul, the conſ Merula defeated the Boii near Mutina, killed fourteen thou ſand of them on the ſpot, made near two thouſand pri ſoners, among whom were three of their generals, an took two hundred and twelve colours, with ſixty-thre Gallic carts loaded with baggage. However, this victor was much diſputed, and coſt the conquerors dear; for the loſt five thouſand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, amon whom were twenty-three centurions, two tribunes of th ſecond legion, which was moſt expoſed, and many officer of the allies. Notwithſtanding this victory, Merula wa refuſed a triumph, being charged by Marcellus, one of hi lieutenants, with ſome miſconduct during the action. Q Minucius Thermus, the other conſul, marched againſt the Ligures, who, to the number of fifty thouſand men, were encamped near Piſa; but, as the conſular army conſiſted for the moſt part of raw and undiſciplined troops, Thermu acted only upon the defenſive.

When the time for electing new conſuls drew near, two patricians, of high birth and great merit, offered thei ſervice to the republic, viz. Scipio Naſica and L. Quinc tius. Two other illuſtrious citizens contended for the ple beian conſulſhip, Lælius and Domitius Ænobarbus. Na ſica and Lælius were ſupported by Africanus, who wa couſin-german to the former, and united to the latter by the ties of an intimate and ſtrict friendſhip. Quinctiu was recommended by his brother Flaminius, who ha lately been ſo ſucceſsful in Greece and Macedon. Whe the day appointed for the elections came, it appeared, tha Flaminius had more intereſt than the great Scipio, wh had the double mortification of not ſucceeding either fo his couſin or his friend; ſo that Quinctius was preferred t Naſica, and Ænobarbus to Lælius, tho' the plebeian con ſul was not recommended by any extraordinary merit of h own or his friends. Time had ſomewhat leſſened th eſteem and veneration of the people for the conqueror Hannibal; beſides, he had diſobliged the commons, by th invidious diſtinction he had procured the ſenators the ye before, of ſitting in the orcheſtra at the ſcenic ſhews, apa from other ſpectators. The new conſuls were ſcarce en tered upon their office, when news was brought to Ro of the defeat of the Ligurians by Thermus, now proconſ

He had been drawn by the enemy into a kind of Caudine Forks; but reſcued out of danger by a ſtratagem of the Numidian horſe in his army. Theſe advancing towards the poſts the Ligurians had ſeized, gallopped up and down the plain, without offering to attack them; ſo that they were rather an entertaining ſight, than matter of terror. Nothing could be more contemptible in appearance than the Numidian ſquadron; the men had no arms but one dart each; their horſes were ſmall and lean, and as they had no bridles, they thruſt out their necks, and hunk down their heads when they galloped. The Numidians added to the ridiculouſneſs of their appearance out of deſign, affecting to fall off their horſes, to raiſe the laugh and ſhouts of the enemy. This ſcene was ſo agreeable to the Ligurians, that many of them, not apprehending any danger from ſo contemptible an enemy, quitted their arms and ranks, and, ſitting down on the graſs, entertained themſelves with ſo diverting a ſight. On the other hand, the Numidians, advancing nearer and nearer, as if they could not govern their horſes, all on a ſudden clapping their ſpurs to them, flew through the Ligurian battalions with incredible ſwiftneſs, and, entering the plain, ſet fire to the enemy's magazines. This cauſed ſuch a diverſion, that one paſs was left unguarded, which gave the Romans an opportunity of ſeizing it, and getting out of the ſnare. After this, Rome ſent the proconſul a reinforcement of four thouſand foot and two hundred horſe; and then he forced them to come to a battle, and gained a complete victory over them. Nine thouſand of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, their army was diſperſed, and their camp beſieged, which they valiantly defended till night; but quitted it by favour of the darkneſs, and left it to be plundered by the Romans [n].

The Ligurians defeated.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Italy, the Ætolians raiſed new diſturbances in Greece. They reſolved, in a general diet of the nation, to renounce their alliance with Rome, and form a new confederacy againſt her. With this view they ſent deputies to Philip, Nabis, and Antiochus. Nabis immediately took arms and beſieged Gythium. Upon this beginning of a general commotion in Greece, the ſenate ſent three embaſſadors to the king of Syria; and on this occaſion it was, that Scipio Africanus, who accompanied them without a commiſſion, had the famous

[n] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 21..

famous conference with Hannibal, who, being perſecuted at home by the Romans and the enemies of the Barcan faction, had taken refuge in the court of Antiochus, as we have related in the hiſtory of Syria. As Rome would not abate any thing of her firſt pretenſions, the conference between the king and the Roman embaſſadors was warm, but not long. From this time Antiochus reſolved to declare war againſt Rome, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for paſſing over into Greece, contrary to the advice of Hannibal, who preſſed him to invade Italy. Purſuant to the reſolution he had taken of making Greece the ſeat of the war, he tranſported himſelf thither with only ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, theſe being all the forces he had ready. Hereupon war was immediately declared at Rome againſt Antiochus. The new conſuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica and M. Acilius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces; and Greece falling to the latter, he immediately ſet out for his province with twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen elephants. On his arrival in Greece, he was joined by the allies of the republic there, and with their aſſiſtance he ſoon ſubdued all Theſſaly. In the mean time, Antiochus ſeized the famous ſtreights of Thermopylæ; but the conſul, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Cato, who ſerved in no higher a ſtation than that of a legionary tribune, forced the Syrian's ſtrong intrenchments, and obliged him to abandon Greece and retire to Epheſus. Much about the ſame time, Livius, the Roman admiral, gained a complete victory over the Syrians at ſea. The joy of the Roman people for theſe ſucceſſes in the Levant, was greatly heightened by the account they received from Ciſalpine Gaul of the entire reduction of the Boii by Scipio Naſica. This whole nation being ſubjected, their lands were ſhared among Roman colonies ſent thither for that purpoſe. The ſame year, the proconſul Thermus finiſhed the war with the Ligurians, by the reduction of their whole country; ſo that Italy now enjoyed a profound tranquillity. Endeavours were uſed by one of the tribunes to have Naſica and Thermus triumph jointly; but the ſenate granted that honour to the former only. His proceſſion was ſet off with all ſorts of ſpoils, with chariots made after the Gallic faſhion, ſtandards, vaſes of braſs, fourteen hundred and ſeventy collars of gold, twelve hundred and twenty horſe taken from the enemy, two thouſand three hundred and forty pounds weight of gold, and laſtly, a great number of captive

Antiochus lands in Greece.

Is defeated at the paſs of Thermopylæ.

The Boii entirely ſubjected.

captives, among whom were many of the chief nobility of the country. The conqueror beſtowed on each of his ſoldiers a hundred and twenty-five aſſes of braſs, that is, about eight ſhillings; to every centurion twice as much, and to every horſeman three times that ſum. At the ſame time, the ſenate granted an ovation to the proprætor Fulvius Nobilior, for having ſubdued the Vectones and Oretani in Spain. His proceſſion was adorned with ſpoils of great value, viz. a hundred and thirty thouſand pieces of ſilver money, ten thouſand pounds weight of ſilver in bars, and a hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of gold in ingots°.

THE conſuls choſen for the new year were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius, the former brother, the other friend, to the great Scipio. As Lælius had the reputation of being the abler commander, he artfully propoſed to his collegue, that, inſtead of drawing lots, they ſhould leave the matter to the deciſion of the ſenate. Scipio Africanus adviſed his brother to accept the propoſal; and when the affair was laid before the ſenate, he offered to ſerve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the conſcript fathers immediately aſſigned Aſia to the two Scipios, as their common province. Thus the great Africanus ſhewed more regard to the honour of his family, than partial affection to his friend. It would have caſt a blemiſh on his brother, if he had not been judged fit to command the army againſt Antiochus; beſides, Lælius had been a little wanting in point of friendſhip, by expoſing his friend's brother to an affront. The two brothers immediately embarqued at Brunduſium with thirteen thouſand men, and landed at Apollonia. From thence they marched through Epirus and Theſſaly, and at length arrived before Amphiſſa, a city of the Ætolians, which Acilius was beſieging. Hither came deputies from the Athenians to intercede for the Ætolians; and the conſul was prevailed upon to grant them a truce, that they might ſend embaſſadors to Rome to treat of a peace with the ſenate. By this truce the ſiege of Amphiſſa was raiſed; and then Acilius reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul, and returned home. The Scipios purſued their march through Macedon and Thrace, and croſſed the Helleſpont without oppoſition. Scipio Africanus fell ſick near Elæa; but his brother Lucius, being ambitious of gaining a victory in his abſence, purſued Antiochus, and,

° Liv. xxxvii. c. 46. & l. xxxvi. c. 40. Tab. triumph.

coming up with him near Magneſia, gave him a total overthrow. The Syrian loſt on this occaſion fifty thouſand men, including priſoners of war, and the Romans not above three hundred foot and twenty-five horſe. Tho' the ſucceſs of this action was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of Eumenes king of Pergamus and his brother Attalus, yet Lucius Scipio gained by it the ſurname of Aſiaticus, as his brother had done, by his victories in Africa, that of Africanus. Antiochus, after his defeat, readily ſubmitted to ſuch conditions of peace as the conſul thought fit to impoſe upon him, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Syria, to which we refer our readers. The Ætolians, hearing of the defeat of Antiochus, ſued for a peace in good earneſt; which was granted them at the interceſſion of the Athenians, but upon very ſevere conditions; which the reader will find in our hiſtory of Ætolia. Acilius, who had overcome Antiochus at the paſs of Thermopylæ, was honoured on his return with a triumph, in which were carried many valuable ſpoils of Greece and Aſia, a great many ſilver vaſes carved after the Greek faſhion, all the plate of the king of Syria, and his moveables, which were of an ineſtimable value, two hundred and thirty ſtandards, three thouſand pounds weight of ſilver in bars, an hundred and thirteen thouſand Attic tetradrachmæ, amounting to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ninety-five pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eight pence, and two hundred and forty-eight ciſtophori, pieces of ſilver coin current in Aſia, and amounting in the whole to four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-one pounds two ſhillings and two pence. Acilius alſo brought home with him forty-five crowns of gold, which were preſents made him by cities in alliance with Rome. Thirty-ſix Ætolian chiefs, taken priſoners in war, walked before the triumphant victor's chariot [P].

Antiochus totally defeated in the battle of Magneſia. Year after the flood, 2814. Before Chriſt 185. Of Rome, 563.

THE conſular year being expired, the faſces were transferred from Scipio and Lælius to M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulſo. The former was ſent into Ætolia, to ſettle affairs there, and the latter into Aſia, where he took upon him the command of the army, which had defeated Antiochus at Magneſia. As no nation had lent Antiochus more powerful ſuccours than the Gallo-Greeks or Galatians, the conſul reſolved to march againſt them and attempt the reduction of their country. They were originally

The Romans carry the war into Galatia.

[P] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 48.

ginally Gauls, who, to the number of twenty thouſand, had, in the time of Brennus, croſſed the Alps, and, paſſing through Thrace, entered Aſia, and ſettled in an inland country beyond Caria and Phrygia. The conſul being aſſiſted in his long march by Seleucus, the king of Syria's ſon, and by Attalus the brother of Eumenes, arrived at length upon the confines of Galatia. Upon his approach, the Galatians retired with all their effects and proviſions to the tops of high mountains, with a deſign to tire out the patience of the Romans, by leaving them to languiſh away their time in deſolate plains. The conſul marched firſt againſt thoſe Galatians, who were called Toliſtobii, and were poſted on mount Olympus, forced their intrenchments, ſlew great numbers of them, and took forty thouſand priſoners, including women and children. After the defeat of the Toliſtobii, the conſul led his army againſt the Tectoſagi and Trocmi poſted on mount Magaba, attacked their intrenchments with the ſame ſucceſs as he had done the other, and forced the whole nation to ſue for peace. He would not treat with them on the ſpot; but ordered their deputies to follow him to Epheſus, whither he retired with his army, the weather beginning to be very cold in Galatia. The Galatians obeyed the commands given them, and concluded a peace with the conſul on his own terms [q].

The Galatians entirely reduced.

The war with the Gauls in Aſia was ſcarce finiſhed, when a new one broke out with the Gauls and Ligurians in Italy. M. Valerius Meſſala, one of the new choſen conſuls, was ordered to Piſa, to watch the motions of the latter, and C. Livius Salinator, the other conſul, to march againſt the former. Fulvius and Manlius were continued in their reſpective provinces, in quality of proconſuls. Fulvius had, during his conſulſhip, eſtabliſhed all the cities on the continent of Greece in their antient freedom; but had added the iſland of Cephalenia to the demeſns of the republic. Hither he tranſported his troops, and now, being proconſul, made it the place of his reſidence, giving from thence law to all Greece. All diſputes between the Greek cities and ſtates were brought to this tribunal; ſo that in reality they had only an appearance of liberty. The conſuls of this year performed nothing worthy of notice

[q] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 26, & ſeq. Polyb. legat. xxxv. Val. Max. l. vi. c. i.

againſt the Gauls and Ligurians; and therefore the new conſuls, M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius, were both ordered againſt the Ligurians, whom they reduced in one campaign, and made all quiet between Hetruria and the Alps. During their conſulate, the proconſul Manlius arrived at Rome. After the reduction of Galatia, he had croſſed the Helleſpont in his way home. As he was paſſing through Thrace, a body of ten thouſand Thracians attacked him in a narrow paſs between woods, where the Romans could not form themſelves in order of battle. However, he eſcaped the danger, with the loſs only of ſome ſpoils, and, continuing his march through Theſſaly and Epirus, arrived at Apollonia, where he was to embarque; but the ſeaſon being now far advanced, he paſſed the winter there, and arrived in Italy early in the ſpring. He halted in the neighbourhood of Rome, and demanded, as uſual, a triumph of the ſenate, aſſembled in the temple of Bellona; but his requeſt met with great oppoſition. It was objected, that he had undertaken his expedition againſt the Galatians, without the orders of the republic, and carried it on more like a robber, than a Roman conſul. It was alſo urged, that he had been wanting in conduct, ſince he had ſuffered the Thracians to rob him of part of the ſpoils. But Manlius ſhewing that the Gauls had aſſiſted Antiochus, and excuſing, as well as he could, his diſaſter in Thrace, after a long debate, a triumph was decreed him by a majority of votes [1].

The Ligurians ſubdued.

And now, Rome being diſengaged from all foreign wars, the moſt zealous republicans took pleaſure in proſecuting the chief men in the ſtate. They thought it perhaps a refined policy to humble thoſe in times of peace, whom they had exalted in times of war. Cato, who had always been a ſecret enemy to Scipio Africanus, no ſooner ſaw the republic in a condition to do without him, but he reſolved to deſtroy him. With this view he engaged two tribunes of the people, both Petiliuſes, to cite him before the tribes, to anſwer to a charge of miſdemeanour. One of the tribunes made it matter of accuſation againſt him, that he had ſpent a whole winter in effeminacy and pleaſures at Syracuſe, before he went into Africa. The other charged him with the pillage of Locri, and many violences, which had been committed in that city by Pleminius, whom he had appointed governor of the place; but the

Scipio Africanus is accuſed before the tribes.

grand

[1] Liv. ibid. c. 45.

grand accuſation was, that he had received from Antiochus great ſums to procure him an advantageous peace. The number of the accuſers was ſo great, that the whole day was ſpent in their ſpeeches; ſo that the trial was poſtponed to twenty-ſeven days after. In the mean time, the tribunes moved in the ſenate, that Scipio ſhould be obliged to give an account of the ſpoils he brought from Aſia, and produce the book, in which he had ſet down the ſums he had received from Antiochus; and the ſenate complied with the motion. When the time came for determining the affair, it happened to be the ſame day of the year, on which he had obtained the famous victory over Hannibal at Zama. Scipio brought his book of accounts with him, and having only ſhewed it to the people, he tore it in pieces before them, ſaying, On this day Hannibal was conquered and Carthage ſubdued: why then do we trifle it away in hearing idle declamations? The gods expect us at the capitol: follow me, Romans; let us go thither, and jointly offer up our vows and thankſgivings. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the tribes began to move, and the whole aſſembly followed him; even the apparitores and other officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to attend the tribunes, deſerted them. This was a glorious triumph for the accuſed. However, he was cited to appear a third time; and then he gave way to the ſtorm, and retired to his country houſe near Liternum, in the neighbourhood of Naples. The tribunes proceeded in order to condemn him as by default, tho' Lucius Scipio appeared, and alledged, that his brother was ſick. This fury againſt ſo venerable a man raiſed the compaſſion even of his enemies. A tribune of the people, named Tib. Gracchus, tho' an avowed enemy to the Cornelian family, declared, to the great ſurpriſe of all, that, he thought, Scipio Aſiaticus ought to be believed concerning the ſickneſs of his brother; and then went on thus: If Scipio were at Rome, I would oppoſe his appearing to take his tryal. What! ſhall the conqueror of Carthage appear at the foot of our tribunal, to be reviled there by an inſolent populace? Did he conquer Hannibal and Antiochus, to fall a ſacrifice to the two Petiliuſes? Shall we pretend to triumph over a man, who has been honoured with ſo many triumphs of the nobleſt kind? Let him at leaſt find a ſafe retreat for his old age, in the port to which he is retired for refuge. This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the Scipios, had ſuch an effect on the reſt of the tribunes, that they diſmiſſed the

But comes off with great glory.

tribes, telling them, that they would conſider more maturely of the matter. Whether Scipio's ſickneſs was feigned or real, we cannot determine; but it is certain that he died ſoon after, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He is ſaid to have been ſo diſſatisfied with the cowardice of the ſenate, the iniquity of the people, and the ingratitude of both, that, at his death, he deſired his wife Æmilia, the daughter of Æmilius Paulus, who died ſo glorioufly at the battle of Cannæ, not to carry his bones to Rome. She erected a mauſoleum for him at Liternum, and there placed his ſtatue, with that of the poet Ennius, who was probably his faithful friend and companion of his retreat. Such was the end of the greateſt commander, and the moſt accompliſhed citizen the republic had ever produced [s].

Scipio Africanus dies at Liternum.

But even the death of the great Scipio did not extinguiſh the hatred of the implacable Cato to the Cornelian family. He thought the vaſt authority of the Scipios might prove dangerous to the republic, and therefore was reſolved to humble them. In republican ſtates precaution is often carried to ingratitude and injuſtice. To have done great ſervices is ſometimes enough of itſelf to make a man ſuſpected. The eyes of Africanus were ſcarce cloſed, when Cato turned his fury, or, as ſome call it, the bitterneſs of his zeal, againſt Aſiaticus. He drew up a petition to the people, which waspreſented by the two Petiliuſes: That the tribes would ſolicit the ſenate to order an enquiry concerning what money had been received from Antiochus, and from the cities in his dominions. This petition was accepted, and a decree paſſed purſuant to it, with an additional clauſe, That an enquiry ſhould be likewiſe made after the money received from the allies of Antiochus. Furius Purpureo, one of the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent into Aſia to ſettle the condi ions of peace with Antiochus, got this clauſe added, in order to include Manlius in the proceſs, who was ſuppoſed to have drawn great ſums from the Galatians. The perſon whom the faction pitched upon was Terentius Culeo, at that time prætor, but a ſecret enemy to the Cornelian family, tho' he had been formerly delivered out of ſlavery in Africa by Scipio Africanus, as we have related above. Before this unjuſt and partial judge Scipio Aſiaticus was cited to appear, and with him Aulus

Scipio Aſiaticus is arraigned before the people.

And Manlius.

[s] Vide Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. Aul. Gel. l. iv. c. 18. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 5. Plut. in Cat. & Gracch.

Aulus and Lucius Hoſtilius, two of his lieutenants, and C. Furius his quæſtor. The prætor, having heard the charge and received the depoſitions, declared Scipio, Aulus Hoſtilius, and Furius convicted; the firſt of having received from Antiochus, to procure him a favourable peace, ſix thouſand pounds weight of gold and four hundred and eighty pounds weight of ſilver; the ſecond of having received twenty pounds weight of gold in ingots and four hundred and three pounds weight of ſilver in bars; and the third of having received a hundred and thirty pounds weight of gold and two hundred of ſilver. The prætor condemned them to pay large fines. The two latter immediately gave ſecurity; but Scipio, ſtill inſiſting on his having accounted with the republic for all the money he had brought from Aſia, and refuſing to give bail, the officers were ordered to carry him to priſon; but then Scipio Naſica appealed from the prætor's ſentence to the people. While he was pleading his couſin's cauſe, the prætor Culeo ordered the houſe of the accuſed to be ſearched, and his goods to be confiſcated. But he did not find effects enough to pay the fine laid upon him; and it was much to his juſtification, that among all his moveables, not one thing was to be found, which could be judged to have been brought from Aſia. Naſica, being informed of this, took thence an occaſion to juſtify his relation. At the ſame time, Gracchus, diſſenting from the other tribunes, ſpoke with great eloquence in his favour. The multitude applauded what Gracchus ſaid; truth ſeized their minds all at once, and changed their affections. However, the prætor would not repeal his decree; ſo that Scipio's effects remained confiſcated, by which means he was reduced at once to a ſtate of beggary. His relations and clients endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of their preſents; and, had he done ſo, he would have been richer than he was when his effects were confiſcated: but it was in vain; he had courage enough not to fear poverty, and therefore would accept of nothing more than bare neceſſaries. Rome afterwards acknowledged his innocence and merit, ſent him embaſſador to terminate ſome differences between Eumenes and Seleucus, and, upon his return, took pleaſure to enrich him; inſomuch, that he was in a condition to celebrate games for his victory over Antiochus for ten days together at his own expence. All the ſhame of his diſgrace fell on the ungrateful Culeo and the tribunes. As for Cato, he only kindled the fire, and diſappeared when it burnt with moſt fury; and, the people being diſ-

Scipio is fined.

And his effects confiſcated.

poſed

poſed to think he meant well, he loſt no reputation; nay, he was ſoon after promoted to the greateſt honours. The Scipios, to expreſs their gratitude to Gracchus, beſtowed on him Cornelia, the younger daughter of the great Africanus, the elder being married to Scipio Naſica [t].

BEFORE the conſular year expired, the proconſul L. Fulvius Nobilior, being returned from Greece, obtained a triumph, but not without great oppoſition, for having reduced Ætolia. His triumphal proceſſion was ſet off with a great number of crowns of gold, a vaſt quantity of gold in ingots, and ſilver in bars, immenſe ſums of Attic and Macedonian money, multitudes of marble and braſs ſtatues, &c. Fulvius made rich preſents to his officers, gave twenty-five denarii, that is, ſixteen ſhillings and one penny, to every common ſoldier, fifty to every centurion, and ſeventy-five to every horſeman. As for his games, they were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence and judgment. On this occaſion the combats of the athletæ were ſeen for the firſt time in the arena at Rome, and the people were likewiſe entertained with the hunting of lions and panthers.

The combats of the athletæ introduced at Rome

The conſulſhip of Sp. Poſthumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus was ſpent in making preparations for carrying on the war againſt the Spaniards and Ligurians, who began to move anew. In the beginning of the following conſulſhip of Appius Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, three commiſſioners were ſent into Greece, to terminate ſome diſputes between the king of Macedon and the Greek republics. The commiſſioners choſe the vale of Tempe for the place where the contending parties ſhould meet; and Philip had the mortification to be cited before the tribunal of three Roman citizens. The ſeats in the court of judgment were ſo diſpoſed, that the commiſſioners ſat uppermoſt, the accuſers next, and the king the loweſt, as a criminal; for the Greeks pretended, that he had ſeized and detained many cities belonging to them. Philip anſwered the charge brought againſt him with an air of threatening; whereupon the commiſſioners, thinking it neceſſary to humble him, pronounced the following decree: Our will and pleaſure is, that the Macedonian garriſons evacuate forthwith all the places in diſpute, and that the kingdom of Macedon be reduced to its antient limits. Philip made no reply, but readily ſubmitted to the ſentence pronounced

[t] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 54---60. Plut. in Scip. & Gracch. Val. Antias apud Liv. l. xxxix. c. 22.

nounced againſt him. Thus the citizens of Rome began to determine the fate of monarchs, and treat them as their vaſſals [u]. In Spain, the two new prætors, Quinctius and Calpurnius, fought two battles with the Luſitanians. In the firſt they were defeated, and loſt five thouſand men; but in the ſecond they gained a complete victory, killed and took thirty thouſand of the enemy, and quieted the country for ſome time. In Italy, both conſuls marched againſt the revolted Ligurians. Sempronius carried the war into the country of the Apuans, in the eaſt of Liguria, and Claudius into the territory of the Ingauni, more to the weſt. The former ravaged the enemy's fields, pillaged their villages, burnt down the woods, and opened a way into the heart of the country. The latter fought ſeveral ſucceſsful battles with the Ingauni, took ſix of their cities, made a great many priſoners, and put to death forty-three of the ringleaders of the revolt. The campaign being ended, both conſuls returned to Rome to hold the comitia for the great elections, in which P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Porcius Licinius were choſen chief magiſtrates for the new year. When the cenſors came to be elected, Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus were, by a great majority, preferred to Scipio Aſiaticus, and other men, who had done the republic eminent ſervices. The cenſors immediately drew up a new liſt of the ſenators, and degraded ſeven of that illuſtrious body, among whom was Quinctius, the brother of Flaminius, for having killed with his own hand, when he commanded in Ciſalpine Gaul, a Boian nobleman, who fled to him for protection. This treacherous murder he had committed, only to gratify the curioſity of a young Carthaginian, for whom he had conceived an execrable paſſion, the infamous pathic expreſſing a deſire to ſee a man die a violent death. Manlius, or, as others call him, Manilius, was degraded, and his name ſtruck out of the liſt of the ſenators, only for having ſaluted his wife in the preſence of his daughter. Scipio Aſiaticus, ſince his diſgrace, had been made a Roman knight; but the rigid cenſor, out of an inveterate hatred to the Cornelian family, took away, upon what pretence is not known, the horſe which the public kept for him; ſo that the conqueror of Antiochus was now reduced to the condition of the moſt private perſons. After this, his ſeverity fell on multitudes of people; he laid a heavy tax on fine moveables, jewels, and all ſuperfluities

The Roman arms proſper in Spain and Liguria.

The cenſorſhip of Cato.

[u] Liv. l. xxxix. 21.

perfluities both of men and women; and, by ſuch popular acts, made himſelf ſo acceptable to the people, that they erected a ſtatue to him in the temple of Health. After the expiration of his cenſorſhip, he ſpent the reſt of his days in a private life. He found exerciſe enough for his philoſophy in his own family, his wife, who was of a high birth, being very expenſive and ill-tempered. He took upon himſelf the education of his only ſon, whom he would not ſuffer to be taught the learning of the Greeks, ſaying, That the only ſtudy of a Roman ſhould be how to conquer, and how to govern conquered nations. He was a great ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, an eloquent orator, a learned hiſtorian, and well ſkilled in rural affairs: but theſe accompliſhments were counterbalanced by great defects; he was extravagantly ſevere, jealous of the merit of others, and ambitious to a high degree. As a private perſon, he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up money. He uſed to ſay to his ſon, That no man deſerved any eſteem till he had doubled his fortune. In public he was ever extolling continence; but in private was familiar with a beautiful ſlave. To revenge himſelf on his ſon and daughter-in-law for treating her contemptuouſly, he married a ſecond time in his old age; and when his ſon aſked him by what act of diſreſpect he had incurred his diſpleaſure, he replied, I have no manner of complaint to make againſt you; your conduct is ſo prudent, that I am reſolved to have other children like you. As his merit and virtues were known, and his vices concealed, he acquired the eſteem of the multitude; ſo that, tho' four-and-forty times accuſed before the people, he was always acquitted [w].

His character.

THE following conſulſhip of Q. Fabius Labeo and M. Claudius Marcellus was remarkable for the death of two famous men, Philopœmen, of whom we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of the Achæans, and Hannibal, who, perſecuted by the Romans, had taken refuge in the court of Pruſias king of Bithynia; but that prince being obliged by the Romans, contrary to the laws of hoſpitality, to withdraw his protection from him, the illuſtrious Carthaginian, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemies, either drank a poiſonous draught, or took a ſubtle poiſon, which he is ſaid to have always carried about with him

The death of Philopœmen and Hannibal.

[w] Plut. in Cat. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 44.

him in his ring [x]. Thus died, to the eternal reproach of the Roman name, in the ſeventieth, or, as others will have it, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, a hero, who, to his laſt breath, was the terror of Rome. He is ſaid to have upbraided the Romans, before he took the poiſonous potion, with degenerating from the virtue of their anceſtors, who had honourably prevented the murder of their mortal enemy Pyrrhus; whereas they forced a king to violate the moſt ſacred laws of hoſpitality, to get rid of an old man in a treacherous and cowardly manner.

THE following year, when L. Æmilius Paulus and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus were conſuls, proved barren of great events. But the conſulate of P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus was remarkable for conſiderable victories, gained by the Roman armies in Spain and Liguria, and for the ſuppreſſing of a revolt in Sardinia. The ſame year a ſtop was put to immoderate expences in feaſts and entertainments. At the motion of one Orcius, a tribune of the people, it was enacted, that no man ſhould ſpend more than one hundred aſſes of braſs, that is, ſix ſhillings and five pence, at an entertainment; and the number of gueſts was likewiſe limited. In the ſucceeding conſulſhip of A. Poſthumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piſo, the proconſul Paulus Æmilius defeated the Ligurians, and reduced the whole country of the Ingauni. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the prætor of Hither Spain, was attended with equal ſucceſs againſt the Celtiberians, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed twenty-five thouſand of them on the ſpot, made four thouſand eight hundred priſoners of war, and took above five hundred horſes and ninety-eight ſtandards. The Romans loſt two hundred legionaries, ſeven hundred of the Latin troops, and two thouſand four hundred of the Spaniſh auxiliaries [y]. This ſame year Gentius, one of the kings of Illyricum, who had countenanced ſome piracies in the Adriatic, made his ſubmiſſions to the ſenate, and was pardoned. Before the conſular year was expired, the famous plebiſcitum was publiſhed, called the Villian law, from Villius Tappulus, tribune of the people, who got it paſſed in the comitia. It enacted, that no man ſhould be quæſtor before he was one-and-thirty years of age, curule ædile, before thirty-ſeven, prætor before forty, or conſul before forty-three; and

The Orcian law.

The Ingauni reduced.

The Celtiberians defeated.

The Villian law.

[x] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 51. Corn. Nep. in Hannibal. Plut. in Flamin.
[y] Liv. l. xl. c. 33.

and this law continued in force till the fall of the republic [z].

Two brothers choſen conſuls.

WHEN the time came for the elections, two brothers, the firſt inſtance of this kind, were promoted to the conſular dignity, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had lately triumphed for his victories in Spain, and L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus. The latter was called Manlius, becauſe he had been adopted into the Manlian family. Both conſuls marched againſt the Ligurians. Manlius performed no memorable exploits; but Fulvius, who was a great ſoldier, defeated the Ligurians in a pitched battle, killed three thouſand two hundred of them, and forced the reſt to leave their mountains and ſettle in the flat country. In Spain, the prætors Sempronius and Albinus made themſelves maſters of Munda and Certima, two important places belonging to the Celtiberians, over whom they gained ſeveral conſiderable victories. Sempronius is ſaid to have killed near forty thouſand of the Vaccæi and Luſitani; and Albinus to have deſtroyed about the ſame number of Celtiberians. The former, on his return, brought into the public treaſury forty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, and the latter twenty thouſand. they were both honoured with a triumph [a]. In Italy, M. Junius Brutus and A. Manlius Vulſo being choſen conſuls, the latter, without any orders from the ſenate or people, marched againſt the Illyrians and Iſtrians, commanded by Gentius their king. The conſul was ſhamefully ſurpriſed in his camp, and driven out of it; but he ſoon after recovered it again, and killed eight thouſand of the enemy, while they were drunk with the wine they had found in it. The king, drunk as he was, was put on horſeback, and conveyed away by his guards. Notwithſtanding this victory, the war was not finiſhed, before the ſucceeding conſulſhip of C. Claudius Pulcher and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. Claudius, by taking three towns, Neſattium, Mutila, and Faveria, brought the whole Iſtrian nation under ſubjection to Rome. The conſul Sempronius maintained in Sardinia and Corſica the glory he had acquired in Celtiberia. He either took or killed twenty thouſand of the rebels, and was on that account honoured on his return with a triumph, which was ſet off with a prodigious number of Sardinian captives, who were all ſold by auction; and hence came the proverb, Sardinians to ſell, tho' others carry the origin of it higher, as we have obſerved elſewhere.

The Iſtrians ſubdued.

THE

[z] Cic. Philip II. [a] Liv. l. xli. c. 7.

THE conſul Claudius, having ſubdued Iſtria, led his forces into Liguria, where he gained a complete victory over the rebels, having taken or killed fifteen thouſand of them. He then returned to Rome to preſide at the comitia, when Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalis and Q. Petilius Spurinus were choſen conſuls; but the former dying ſoon after of an apoplectic fit, C. Valerius Lævinus was elected in his ſtead. Petilius, jealous of the glory which Claudius gained in Liguria, where he acted as proconſul, haſtened thither, and took upon him the command of the army; but having attempted to force the Ligurian intrenchments, he was run through with a javelin, and killed, while he was leading on his men, after a repulſe, to renew the attack. However, the Romans, tho' deprived of their general, gained a conſiderable victory, and killed above five thouſand of the enemy, after they had made themſelves maſters of their camp [b]. The two following years were barren of military exploits. In the firſt P. Mucius Scævola and M. Æmilius Lepidus were conſuls; and in the ſecond Sp. Poſthumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola. During the conſulſhip of the latter, the ſtreets of Rome were paved, which had never been done ſince the building of the city. L. Poſthumius Albinus and M. Popilius Lænas being choſen conſuls for the new year, the latter marched againſt the Stelliates, a people in Liguria, bordering on the river Tanarus, and in a ſharp conflict, which laſted three hours, killed ten thouſand of them, and took ſeven thouſand priſoners and eighty two ſtandards. The Romans loſt three thouſand men, and the number of their wounded was exceeding great. After this defeat, the Stelliates, finding the forces of their nation reduced to ten thouſand men, ſubmitted to the conſul, without ſettling any terms. Hereupon Popilius took away their arms, diſmantled their cities, reduced them all to ſlavery, and ſold them and their goods to the beſt bidder; but this ſevere proceeding was reſented by the ſenate, and a decree paſſed, commanding Popilius to reſtore the money he had received for the ſale of the Stelliates, to ſet them at liberty, return to them their effects, and even to purchaſe new arms for them. The ſenate concluded their decree with words, which poſterity ought never to forget, Victory is glorious, when it is confined to the ſubduing of an untractable

The Stelliates ſubdued.

The equity of the Roman ſenate.

[b] Idem ibid. c. 16.

tractable enemy; but it becomes ſhameful, when it is made uſe of to oppreſs the unfortunate [c].

Two plebeians choſen conſuls.

THE following year, the Romans choſe for the firſt time two plebeians to the conſulate, P. Acilius Ligus, and C. Popilius Lænas. From this time to the dictatorſhip of Julius Cæſar, nothing was more common than to ſee two plebeian conſuls together. During the preſent conſulate, Eumenes king of Pergamus came to Rome, out of pure zeal to acquaint the ſenate, that Perſes, who had ſucceeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, was ſolliciting alliances in Greece and Aſia, and making great preparations for war. Tho' the ſenate kept the intelligence they had received from Eumenes an inviolable ſecret, yet Perſes, not doubting, but he had acquainted the conſcript fathers with his deſigns, reſolved to be revenged on him; and accordingly employed ruffians to murder him as he was going to Delphos, to pay his homage to the god worſhipped there. The king, tho' dangerouſly wounded, was afterwards cured; but the ſenate was ſo exaſperated at this wicked attempt upon the life of their friend and ally, that they commanded Solon and Hippias, two deputies ſent by Perſes to clear him of the crimes laid to his charge, to leave Rome immediately. They were ſcarce gone, when war was formally declared with the king of Macedon, for having uſurped from the allies of Rome ſeveral cities, and refuſed to reſtore them to their lawful owners. The prætor Sicinius was ordered to ſail from Brunduſium, with ten thouſand men for Apollonia, and begin hoſtilities. In the mean time, the conſular year being near expired, P. Licinius Craſſus and C. Caſſius Longinus were raiſed to the ſupreme magiſtracy. Macedon falling by lot to the former, two legions were appointed him of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe each, to which were added ſixteen thouſand auxiliary foot and ſix hundred horſe. Leave was likewiſe given him to chuſe as many as he pleaſed of the veterans, who were not yet fifty years old. When the neceſſary preparations were made for embarquing, new embaſſadors came from Perſes, repreſenting, that it was needleſs to ſend an army into Macedon, ſince the king their maſter was ready to give the republic all the ſatisfaction ſhe could require; but the ſenate ordered them back with the following anſwer, That a conſul would ſoon be ſent into Macedon, and that Perſes might treat with him, if he was ſincerely diſpoſed to give the Romans ſatisfaction [d].

The Romans declare war with Perſes king of Macedon.

SOON

[c] Liv. l. viii. c. 8. [d] Idem ibid. c. 10—36.

Soon after, the conſul Licinius embarqued with his troops at Brunduſium, landed at Apollonia, and marched to the Roman camp at Nymphæum; which poſt the prætor Sicinius had ſeized ſome months before. Hereupon Perſes aſſembled his army at Citium, conſiſting of forty thouſand Macedonians, and ſome thouſands of Gauls, Thracians, Cretans, Bœotians, and Ætolians. With theſe forces, which formed the moſt conſiderable army that had been ſeen in Macedon ſince the time of Alexander the Great, Perſes marched againſt the conſul Licinius, who, having left Nymphæum, was advanced into Theſſaly, and had encamped on the banks of the Peneus. As the king was much ſuperior to the conſul in cavalry, he drew near his camp, and inſulted him ſo far, that he was obliged to ſend out his light armed troops to oppoſe thoſe of the enemy; and then a ſmart action enſued, in which the Macedonians had all the advantage. The Romans, full of ſhame and confuſion, left their camp in the dead of the night, croſſed the river Peneus, and intrenched themſelves on the other ſide of it. The next morning the king paſſed the river after them; but they removed to a ſtronger and more inacceſſible place, where they received a reinforcement of a thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and twenty-two elephants, under the command of Miſagenes, the natural ſon of Maſiniſſa. The king, not being able to force the Roman intrenchments, and hearing that troops were marching from all parts to join the conſul, ſent, by the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, a new embaſſy to him, offering to maintain inviolably the treaty which had been made with his father, and to reſtore to the allies of Rome all the places which Philip had yielded to them; but Licinius returned the following anſwer to the deputies, There is no peace for Perſes, till he ſurrenders up himſelf and his dominions to the Romans at diſcretion. Hereupon Perſes, laying aſide all thoughts of peace, prepared to renew hoſtilities. He attempted to bring the enemy to a general engagement; but the conſul declining it, he ſet out in perſon, with two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, to fall upon ſome parties of the Romans, who were buſy in reaping. Licinius, having timely notice of his deſign, haſtened with the greater part of his army to the aſſiſtance of his foragers, met the king, and cut in pieces the beſt part of his life-guard, who were thought invincible. This defeat ſo diſheartened the king, that he retired into Macedon to ſpend the winter there. As for the conſul Licinius, after

Perſes gains ſome advantage over the Romans.

The Romans gain ſome advantages over Perſes.

ſome inconſiderable expeditions in Theſſaly, he took up his winter-quarters in Bœotia. His collegue Caſſius, tho' confined by his lot to Italy, had attempted to make his way into Macedon through Illyricum; but was recalled by the ſenate, and ſeverely reprimanded for engaging in ſuch an enterprize without orders [e].

THE following year, A. Hoſtilius Mancinus and A. Attilius Soranus being choſen conſuls, Macedon fell by lot to the former, who immediately ſet out for his province, and, arriving in Theſſaly, took upon him the command of the army; but was attended with no ſucceſs in two attempts which he made to enter Macedon. He firſt tried to force the paſs of Elymea; but his troops were put to flight by Perſes. After this, he endeavoured to make his way into Macedon through Theſſaly; but the king oppoſed him there likewiſe, and offered him battle; which the conſul, either out of cowardice or an exceſs of precaution, declined; ſo that this campaign was chiefly ſpent in vain projects. Hoſtilius was recalled, under pretence of aſſiſting at the elections, when Q. Marcius Philippus and Cn. Servilius Scipio were choſen conſuls. Theſe, when the levies came to be made, found the Roman youth, through ſome unaccountable humour, very obſtinate in refuſing to enliſt themſelves. Hereupon two laws were enacted by the people for regulating the enrolments. The firſt required all thoſe, who were under forty-ſix, to appear, in order to be incorporated in the legions; the ſecond ordered all thoſe who were come from Macedon, within three years laſt paſt, to return to their duty. The publication of theſe laws had ſo good an effect, that, in the ſpace of eleven days, a ſufficient number of ſoldiers were raiſed to recruit the armies in Spain and Macedon, and to form four legions, which were to be ready to march any-where upon the firſt orders. The levies being made, the conſul Marcius, to whoſe lot Macedon fell, haſtened into Theſſaly, reſolving, in ſpite of all difficulties, to force a paſſage into Macedon. Perſes, which is very ſurpriſing, never once appeared to oppoſe his march, tho' the roads were ſo bad, the paſſes ſo narrow, and the mountains ſo ſteep and craggy, that, by Marcius's own confeſſion, the Macedonian might have deſtroyed the whole conſular army with a handful of men. The conſul, having entered Macedon, marched firſt to Dium, and afterwards to Heraclea, made himſelf

The conſul Hoſtilius attempts in vain to enter Macedon.

[e] Liv. ibid. c. 42—51. Plut. in Æmil.

himself master of both these places, and then returned towards the frontiers of Thessaly, his army being greatly distressed for want of provisions. As he had no account of the king's army, he turned his thoughts wholly to the making of roads from Thessaly to Macedon, in order to facilitate the conveyance of provisions from one country to the other. He erected magazines all along the road, fortified them, and built houses for the convenient lodging of those who guarded the convoys. By this means he opened for his successors an easy entrance into a kingdom, which had hitherto been deemed inaccessible. In the mean time, Perses continued inactive in his camp, on the banks of the Enipeus, where he spent the greater part of the summer, without so much as offering to disturb the consul in the prosecution of a work, which secured to the Romans the conquest of Macedon. And now, both armies being retired into their winter-quarters, Perses, thinking it safest for him to sue for a peace, engaged Prusias king of Bithynia and the Rhodians to be his mediators. The former employed entreaties, and the latter menaces; but neither the one nor the other prevailed. As for the Rhodians, the senate threatened to chastise them for their insolence, as soon as the conquest of Macedon should be finished [f].

The consul Marcius Philippus opens a way into Macedon.

At Rome, the people were very uneasy at the slow progress of their generals in the conquest of Macedon, and therefore applied themselves wholly to find out a man, who should be capable of recovering the glory of the republic, and putting a speedy end to this war. The person they cast their eyes upon was Paulus Æmilius, a patrician of consummate virtue, bravery, and prudence, who had been consul thirteen years before. He was the son of the consul Æmilius, who perished in the battle of Cannæ, and the father of the famous Scipio Æmilianus, who was afterwards known by the name of the Second Africanus. This latter was named Scipio, from his adoption into the Cornelian family by the son of the great Scipio. The person raised to the consulate with Æmilius was Licinius Crassus, a man of great probity, who thought himself obliged to yield the conduct of the war in Macedon to his collegue, without drawing lots. Early in the spring, Æmilius set out for Macedon, and the prætor Anicius for Illyricum; Gentius, the king of that country, having openly declared for Perses. The prætor reduced all Illyricum in thirty days. Having first

The Romans conquer Illyricum.

[f] Liv. l. xliv. c. 18—46. Plut. in Æmil. Polyb. in legat. 87.

firſt defeated the Illyrian fleet, he marched his land forces to Scorda, the metropolis of the kingdom, whither Gentius had retired with an army of fourten thouſand men. Though the place was ſtrong and defended by ſuch a numerous garriſon, yet the king was ſo terrified at the approach of the Roman army, that he ſubmitted to the prætor at diſcretion, who committed him to the care of a legionary tribune. Some days after, the king, the two queens, his mother and his wife, with three princes of the royal family, were ſent captives to Rome, to grace in due time the prætor's triumph [g]. As for the conſul Æmilius, as ſoon as he arrived in Theſſaly, where his army was encamped on the banks of the Enipeus, he detached five thouſand men, under the conduct of his eldeſt ſon Fabius Æmilianus and of his ſon-in-law Scipio Naſica, to ſurpriſe Pythium on the top of mount Olympus. The king, who was encaped on the oppoſite ſide of the Enipeus, having notice of this motion, ſent out a more numerous detachment to intercept that of the conſul; but the Macedonians were defeated and cut in pieces. This diſaſter, and the news the king received at the ſame time of the misfortunes of Gentius, ſo diſheartened him, that he abandoned his camp, and retired in great haſte into Macedon, under the walls of Pydna. Thither Æmilius followed him; but reſtrained the impetuoſity of his men, who were eager to fight the very moment they arrived. He firſt formed a camp, and having finiſhed his lines, made his troops retire within them to repoſe themſelves that night. As the enemy's forces were drawn up in battalia, Scipio Naſica took the liberty to tell the conſul, That his declining an engagement would bring the reproach of cowardice upon him and his whole army; but the general made only this ſhort reply, At your age I talked as you do; and you at mine will act as I do. The next day a mere accident brought on a general engagement. A horſe, having got looſe from a Roman who was leading him, ran pretty far into a river between the two camps. Two Thracians of the enemy's guard, poſted on the other ſide, went into the water to ſeize the horſe, and three Romans at the ſame time haſtened to recover him. One of the Thracians being killed, his countrymen on guard, to the number of eight hundred, advanced to revenge his death. This put the Romans in motion, and by degrees brought

[g] Liv. ibid. c. 30—32. Appian. in Illyric.

brought on a general engagement. The king's army consisted of forty-five thousand men, the finest troops that had been seen in Macedon since the time of Alexander the Great. However, the Romans, by the excellent conduct of their general, obtained a complete victory, though they were considerably inferior in number. The Macedonians lost near twenty-five thousand men in the battle, five thousand were taken prisoners in the plain, and six thousand more in Pydna. The Romans are said not to have lost above an hundred men. As for Perses, he fled first to Pella, from thence with his family and his treasures to Amphipolis, and lastly, being abandoned by all his troops, to the island of Samothrace, which was dedicated to the mother of the gods, and on that account respected by all nations. The fugitive prince took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux, and there waited for some favourable turn of fortune. In the main time, the consul, having sent orders to Octavius the Roman admiral to invest the island of Samothrace with his fleet, marched into the heart of Macedon, and made himself master of Pella, Thessalonica, and many other important places. When he arrived at Siræ, a town in the most eastern part of the kingdom, he was met there by embassadors from Perses, who presented him a letter from their master; but Æmilius no sooner read the direction of the letter, where Perses styled himself king, than he turned his back upon the embassadors, and dismissed them without an answer. Hereupon the unhappy prince changed his style, and wrote as a private person, Perses to the consul Paulus Æmilius. This letter was well received, and the consul, in compliance with the king's request, sent three officers to confer with him. These demanded by way of preliminary, that Perses should abdicate the title of king, and leave his fate to be determined by the senate and people of Rome. This Perses would not by any means comply with, insisting that a lawful sovereign could not lay down his sovereignty, but with his life. In the mean time, Octavius, having landed his men in Samothrace, and invested the island with his fleet, pressed Perses, in an amicable manner, to throw himself on the clemency of the Romans. But the king being inflexible on that head, Octavius tried all means possible to persuade the inhabitants to drive him out of their island. The king, apprehending they might be prevailed upon to drive him away or deliver him up, privately contracted with a Cre-

Perses entirely defeated in the battle of Pydna.

tan merchant, whoſe ſhip lay at anchor under Demetrium, a promontory of Samothrace, to convey him and his effects into Thrace, to Cotys, his old friend and ally. He ſent part of his treaſures before him, and in the dead of the night ſet out himſelf, accompanied only by his eldeſt ſon Philip and three men in whom he could confide. His other children, his pages, who were the ſons of the chief lords of the kingdom, and all his retinue, he left behind him to the mercy of the Romans. But when he came to the ſhore, to his great ſurpriſe, he found no ſhip there. The perfidious Cretan had ſet ſail in the dead of the night, and carried off the treaſure he had on board. Hereupon the king, having rambled about the ſhore for ſome time in great perplexity what to do, returned at laſt into the temple, and concealed himſelf in a corner of it. In the mean time, Octavius having cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, That all Macedonians in Perſes's retinue, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves voluntarily to the Romans, ſhould have life and liberty, not one remained with Perſes, except his eldeſt ſon. The unhappy prince, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by his domeſtics, and even his children, ſurrendered himſelf at length to Octavius, and conſented to be carried, with his eldeſt ſon and the remains of his treaſure, to Amphipolis, whither the conſul came to meet him and receive his ſubmiſſions. Æmilius received him with great honour and reſpect, entertained him the firſt day at his own table, and then committed him and his children to the care of an officer, till the time he had fixed for tranſporting them to Italy [h]. Thus ended the ſecond Macedonian war, and with it the Macedonian monarchy, after it had continued in ſplendor about an hundred and ninety-three years, reckoning only from Philip, the father of Alexander the Great.

Perſes ſurrenders himſelf to the Romans.

And now, the conſular year being near expired, the comitia were held for the new elections, when Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus were raiſed to the conſulate. Liguria fell by lot to the latter, and Ciſalpine Gaul to the former. Æmilius was continued in the command of the army in Macedon as proconſul, and Anicius and Octavius in their reſpective provinces in quality of proprætors. During this conſulate, princes and embaſſadors came to Rome from all parts of the Levant, ſome to be rewarded, others to

[h] Liv. l. xliv. c. 32—46, & l. xiv. c. 6—8. Plut. in Æmil. Polyb. legat. 71.

to return thanks, ſome with compliments and preſents, and others to make apologies for their conduct. Pruſias, king of Bithynia, came to Rome in perſon, and carried his flattery to a monſtrous exceſs of meanneſs. The Rhodians, who had ſtood neuter and ſhewed a great inclination to aſſiſt Perſes, were deprived of all dominion over Lycia and Caria, formerly granted them. But the chief buſineſs of the ſenate was, to ſettle the government of the two conquered countries, Illyricum and Macedon. Inſtead of reducing them to Roman provinces, it was determined to change them into republics. Accordingly, ten commiſſioners were appointed to aſſiſt Paulus Æmilius in ſettling Macedon, and five to aſſiſt Anicius in Illyricum. When the affairs of Macedon and Illyricum were ſettled, and the proconſul was preparing to conduct his army back to Rome, he received poſitive orders from the ſenate to go into Epirus, and to plunder and demoliſh the cities of that country, for having aſſiſted Perſes, after they had by repeated oaths promiſed to be faithful to the Romans. Æmilius executed his inſtructions with great prudence and ſeverity, as we have related in the hiſtory of Epirus, and then ſet out for Italy. Anicius and Octavius arrived at Rome much about the ſame time, and they were all three honoured with triumphs. That of Æmilius was the fineſt Rome had ever ſeen. The city was ſo much enriched by the valuable ſpoils brought from Macedon, that ſhe had no occaſion to lay any tax on the people from this time to that of Auguſtus. Perſes ſent from the common gaol, where he was kept, to entreat the victor to ſpare him the confuſion of appearing in his triumphal proceſſion. Æmilius gave the meſſenger the following anſwer; Tell Perſes, that it long has been, and ſtill is, in his power to free himſelf from our chains. This was telling him, that death alone could deliver him from the diſgrace he feared. But the cowardly king, preferring the moſt ſhameful of all indignities to what was then deemed an honourable death, was led in triumph with his ſons, Philip and Alexander, his little daughter, and the chief nobility of Macedon. The triumph of Æmilius was followed the next day by that of the proprætor Octavius, admiral of the Roman fleet. The triumphal proceſſion of Anicius, the conqueror of Illyricum, was poſtponed for three months. King Gentius with his wife, children, his brother Caraventius, and ſeveral lords of his court, were led before the triumphant victor's chariot. Gentius was ſent with his family to Iguvium, a city

The kingdoms of Illyricum and Macedon changed into republics.

of Umbria; but Perſes was ſhut up in a cloſe priſon in Alba a city of the Marſi, where he died miſerably, as we have related in the hiſtory of Macedon [i]. Philip his eldeſt ſon is ſaid to have died before him; but his ſecond ſon, being put out to a turner, gained his livelihood, firſt by that profeſſion, and afterwards by doing the buſineſs of a ſcribe. And thus ended the race of the kings of Macedon [k].

Perſes dies.

THE following year, when C. Sulpicius Gallus and M. Claudius Marcellus were conſuls, proved barren of memorable events. In the ſucceeding conſulſhip of T. Manlius Torquatus and Cn. Octavius Nepos, Terence, the famous dramatic poet, was in his higheſt reputation. The faſces were afterwards transferred to A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Caſſius Longinus; during whoſe adminiſtration a cenſus was made, by which there appeared to be in Rome 337552 citizens fit to bear arms. Paulus Æmilius, who was at this time one of the cenſors, ſoon after the expiration of his cenſorſhip, fell ſick of a lingering diſeaſe, which in the end carried him off. Notwithſtanding the prodigious ſums with which he had filled the treaſury of the republic, he continued poor himſelf, and after his triumph led a private life. In the height of his glory, his two ſons by a ſecond marriage died, the elder five days before his triumph, and the younger three days after it. Juſt before his retreat he harangued the people, and taking notice of this ſevere ſtroke of fortune on himſelf, expreſſed an acquieſence to it, provided it might ſatisfy the gods, and avert any evils from the republic, which in ſo much proſperity ſhe might have reaſon to expect [l].

Paulus Æmilius dies.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus and M. Juventius Thalna being raiſed to the conſulate, the latter was obliged to ſail with an army into Corſica to quell a rebellion there; while the other marched againſt the Ligurians, who had taken arms anew. But theſe wars were in reality no more than an amuſement. During this conſulate, Antiochus Epiphanes died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus Eupator, who was but nine years old. Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus the late king's elder brother, had an indiſputable right to the crown of Syria. But the Romans, thinking it more for the intereſt of their republic to have a child upon the throne, excluded Demetrius, who had been twelve years an hoſtage at Rome, and, without the conſent or privity

[i] Vide Vol. viii. Book ii. Chap. ii. Sect. viii. near the end.
[k] Liv. l. xlv. c. 40, & ſeq. Plut. in Paulo. Æmil. [l] Plut. ibid. Liv. ibid.

vity of the Syrians, declared young Antiochus the ward of the republic, and appointed Cn. Octavius and two other Roman senators to govern, as his guardians, the kingdom of Syria, in the name and under the direction of the republic. Nor were the Romans satisfied with doing this injustice to Demetrius; they gave instructions to Octavius and his collegues to burn all the ships with decks belonging to their ward, disable his elephants, and, in a word, to weaken, as much as possible, the forces of his kingdom. In the following consulship of P. Cornelius Lentulus and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Octavius set out for Syria, and arriving at Laodicea, a maritime city between Tripolis and Antioch, began to put the severe orders of his republic in execution, under pretence, that, in virtue of the treaty with Antiochus the Great, the Syrians were to build no more ships of war, nor tame more elephants. The Syrians were highly exasperated at this presumption, especially Lysias, the young king's guardian, who being encouraged by the rage of the people against Octavius, hired an African to assassinate him. When the news of his murder reached Rome, Demetrius, who was still there, applied once more to the senate for leave to go and take possession of the kingdom, which of right belonged to him. But being a second time refused, by the advice of his friend Polybius the historian, he made his escape from Italy, got safe into Syria, and was there received and proclaimed king. The year following, when M. Valerius Messala and C. Fannius Strabo were consuls, the new king of Syria, to ingratiate himself with the Romans, sent an embassy to Rome, with a rich present of a crown of gold, and at the same time delivered up the African, who had murdered Octavius. The senate accepted the present, but sent back the assassin, telling the deputies, that such a victim was not an adequate satisfaction to the republic for the affront she had received [m].

The Romans declare young Antiochus king of Syria their ward.

Cn. Octavius one of his guardians assassinated.

THE consuls for the new year, L. Anicius Gallus and M. Cornelius Cethegus, went rather to encamp, than make war, one in Liguria, the other in Cisalpine Gaul. During their administration, the Romans entered into a treaty of confederacy with the Jews; and, at the request of Judas Maccabæus, who implored their protection against Demetrius, wrote the following imperious letter to the Syrian: Why have you insulted and oppressed the Jewish nation?

The Romans enter into an alliance with the Jews.

[m] Polyb. legat. 114---120. Appian. in Syriac. Justin. l. xxxiv.

nation? Know that the Jews are our allies. If you give them the trouble to ſend another embaſſy to complain of you, we will treat you as an enemy, and purſue you by ſea and land [n]. Of the two conſuls for this year Cethegus only gained himſelf ſome reputation by drying up the Pomptine marſhes, which infected the air of the whole neighbourhood, and reducing them to a fruitful plain, which, however, was afterwards drowned again by freſh overflowings of the rivers. The following conſuls, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius Nobilior, ſignalized themſelves yet leſs in their adminiſtration. In the conſulate of their ſucceſſors, M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lænas, Demetrius drove Ariarathes king of Cappadocia from the throne, for refuſing to marry his ſiſter, and placed upon it Orofernes, a ſuppoſititious ſon of the late Cappadocian king. Ariarathes fled to Rome for refuge, and pleaded his cauſe before the ſenate. But the Romans, purſuant to their common maxims of policy, ordered the kingdom to be divided between the two competitors [o]. The next year, when Sextius Julius Cæſar and L. Aurelius Oreſtes were conſuls, the Dalmatians, who bordered upon Illyricum, made incurſions, and committed great robberies there, though it was a country tributary to the republic. Nay, they would ſcarce vouchſafe an audience to Fannius the Roman embaſſador, who came to complain of theſe proceedings and demand ſatisfaction. The ſenate therefore, upon the report which Fannius made of the haughty treatment he had met with, reſolved to begin a war with Dalmatia.

The firſt occaſion of the third Punic war.

Another embaſſy, ſent this year into Africa, at the head of which was Cato the cenſor, paved the way for the third Punic war. Maſiniſſa had invaded Tyſca, a rich province belonging to the Carthaginians, and the diſpute being referred to the arbitration of the ſenate, ten commiſſioners were ordered to go into Africa, and determine it upon the ſpot. But when Cato and his collegues arrived there, the Carthaginians refuſed to accept them for judges, ſaying, that Scipio had ſettled their limits by a treaty of peace, and that, to alter his appointments, would be to reflect on the memory of the greateſt of men. This declaration provoked the pride of Cato to the higheſt degree. However, he diſſembled his reſentment, and, leaving Tyſca a prey to Maſiniſſa's troops, went to Carthage, and there examined every

[n] 1 Maccab. viii. [o] Polyb. in legat. 126. Diodor. Sicul. eclog. l. xxxi.

every thing with a malicious eye. When he returned to Rome, he reported, that Carthage was grown immenſely rich, that her magazines were crouded with ſtores, her ports full of ſhips, and that the war ſhe was making with Maſiniſſa, was only an introduction to a more important one with Rome. He concluded with a warm exhortation to the ſenate to loſe no time, but immediately to ſend troops with orders utterly to deſtroy a city, which would ever be an obſtacle to the progreſs of the Roman arms. From this time he was always inciting them to deſtroy Carthage. Whenever he gave his opinion in the ſenate, be the ſubject what it would, he never failed to conclude with theſe words; I am alſo of opinion, that Carthage ſhould be deſtroyed. But Scipio Naſica, who after the death of Paulus Æmilius, had the chief ſway in the ſenate, conſtantly oppoſed the too rigid cenſor in this particular. The two ſucceeding conſuls, C. Marcius Figulus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, prevailed upon the ſenate to declare war with the Dalmatians, the conduct of which was committed to the former, who, croſſing the Adriatic, landed in Illyricum, and marched thence againſt the enemy. The Dalmatians, who were a ſavage, but brave, people, ſurpriſed and defeated the conſul. But Scipio Naſica, who was raiſed to the conſulate the next year with C. Claudius Marcellus, being appointed to continue the war, laid ſiege to Delminium, the metropolis of Dalmatia, made himſelf maſter of it, and in one campaign brought the whole country under ſubjection. His collegue Marcellus gained likewiſe ſome advantages over the Ligurians [p]. The republic having choſen Q. Opimius Nepos and L. Poſthumius Albinus conſuls, ſhe ordered the latter into Spain, and the former into Tranſalpine Gaul. The avarice and extortions of the Roman prætors in Spain had cauſed almoſt a general revolt there. The legion commanded by the prætor Calpurnius Piſo had been defeated by the Luſitanians, and he himſelf with his quæſtor Terentius Varro had been killed in the battle. Poſthumius was therefore ordered thither. But his wife having given him, before he left Rome, a ſlow poiſon, he was taken ſo ill at ſea, that he could not bear the motion of the ſhip; ſo that he was brought back to Rome, where he died ſeven days after his return. Acilius Glabrio, who was choſen conſul in his room, was not ſent into Spain, the ſenate not judging him qualified to undertake

Dalmatia conquered by the Romans.

[p] Appian. in Illyric. 761. Liv. in epit.

take the re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs in that country.

The Romans penetrate into Tranſalpine Gaul.

As for the conſul Opimius, he penetrated into Tranſalpine Gaul to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Marſeilles, the old friends of Rome, againſt the Ligurians, who had taken from them two cities, Nicæa and Antipolis, defeated not only the Ligurians, but alſo the Deceatæ, who came to their aſſiſtance, and reduced their whole country, which comprehended the preſent territories of Antibes and Graſſe. Such was the firſt conqueſt the Romans made beyond the Alps [q].

It had been long cuſtomary for the conſuls not to enter upon their office till the ides, or fifteenth, of March; but this year, the neceſſity of ſending a conſul into Spain made the Romans aſſemble the comitia for the elections before the uſual time. Q. Fulvius Nobilior and T. Annius Luſcus were promoted to the conſulate, and entered upon their office the firſt day of January, their predeceſſors abdicating to make way for them. From this time to the end of the republic, the firſt of January was always the day for the conſuls to take poſſeſſion of the faſces. The elections being over, Fulvius was ſent with a conſiderable army into Spain, above half that vaſt continent being in a flame. The conful landed at Tarracon, and from thence marched againſt the Segedani and Aravacæ, who had united their forces to the number of twenty-five thouſand men, under the command of a brave general named Carus. He having laid an ambuſh for the conſul in a wood, ſurpriſed him, and killed ſix thouſand of his legionaries; but purſuing the fugitives with too much ardor into the plain, he was there attacked by the Roman horſe, and killed with ſix thouſand of his men. The battle was fought on the feaſt of Vulcan, a day which the republic ordered to be ever after deemed unlucky, like thoſe on which ſhe had loſt the battles of Allia, Cannæ, &c. This regulation was chiefly owing to an exceſſive reſentment of the ſenate and people againſt Fulvius. The Spaniards, having aſſembled their forces near Numantia, and choſen two new leaders, came to a ſecond engagement with the Romans; but were defeated by means of ſome elephants ſent by Maſiniſſa; the Spaniards of that country, who had never ſeen any of thoſe huge beaſts, being terrified at the ſight of them. After this victory, the conſul attempted to ſcale the walls of Numantia, whither the enemy had retired; but one of his elephants being wounded, the hideous noiſe it made ſo frightened the others, that they

The Roman arms unſucceſsful in Spain.

turned

[q] Polyb. legat. 131, 134. Liv. in epit.

turned upon the Roman legions, and put them into diſorder. The beſieged took advantage of the accident, ſallied out, totally defeated the conſul's troops, and killed four thouſand of them. Fulvius, after this ill ſucceſs and ſome other diſaſters that followed it, not daring to ſeparate his troops, even during the winter, encamped in the field, and, the ſeaſon proving very ſevere, great numbers of his men periſhed with cold, want, and fatigue. The campaign, which the Roman prætor Mummius made in Luſitania, was not much more ſucceſsful. Immediately after his arrival he offered the rebels battle, which they did not decline, being commanded by one Cæſaras, a Luſitanian of great courage and experience in war. The Luſitanians, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were put to flight; but the Romans purſuing them in diſorder, they rallied again, returned to the charge, killed nine thouſand of the prætor's men, took his camp, and plundered it. The Roman army, now reduced to five thouſand men, waited in an advantageous poſt for an opportunity of retrieving their reputation. And indeed they gained ſoon after ſome ſmall advantage over the enemy, cut a detachment of Luſitanians in pieces, and recovered the Roman ſtandards. A poor comfort after ſo great a misfortune! But it raiſed the courage of the Romans, and kept them from deſpairing [r].

The conſuls for the new year, M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus, no ſooner entered upon their office, than the former ſet out for Spain, with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. On his arrival he was attacked by the enemy; but Marcellus, who was an officer of great experience, put them to flight, made a great ſlaughter of the fugitives, and committed dreadful ravages in their country. Hereupon the rebels ſent one of their chief officers to ſue for peace, which Marcellus readily granted them upon very reaſonable terms. The conſul was deſirous of ſettling a general peace in Spain before his conſulſhip expired, that he might on that account be honoured with a triumph on his return to Rome. But the ſenate ſeeing through his deſign, and being likewiſe adviſed by ſome deputies, from two provinces in friendſhip with the Romans, not to grant the peace deſired, they not only refuſed to ratify the articles agreed upon between the conſul and the rebels, but reſolved to purſue the war with more vigour than ever [s].

In

[r] Appian. in Iberic. c. 286. Strab. l. iii. [s] Polyb. legat. 141. Appian. in Iberic. 281, 287.

Carthage provokes the Romans.

IN the mean time, a war began to break out in Africa. The Carthaginians, being continually haraſſed by the invaſions of Maſiniſſa, and tired out with the injuſtice and partiality of the Roman republic, entered into an alliance with Archobarzanes, the grandſon of Syphax and king of one part of Numidia, engaging him to march with a great army to the frontiers of Maſiniſſa's dominions. Rome looked upon this ſtep as a breach of the treaties between her and the ſtates of Africa, none of which were to take arms without her privity and conſent. Cato on this occaſion diſplayed his hatred to the Carthaginians, and was for immediately declaring war with that republic. But Scipio Naſica, who bore a greater ſway in the ſenate than Cato, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to have the war deferred, till an embaſſy ſhould be ſent to Carthage, to examine without paſſion into the true ſtate of affairs there. Naſica himſelf was appointed embaſſador for the negotiation he had propoſed. When he came into Africa, he conducted himſelf with great prudence and moderation, and taking upon him the office of mediator between Carthage and Maſiniſſa, he prevailed on the latter to reſtore the lands which had occaſioned the quarrel. Thus all commotions would have been quieted, had not a ſeditious Carthaginian, named Giſgo, a man in office and favour with the people, ſpoke in the public aſſemblies, with great warmth, againſt the peace, which had been juſt negotiated. He, by his ſeditious harangues, ſo inflamed the populace, that they would have offered violence to Naſica, if he had not ſaved himſelf by flight. Upon his retreat, thoſe in the ſenate of Carthage, to the number of forty, who had approved the peace, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment. The Roman ſenate was highly incenſed at the treatment their embaſſador had met with, and Cato much rejoiced to find Naſica at his return agree with him thus far, that Carthage deſerved to be deſtroyed. However, the vengeance of the republic was ſuſpended for ſome time, on account of the war with the revolted Spaniards[t].

WHEN the new conſuls, L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Poſthumius Albinus, were ordered to recruit the legions in Spain, none of the citizens would give in their names, proteſting, that they would not ſerve under the conſul to whoſe lot Spain ſhould fall, even in quality of lieutenants or legionary

[t] Appian. in Punic. Plut. in Catone. Liv. in epit.

onary tribunes. The accounts they had received of the hardſhips which the troops under Fulvius had ſuffered, by ſpending a whole winter in the field, diſcouraged them to ſuch a degree, that not one of the Roman youth appeared to enrol themſelves. To encreaſe the misfortune, the tribunes of the people protected thoſe who refuſed to enliſt themſelves, and even went ſo far, as to order the two conſuls to be carried to priſon, for forcing ſome young men into the ſervice. While the ſenate and conſuls were perplexed what methods to take, a young Roman, not above thirty years of age, extricated them out of their difficulties. This was Scipio Æmilianus, the ſon of Paulus Æmilius, and by adoption the grandſon of Scipio Africanus. One day when the people were aſſembled for the enrolments, he deſired leave to ſpeak to them; which being granted, he mounted the roſtra, and made an harangue full of the true Roman ſpirit. The ardor he expreſſed for the ſervice of his country, and his offering to go himſelf into Spain, in what capacity ſoever the conſuls ſhould think fit, had ſuch an effect on the people, that they were now as eager, as they had before been backward, to give in their names. Then the conſuls drew lots for their provinces, when Spain fell to Lucullus, and Ciſalpine Gaul to Poſthumius. It is uncertain, whether Scipio Æmilianus ſerved under Lucullus as one of his lieutenants, or only as a legionary tribune; but whatever was his poſt, he gained all the glory that was acquired during the war. Both Lucullus, who commanded in hither Spain, and the prætor Sulpicius Galba, who commanded in Luſitania, made themſelves infamous by the baſeſt treachery, cruelty, and avarice. The former, finding that his predeceſſor had granted the Celtiberians a peace, went of his own head to make war on the Turduli and Cantabri. Theſe had not given the Romans the leaſt provocation; but Lucullus, who was covetous to exceſs, wanted to reap ſome profits by his conſulſhip. With this view he entered their territories, and committed every where moſt dreadful ravages, putting the inhabitants of whole cities to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, even after they had ſubmitted upon terms. Æmilianus on this occaſion acquired a high reputation of probity, even among the oppreſſed Spaniards; and as for his bravery, he not only ſlew in ſingle combat a Spaniard of gigantic ſize, who had challenged the boldeſt of the Romans; but was honoured with a mural and civic crown. Lucullus ſoon after ſent him, probably out of jealouſy, into Numidia, under pre-

The cruelty of the Romans in Spain.

tence

tence of demanding ſome elephants of Maſiniſſa [u]. The prætor Galba, who was as covetous as Lucullus, and more cruel, penetrated into Luſitania, deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword, and glutted himſelf with the ſpoils of thoſe unhappy people. We are told, that he cruelly maſſacred above thirty thouſand Luſitanians, after he had ſolemnly promiſed them both their life and liberty, and by that means prevailed upon them to deliver up their arms. Neither the conſul Lucullus nor the prætor Galba were ſo much as accuſed before the ſenate or people, for theſe unjuſt and inhuman proceedings. The Romans were ſo prejudiced againſt the Spaniards, that they ſeem to have authoriſed the cruelties and injuſtice of their generals [w].

In the mean time, Guluſſa, the ſon of Maſiniſſa, arriving at Rome, confirmed the accounts which the ſenate had received from ſeveral quarters, that preparations were making at Carthage for an open declaration of war with the republic. Cato immediately laid hold of this occaſion to repeat the words he had ſo often uttered; There is no ſafety for Rome, till Carthage is deſtroyed. But the advice of Scipio Naſica ſtill prevailed; and at his motion deputies were ſent into Africa, to inform themſelves upon the ſpot of the preparations the Carthaginians were making by ſea and land. The deputies on their return reported, that Carthage had undoubtedly a deſign to make war in ſome other place than the continent of Africa; that her fleet was numerous and well equipped; and that ſhe had on foot a formidable army. But, notwithſtanding theſe appearances, and all the eloquence of Cato, Naſica had influence enough over the ſenate to ſuſpend the decree againſt the Carthaginians [x].

A war breaks out between Carthage and Maſiniſſa.

In the following conſulate of T. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Acilius Balbus, a bloody war broke out between Carthage and Maſiniſſa. The Numidian king, though now almoſt ninety years of age, to revenge an affront offered by the Carthaginians to his two ſons, Guluſſa and Micipſa, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and laid ſiege to Oroſcopa, a city ſubject to the Carthaginian republic. Hereupon Carthage ſent out a conſiderable number of troops, under the command of Aſdrubal, to relieve the place. In ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the Numidians had always the diſadvantage; whereupon Maſiniſſa, who had learnt the art of war under the great Scipio, pretending fear, retired before

[u] Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Paterc.
[w] Appian. ibid.
[x] Appian. in Punic.

before the enemy, and by degrees drew them into a place, where he had all the advantage he could wiſh for. Here he halted with a deſign to give the enemy battle. While he was preparing for a general engagement, news was brought him, that Scipio Æmilianus was come from Spain into Africa, to deſire, in the name of Lucullus, ſome elephants to be employed againſt the revolted Spaniards. Though Æmilianus was only the grandſon of Africanus by adoption, yet, upon the bare name of Scipio, the old king's affection and gratitude for a family, to which he owed his grandeur, revived. He would have gone in perſon to meet the Roman, if he had not been engaged in preparing for the battle, which was to be fought the next day, the two armies, each of them above fifty thouſand ſtrong, being encamped over againſt each other. However, he ſent his two ſons, with all his cavalry, to receive and eſcort him. When he arrived in the camp, Maſiniſſa ran to embrace him with great tenderneſs, and could not refrain from tears, in mentioning his old benefactor Scipio Africanus. He attended him all over the camp, acquainted him with the preparations he was making againſt the next day's engagement, and made the flower of his troops paſs in review before him. Æmilianus was highly pleaſed with this ſight; but the chief object of his ſurpriſe and admiration was the king himſelf. His great age had neither abated the vigour of his mind nor the ſtrength of his body, ſo as to render him unable to ſuſtain military labours. He mounted and diſmounted his horſe with the activity of a young man. He rid, after the Numidian manner, without a ſaddle, and continued all day, and ſometimes all night, on horſeback. He had no better proviſions than the meaneſt of his ſoldiers. In ſhort, Maſiniſſa, as Æmilianus ſaid on his return to Rome, was not old in any reſpect, but his long experience in buſineſs and arms. As Rome had not yet openly broken with Carthage, the next morning Æmilianus retired from Maſiniſſa's camp, not thinking it lawful for him to have any ſhare in the action, and poſted himſelf on the top of an eminence, whence he ſaw very diſtinctly one of the greateſt battles that had ever been fought in Africa. It laſted from the riſing of the ſun till night; both parties performed great exploits, and the victory was long in ſuſpenſe; but at length declared for Maſiniſſa. Then Æmilianus came down from his eminence, returned to the camp of the conqueror, and congratulated him on his victory. Maſiniſſa, on this joyful occaſion, gave the Roman the ſincereſt proofs of an inviolable

The Carthaginians defeated by Maſiniſſa.

violable attachment to his republic and eſteem for his family, granted him the elephants he demanded, and kept him with him as long as he could [y]. As this victory was not deciſive, Æmilianus undertook to negotiate a peace between the two parties. But, his mediation proving ineffectual, hoſtilities renewed with more animoſity than ever. After many ſlight battles, Maſiniſſa ſo blocked up the Carthaginian camp, that no convoys could be brought to it, or detachments ſent out without great difficulty. The Carthaginian army which was very numerous, having now no communication with the country, was ſoon reduced to the laſt extremity. At firſt they lived upon the fleſh of their horſes, and then boiled the harneſſes of their carriages, burning their bucklers and the ſhafts of their ſpears for want of wood. The famine produced a plague, which carried off more men than they had loſt in all the engagements. In this extremity Aſdrubal yielded to all the conditions of peace, which the Numidians thought fit to impoſe upon him. Among other things, Maſiniſſa obliged all the Carthaginians to paſs under the yoke, unarmed and half naked. Theſe unhappy wretches, thus branded with ignominy, and ſo weak that they could ſcarce ſtand, comforted themſelves at leaſt with hopes of ſeeing their native country again. But revenge inſpired Guluſſa with a very cruel reſolution.

The Carthaginians treacherouſly maſſacred by Guluſſa.

The Carthaginians had formerly laid an ambuſh to ſurpriſe him and his brother Micipſa, on their return from Carthage to Numidia, and, falling upon them, had on that occaſion killed ſome of their attendants. This Guluſſa remembered; and, to revenge one perfidious act with another, let looſe the Numidian horſe on the diſarmed multitude. Whether Maſiniſſa was privy to his ſon's treachery, was never known. But however that be, the Numidian horſe coming up with thoſe unhappy men, who, being exhauſted with hunger and diſtempers, had neither courage enough to reſiſt, nor ſtrength to fly, butchered them like ſo many victims; ſo that of fifty-eight thouſand men only Aſdrubal, and ſome other officers of diſtinction, eſcaped the general maſſacre. The Romans had ſent embaſſadors into Africa, under pretence of putting an end to the differences between Carthage and Numidia, in an amicable manner. But they had private inſtructions to take upon them the office of mediators, only in caſe Maſiniſſa was defeated. If that prince ſhould happen to get the better, their

[y] Idem ibid.

their directions were to encourage him to puſh the Carthaginians to the utmoſt extremity, which they did accordingly; and then, taking advantage of the prodigious loſs the Carthaginians had ſuſtained, deferred no longer to declare war againſt them, though they ſent an embaſſy to Rome, offering all kinds of ſubmiſſion, and even leaving it to the ſenate to propoſe their own terms [z].

The third Punic war.

As ſoon as the new conſuls, L. Marcius Cenſorinus and M. Manilius Nepos, entered upon their office, they cauſed the war with Carthage to be proclaimed in the comitia of the people, and then drew lots for their provinces, the command of the fleet falling to Marcius, and that of the land-forces to Manilius. When all things were ready for their expedition into Africa, embaſſadors arrived at Rome from the people of Utica, offering to ſurrender up their city to the republic, and deſiring to be admitted into an alliance with Rome. The Carthaginians, terrified at the defection of ſo powerful a city, and the great preparations which were making at Rome, reſolved to avert the impending ſtorm, by yielding themſelves and their dominions to the Romans by way of dedition; which was to give them an abſolute authority over every thing in the country, their cities, lands, rivers, temples, &c. and likewiſe over all the inhabitants, of what rank ſoever, ſex, or condition. The embaſſadors, who came to Rome to make this abſolute ſurrender, were well received by the ſenate, and told, that ſince they had done all that could be required of them, they ſhould enjoy their lands, effects, laws, and liberty as before, upon condition, that they ſent three hundred hoſtages to the conſuls, who were now in Sicily, and put in execution what they ſhould think fit to command them. The embaſſadors, overjoyed at this unexpected ſucceſs, took their leave of the ſenate, and flew to Carthage with the good news. Moſt of the Carthaginian ſenators cried up the moderation of the Romans; but ſome began to ſuſpect, that Rome concealed ſome artifice under this appearance of clemency. However, a decree paſſed, commanding three hundred hoſtages to be ſent to Lilybœum, where the Roman fleet lay at anchor. The conſuls, having ſent them on board a ſquadron to Italy, immediately ſet ſail for Utica, and there landed their troops to the number of ſeventy-four thouſand men, horſe and foot. As ſoon as the troops were landed, Manilius went

The Carthaginians yield themſelves and their dominians to the Romans.

[z] Idem ibid.

to take poſſeſſion of the ſame ground, on which the great Scipio had encamped, when he inveſted Carthage. It is eaſy to judge of the conſternation the Carthaginians were in, when they beheld ſo terrible an army in their neighbourhood, and were at the ſame time informed, that war had been declared againſt them, notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſions they had made. They ſent deputies to the conſuls, to expoſtulate with them and to learn their intentions. The Roman generals received them with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They ordered all their ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms; and the deputies paſſed through two long lines of men, drawn up on each ſide of them, colours flying, and were conducted, by ſound of military inſtruments, from the gate of the camp to the conſul's quarters. There the two collegues received them, ſitting upon two high thrones, and ſurrounded by their chief officers, who were divided from the croud by a bar, within which the embaſſadors themſelves were not ſuffered to enter. As ſoon as the noiſe of the trumpets ceaſed, the head of the embaſſy made a long ſpeech, in which he complained of Rome for ſending an army into Africa, after the Carthaginians had delivered up their eſtates, lands, and poſſeſſions to the Roman ſenate at diſcretion. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he deſired the conſuls, in a moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to acquaint him with the real intentions of the ſenate. Marcius anſwered, that he would gradually communicate to them the orders he had received, beginning with that which required moſt diſpatch; and then added, ſince you are under the protection of Rome, and ſincerely deſire peace, what occaſion have you for that vaſt number of arms with which your magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a freſh proof, that your love of peace is not feigned. The embaſſadors, ſtunned with this demand, knew not at firſt what to anſwer. But at length, recollecting themſelves, remonſtrated to the conſul, that Carthage had other enemies to contend with beſides the Romans; and therefore could not ſafely be without arms; that ſhe was in danger of being attacked by Aſdrubal, who, being condemned to die for having offended Rome by his late war with Maſiniſſa, had made his eſcape, and drawn together an army of twenty thouſand men. To this the conſul briſkly replied, Be eaſy, Carthaginians; Rome will provide for your ſafety. Obey, and be in no concern about any thing elſe. What could they do but ſubmit? Carthage wanted the neceſſary ſtores of proviſions to ſuſtain a ſiege;

ſiege; and had neither auxiliaries nor mercenaries; all the flower of her youth had been deſtroyed in the late battle with Maſiniſſa; her fleet was not fitted out, and that of the Romans was ſtronger and barred up the harbour. The Carthaginians therefore, without any fraud, delivered up their arms and engines of war to the Roman quæſtors ſent to Carthage for that purpoſe. The Romans were ſurpriſed, when they ſaw the long train of carts, loaded with arms, which were brought to the camp by the Carthaginians themſelves. Some hiſtorians ſay, they were ſufficient to have armed all Africa. At leaſt it is certain, that there were put into the conſul's hands two thouſand catapultæ, two hundred thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and an infinite number of ſwords, darts, javelins, arrows, and of beams armed with iron, which were thrown from the ramparts by the baliſtæ. This convoy of arms was attended by the moſt venerable old men and the prieſts in their ſacred attire, who were well qualified by their character and age to mollify the Romans. The conſuls received them ſitting on their tribunal; and Marcius, who had more eloquence than his collegue, putting on a ſerious and majeſtic air, addreſſed himſelf to them thus: We are well pleaſed with theſe firſt inſtances of your obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. I have now but one thing more to require of you in the name of the Roman people. I will therefore, without further preample, plainly declare to you an order, on which the ſafety of your republic, the preſervation of your goods, your lives, and liberty depend. Rome requires, that you abandon your city, which we are commanded to level with the ground. You may build yourſelves another where you pleaſe, provided it be ten miles from the ſea, and without walls or fortifications. A little courage and reſolution will get the better of the affection, which attaches us to our old habitations, and is founded more in habit than in reaſon. At theſe words the Carthaginian deputies were thunderſtruck. Some of them ſwooned away: others expreſſed their ſorrow in cries and lamentations; and all were in the utmoſt conſternation. Even the Roman ſoldiers were affected with ſo moving a ſight; but the conſuls, without ſhewing the leaſt concern, Theſe ſudden fits, ſaid they, wear off by degrees; time and neceſſity teach the moſt unfortunate to bear their calamities with patience. The Carthaginians, when they recover their ſenſes, will chuſe to obey. While the others, in the height of their grief, rage,

They deliver up their arms to the Romans.

The Roman conſuls command the Carthaginians to demoliſh their city.

and deſpair, were uttering imprecations againſt the Romans, one Hanno, a venerable old man, and more compoſed than the reſt, endeavoured in a long ſpeech to move the conſuls to compaſſion, and concluded by earneſtly entreating them at leaſt to allow the Carthaginians time to make freſh applications to the ſenate of Rome. But the conſuls were inflexible; they would neither recede from the ſentence they had paſſed, nor ſuſpend the execution of it. The deputies returned to Carthage, and made their report; and then the whole city was nothing but horror and confuſion. The people, as actuated by ſo many furies, broke into the ſenate-houſe, and vented their rage on thoſe who had adviſed the giving of hoſtages, and the delivering up the arms, which they now wanted for their defence. They did not ſpare even the deputies themſelves; but dragged them through the ſtreets with ignominy, as inauſpicious meſſengers. However, among this great number of raving people, a few, leſs tranſported than the reſt, acted with ſome appearance of reaſon. They took care to ſhut the gates of the city, and gathered together on the ramparts great heaps of ſtones to ſerve them inſtead of other arms in caſe of a ſurpriſe. At length, when the firſt commotion was a little abated, the ſenators aſſembled, and reſolved to ſuſtain a ſiege. They were ſtripped of their arms and deſtitute of proviſions; but deſpair raiſed their courage, and made them find out expedients. They began with taking the malefactors out of priſon, giving the ſlaves their liberty, and incorporating them in the militia. Then a pardon was granted to Aſdrubal, who had been ſentenced to die only to pleaſe the Romans; and he was invited to employ the twenty thouſand men he had raiſed, in the defence of his country. Another Aſdrubal was appointed to command in Carthage; and all ſeemed reſolute, either to ſave their city, or periſh in its ruins. They wanted arms; but what cannot deſpair compaſs? By order of the ſenate, the temples, porticos, and all public buildings, were turned into work-houſes, where men and women were continually employed in making arms. As they encouraged one another in their work, and loſt no time in procuring to themſelves the neceſſaries of life, which were brought to them at ſtated hours, they every day made an hundred and forty-four bucklers, three hundred ſwords, a thouſand darts, and five hundred lances and javelins. As to baliſtæ and catapultæ, they wanted proper materials for them; but their induſtry ſupplied that defect. Where iron

The Carthaginians reſolve to ſuſtain a ſiege.

iron and braſs were wanting, they made uſe of gold and ſilver, melting down the ſtatues, vaſes, and even the utenſils of private families; for on this occaſion the moſt covetous became liberal. As tow and flax were wanting to make cords for working the machines, the women, even thoſe of the firſt rank, freely cut off their hair, and joyfully dedicated to that uſe the fineſt ornament of their heads. Without the walls Aſdrubal employed the troops under his command in getting together proviſions, and conveying them ſafe into Carthage; ſo that there was as great plenty there as in the Roman camp [z].

In the mean time, the conſuls delayed drawing near to Carthage, not doubting, but the inhabitants, whom they imagined deſtitute of neceſſaries to ſuſtain a ſiege, would upon cool reflection ſubmit; and this delay coſt the Romans many battles and much blood. At length, finding themſelves deceived in their expectation, they came before the place and inveſted it. As they were ſtill perſuaded, that the Carthaginians had no arms, they flattered themſelves that they ſhould eaſily take the place by aſſault. Accordingly, they approached the walls, in order to plant their ſcaling ladders; and then, to their great ſurpriſe, they diſcovered a prodigious multitude of men on the ramparts, ſhining in the armour they had newly made. The legionaries were ſo terrified at this unexpected ſight, that they drew back and would have retired, if the conſuls had not led them on to the attack; which, however, proved unſucceſsful, the Romans, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, being obliged to give over the enterpriſe, and lay aſide all thoughts of taking Carthage by aſſault. In the mean time, Aſdrubal, having drawn together from all places ſubject to Carthage, a prodigious number of troops, came and encamped within reach of the Romans, and ſoon reduced them to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, their parties not daring to venture out of the camp to forage, for fear of the Carthaginian cavalry, which was ſuperior to that of the Romans. As Marcius was poſted near a marſh, for the two conſuls encamped ſeparately, the exhalations of the ſtagnating waters and the heat of the ſeaſon infected the air, and cauſed a general ſickneſs among his men. Marcius therefore ordered his fleet to draw as near the ſhore as poſſible to receive his troops, and tranſport them to a healthier place, but ſtill within reach of Carthage. Aſdrubal, who

The Romans repulſed in the firſt attack.

commanded

[z] Liv. in epit. Polyb. legat. 142. Appian. in Plin.

commanded in the city, having notice of this motion, ordered all the old barks in the harbour to be filled with faggots, tow, ſulphur, bitumen, and other combuſtible materials; and then, taking advantage of the wind, which blew towards the enemy, let them drive upon their ſhips, which were for the moſt part conſumed. After this diſaſter, Marcius was called home to preſide at the elections, and Manilius ordered to continue the war in Africa. The Carthaginians, looking upon the removal of one of the conſuls as a happy preſage of their ſpeedy deliverance, made a briſk ſally in the night, and would have ſurpriſed the conſul's camp, had not Æmilianus, with ſome ſquadrons, marched out of the gate oppoſite to the place where the attack was made, and, riding full ſpeed round the camp, attacked the enemy, who expected nothing leſs, in the rear, and obliged them to return in diſorder into the city. Aſdrubal had poſted himſelf under the walls of a city, named Nepheris, but twenty-four miles diſtant from Carthage, and ſituated on a high mountain, which ſeemed inacceſſible on all ſides. From thence the Carthaginian general made incurſions into the neighbouring country, intercepted the Roman convoys, fell upon their detachments ſent out to forage, and even ordered parties to inſult the conſular army in their camp. Hereupon the conſul reſolved to drive Aſdrubal from this advantageous poſt, and, contrary to the opinion of Æmilianus, who was well appriſed of the difficulty of the enterpriſe, ſet out on his march for Nepheris. As he drew near the hills, Aſdrubal all on a ſudden appeared at the head of his army in order of battle, and fell upon the Romans with incredible fury. The conſular army ſuſtained the attack with great reſolution, and Aſdrubal retired in good order to his former poſt, hoping the Romans would attack him there. But the conſul, being now convinced, that his deſign could not be purſued without endangering the whole army, reſolved to retire; and accordingly began to march back. This Aſdrubal no ſooner perceived, than he came down from the mountains, like a torrent, and falling upon the enemy's rear, cut a great many of them in pieces. All authors agree, that the whole army would have been loſt, if it had not been for the bravery and prudent conduct of Scipio Æmilianus, who, being at this time only a legionary tribune, renewed the famous exploit of Horatius Cocles. At the head of three hundred horſe he ſuſtained the attack of all the forces commanded by Aſdrubal, and covered the legions, while they paſſed

Part of the Roman fleet deſtroyed.

Scipio Æmilianus ſaves the Roman army.

paſſed a river in their retreat before the enemy. Then he and his companions threw themſelves into the ſtream, and ſwam croſs it. The Romans loſt in this raſh enterpriſe a great number of men, and among the reſt three legionary tribunes, who had been the moſt ſanguine in promoting it, contrary to the opinion of Æmilianus. When the Romans had croſſed the river, they perceived that four manipuli were wanting, and were ſoon after informed, that theſe brave men, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, had poſted themſelves on an eminence, reſolved at leaſt to ſell their lives dear. This news raiſed the compaſſion of Æmilianus, who taking with him a choſen body of horſe and proviſions for two days, returned croſs the river, and flew to the deliverance of his countrymen. He ſeized a hill over-againſt that on which the four manipuli were poſted, and after ſome hours repoſe marched againſt the Carthaginians, who kept them inveſted, fell upon them at the head of his ſquadron with the boldneſs of a man who was determined to die or conquer, and in ſpite of all oppoſition, opened a way for his fellow-citizens to eſcape. On his return to the camp, the ſoldiers, who had given him for loſt, carried him to his quarters in a kind of triumph; and the manipuli he had ſaved gave him a crown of gramen or graſs, gathered on the ſpot where he had ſignalized his valor, which was deemed more honourable than the richeſt preſents. By theſe and many other glorious exploits, Æmilianus in this unfortunate campaign gained ſuch reputation, that Cato, who is ſaid never to have commended any body before, could not refuſe the young tribune the praiſes he deſerved, which, however, he mixed, after his uſual manner, with ſevere reflections on the other officers of the army in Africa. This rigid philoſopher died ſoon after, at the age of eighty-four or eighty-five: he is ſaid to have foretold, before he expired, that Carthage would never be reduced, till Scipio Æmilianus was employed in that expedition [b].

The Roman arms unſucceſsful in Spain.

In Spain, the Roman arms were yet more unſucceſsful than in Africa. The prætor Vetilius, who commanded ten thouſand men in the further province, loſt four thouſand of them in a battle againſt the Luſitanians, under the conduct of one Viriathus, who was firſt a famous hunter, afterwards a captain of banditti, and at laſt a commander in chief of the Luſitanian rebels. The prætor himſelf was taken

[b] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Cat. Appian in Punic.

taken priſoner; but the ſoldier who took him, ſeeing him old and fancying no body would purchaſe him, killed him without knowing who he was. Upon the news of this diſaſter, the republic immediately ſent C. Plautius into Spain, with a reinforcement of ten thouſand foot and thirteen hundred horſe. Theſe, being joined by great numbers of Spaniards, who continued faithful to the republic, made a formidable army. But Viriathus, after having cut in pieces by a ſtratagem a detachment of four thouſand Romans, ventured to engage them in a pitched battle, which he conducted with ſuch dexterity, that the prætorian army was entirely defeated, and forced to ſhut themſelves up all the ſummer in the neghbouring cities; ſo that the brave Luſitanian, being now maſter of the field, laid the whole country under contribution [c].

Macedon revolts.

THESE were not the only loſſes the republic ſuſtained this year. In Macedon one Andriſcus, who pretended to be the ſon of Perſes by one of his miſtreſſes, and had taken the name of Philip, being aſſiſted by the Thracians, obliged the Macedonians to own him for their king, and conquered part of Theſſaly. Scipio Naſica, whom the ſenate ſent into Greece to learn the true ſtate of affairs, by the aſſiſtance of the Achæans, drove the falſe Philip out of Theſſaly. But the prætor Juventius Thalna, who ſucceeded Naſica, having attempted to force his way through the narrow paſſes into Macedon, loſt in that raſh undertaking both his life and the legion he commanded. By this means Philip reduced all Theſſaly, and ſettled himſelf on the throne of Macedon.

AT Rome, Sp. Poſthumius Albinus Magnus and L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſonius being choſen conſuls for the new year, the conduct of the war in Africa fell by lot to the latter. But, as he did not haſten to his province, Manilius, who continued to command the army in quality of proconſul, endeavoured to repair the faults he had commited during his conſulate. He frequently ſent out Æmilianus with ſtrong parties to pillage the neighbouring country, and intercept the enemy's convoys, and the tribune was always attended with uncommon ſucceſs. He took ſeveral caſtles, and among the reſt Tezaga, a place of great ſtrength. In one of theſe expeditions he found means to have a private conference with one Phameas, general under Aſdrubal of the Carthaginian cavalry, and brought him over

Æmilianus gains over the general of the Carthaginian cavalry.

[c] Appian. in Iberic.

over together with two thouſand two hundred of his horſe to the Roman intereſt. Phameas was an able commander, who, by his bravery and ſkill in war, had exceedingly diſtreſſed the Roman army; ſo that the gaining of his friendſhip was reckoned an important acquiſition. The proconſul ſent him ſoon after with Æmilianus to Rome, to receive the honours and rewards he deſerved from the republic. At the ſame time, Manlius wrote a letter to the ſenate, wherein he acknowledged himſelf indebted to Æmilianus for whatever ſucceſſes he had met with during the campaign [d].

In the mean time, the conſul Calpurnius Piſo and the prætor Mancinus arrived in Africa, the former to command the land-forces, and the other the fleet. Theſe two generals formed a very different plan for the campaign from that of Marcius and Manilius. For, inſtead of purſuing the ſiege of the capital, they applied themſelves wholly to the reducing of ſome other cities on the African coaſt, which they attacked both by ſea and land. They firſt inveſted Clupea, but were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe with ſhame and confuſion, the inhabitants having in ſeveral ſallies killed great numbers of their men. From Clupea the conſul went to vent his rage on a city newly built and thence called Neapolis, which profeſſed a ſtrict neutrality, and even had a ſafeguard from the Romans. However, the conſul plundered the place, and ſtript the inhabitants of all their effects. After this he laid ſiege to Hippagreta, which employed the Roman fleet and army the whole ſummer. When the winter drew near, the conſul raiſed the ſiege, and returned with his fleet and army to Utica, without having performed one valiant action during the whole campaign. In the mean time, the Carthaginians ſent deputies to the new king of Macedon, encouraging him to continue the war againſt Rome. But the prætor Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who now commanded the Roman forces in Macedon, having defeated this mock king in two pitched battles, obliged him to ſhelter himſelf in the court of one of the petty kings of Thrace, who afterwards delivered him up to the Romans. He was ſcarce reduced, when another impoſtor ſtarted up, who called himſelf Alexander, and pretended likewiſe to be the ſon of Perſes. But, as his followers were rather a confuſed rabble than an army,

Macedon reconquered.

[d] Appian in Punic. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 11. Zonar. l. ix.

army, they were eaſily diſperſed, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Macedon.

Scipio Æmilianus choſen conſul.

And now, the time of the elections drawing near, the people, conſidering that the republic wanted great generals, reſolved to have regard to nothing but merit; and as Scipio Æmilianus was, in their opinion, the only man who could retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms in Africa, they diſpenſed with the Villian law in his favour, which required every candidate for the conſulſhip to be forty-three years old, and raiſed him to the conſular dignity at the age of thirty-ſeven. Neither would they ſuffer him to draw lots with his collegue, C. Livius Druſus, for the conduct of the Carthaginian war; but appointed him by a ſpecial decree to ſucceed Piſo. The new conſul immediately ſet ſail for Sicily, taking on board with him Polybius the hiſtorian, for whom he had a great eſteem, and Lælius, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general. This Lælius was the ſon of the other, whom Scipio Africanus had ſo tenderly loved, and Æmilianus, in imitation of that hero, entered into as ſtrict a friendſhip with Lælius the ſon, as the firſt Scipio had done with the father. It is ſaid, that Æmilianus and his friend Lælius were the authors of the comedies, which are commonly aſcribed to the poet Terence. With Polybius and Lælius Æmilianus he ſet ſail from Sicily, and entered the port of Utica, with his fleet, under the command of the prætor Serranus, when three thouſand five hundred of the Roman army were in imminent danger of being cut in pieces before Carthage. Theſe, during Piſo's abſence, who had penetrated far into the inland country with his army, had ſeized Megalia, one of the ſuburbs of the city. But, as they had not furniſhed themſelves with proviſions to ſubſiſt there, and could not retire, being cloſely inveſted on all ſides by the enemy's troops, the prætor Mancinus, who commanded this detachment, ſeeing the danger, into which he had brought himſelf, diſpatched in the duſk of the evening a light boat to Utica, to acquaint the Romans there with his danger. The meſſenger delivered the prætor's letter to the new conſul, who had landed his troops a few hours before. Æmilianus immediately flew to the relief of the inveſted Romans, obliged the Carthaginians to retire within their walls, and putting the three thouſand five hundred men on board his ſhips, conveyed them ſafe to Utica. He then diſpatched a meſſenger to Piſo to inform him of his arrival, and to order him to draw near to Carthage with his army. The proconſul

He arrives in Africa.

proconſul obeyed, and Æmilianus, having taken upon him the command of the troops, applied himſelf wholly to the taking of Carthage alone, as the only means to reduce at once the African republic. His firſt attack was upon Megalia, which he carried by aſſault, the Carthaginian garriſon retiring into the citadel of Byrſa. Megalia taken. Aſdrubal, who had commanded the forces of the republic in the field, and was now governor of Carthage, was ſo enraged at the loſs of Megalia, that he cauſed all the Roman captives, taken in the two years the war had laſted, to be brought upon the ramparts, and to be thrown headlong, in the ſight of the Roman army, from the top of the wall, after having, with an exceſs of cruelty, commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and their eyes and tongues to be torn out. As he was of a temper remarkably inhuman, he is ſaid to have taken pleaſure in ſeeing ſome of thoſe unhappy men flayed alive. While Aſdrubal was thus venting his rage on the Roman captives, the conſul was buſy in drawing lines of circumvallation and contravallation, croſs the neck of land, which joined the iſthmus, whereon Carthage ſtood, to the continent. By this means all the avenues on the land-ſide to Carthage being ſhut up, the city could receive no proviſions that way. Carthage blocked up by ſea and land. His next care was to raiſe a mole in the ſea in order to block up the old port, the new port being already ſhut up by the Roman fleet; and this great work he effected with immenſe labour. The mole reached from the weſtern neck of land, of which the Romans were maſters, to the entrance of the port, and was ninety foot broad at the bottom and eighty at the top. The beſieged, when the Romans firſt began this ſurpriſing work, laughed at the attempt; but were no leſs alarmed than ſurpriſed, when, contrary to their expectation, they beheld a vaſt mole appearing above water, the continent carried a great way into the ſea, and by that means the port rendered inacceſſible to ſhips and quite uſeleſs. And now emulation and deſpair prompted the Carthaginians to attempt and execute what ſeemed altogether impoſſible, and would appear utterly incredible, if it were not atteſted by the hiſtorian, who has given us the moſt particular account of the ſiege of Carthage[e]. With miraculous and incredible induſtry they in a ſhort time dug a new baſon, and cut a paſſage into the ſea, by which they could receive the proviſions that were ſent them by their troops in the field. The beſieged dig a new baſon, and build a fleet. With the ſame

[e] Appian. in Punic. N. 75.

ſame diligence and expedition they built and fitted out a fleet of fifty triremes, which, to the great ſurpriſe of the Romans, appeared ſuddenly, advancing into the ſea through this new canal, and even ventured to give the enemy battle. The action laſted the whole day, and was glorious both for the beſieged and the beſiegers, little advantage being gained on either ſide. The day after the engagement, the conſul attempted to make himſelf maſter of a terraſs, which covered the city on the ſide next the ſea; and on this occaſion the beſieged ſignalized their reſolution in the moſt remarkable manner. Great numbers of them naked and unarmed went into the water in the dead of the night, with unlighted torches in their hands, and having, partly by ſwimming, partly by wading, got within reach of the Roman engines, they ſtruck fire, lighted their torches, and threw them with fury againſt the machines. The ſudden appearance of theſe naked men, who looked like ſo many monſters ſtarted up out of the ſea, terrified the Romans, who guarded the machines, to ſuch a degree, that they began to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. The conſul, who commanded this detachment in perſon, and had continued all night at the foot of the terraſs, endeavoured to ſtop his men, and even ordered thoſe who fled to be killed. But the Carthaginians, perceiving the confuſion the Romans were in, threw themſelves on them like ſo many wild beaſts, and having put them to flight only with their torches, they ſet fire to the machines, and entirely conſumed them. This, however, did not diſcourage the conſul; he renewed the attack a few days after, carried the terraſs by aſſault, and lodged four thouſand men upon it. As this was an important poſt, becauſe it pent Carthage in on the ſea-ſide, Æmilianus took great care to fortify and ſecure it againſt the ſallies of the enemy; and then, winter approaching, he ſuſpended all further attacks upon the place, till the return of good weather [f].

A bold and ſucceſsful attempt of the Carthaginians.

Æmilianus did not continue idle in his trenches during the cold ſeaſon. The Carthaginians had a very numerous army, under the command of one Diogenes, ſtrongly encamped near Nepheris, whence convoys of proviſions were ſent by ſea to the beſieged, and brought into the new baſon. To take Nepheris therefore was to deprive Carthage of her chief

[f] Liv. in epit. Appian in Punic. N. 78. Polyb. in excerpt. apud Valeſium.

chief magazine. This Æmilianus undertook, and ſucceeded in the attempt; for he firſt forced the enemy's entrenchment, put ſeventy thouſand of them to the ſword, and made ten thouſand priſoners, all the inhabitants of the country, who could not retire to Carthage, having taken refuge in this camp. After this the conſul laid ſiege to Nepheris, which was protracted longer than he expected. However, Æmilianus made himſelf maſter of this important place, after he had been twenty-two days before it. In this enterpriſe the Romans were greatly aſſiſted by a body of Numidian horſe, under the command of Guluſſa, who had ſucceeded his father Maſiniſſa in the kingdom of Numidia. Maſiniſſa himſelf had lent the Romans no aſſiſtance in this war, being juſtly piqued at their having undertaken it, without imparting their deſign to him. Aſdrubal, being diſheartened by the defeat of the army, and touched with the miſery of the beſieged, now reduced to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions, offered in the name of the Carthaginians to ſubmit to what conditions the Romans pleaſed, provided they would only ſpare the city. But the conſul abſolutely refuſing to recede from his inſtructions with regard to the demolition of Carthage, Aſdrubal, aſſuming the air and geſture of a bully, No, ſaid he, no, the ſun ſhall never ſee Carthage deſtroyed, and Aſdrubal alive [g].

Æmilianus forces the entrenchments of the Carthaginians.

In the mean time, the conſular year being expired, the republic choſe C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius conſuls. But Æmilianus was continued general of the army in Africa, till ſuch time as he ſhould finiſh the great work he had undertaken. Early in the ſpring, he renewed the ſiege of Carthage; and, in order to open himſelf a way into the city, he ordered Lælius to attempt the reduction of Cotho, a ſmall iſland, which divided the two ports. The proconſul himſelf made a falſe attack on the citadel, in order to draw the enemy thither. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the citadel, known by the name of Byrſa, being a place of the utmoſt importance, moſt of the Carthaginians haſtened thither, and made their utmoſt efforts to repulſe the aggreſſors. But, in the mean time, Lælius, having with incredible expedition, built a wooden bridge over the channel, which divided Cotho from the iſthmus, entered the iſland, ſcaled the walls of the fortreſs which the Carthaginians had built there, and made himſelf maſter of that important poſt. The proconſul,

[g] Liv. Appian. & Polyb. ibid.

The iſland of Cotho taken by the Romans, and one of the gates of the city.

conſul, who was engaged before Byrſa, no ſooner underſtood by the great ſhout the Romans gave, that they had got poſſeſſion of Cotho, than he abandoned the falſe attack, and unexpectedly fell on the neighbouring gate of the city, which he broke down, notwithſtanding the ſhowers of darts that were inceſſantly diſcharged upon his men from the ramparts. As night coming on prevented the proconſul from proceeding farther, he made a lodgment within the gate, and waited there for the return of day, with a deſign to advance through the city to the citadel, and attack it on that ſide, which was but indifferently fortified. Purſuant to this deſign, at day-break he ordered four thouſand freſh troops to be ſent him from his camp; but did not think it lawful to proceed in the attempt, till he had performed a religious ceremony, then practiſed by the Romans before the taking and ſacking of great cities. This was to evocate the tutelary gods of the place, that is, to entreat them to abandon a place which was unworthy of their preſence and protection. When this ceremony was over, the proconſul ſolemnly devoted the inhabitants of Carthage to death and to the gods of hell, in theſe words: O formidable Pluto, and ye infernal Manes, let looſe againſt the Carthaginian people fear, terror and vengeance. Let the nations and cities, which have taken up arms againſt us, be overcome and deſtroyed. I devote and deliver up to you, Furies, all the enemies of my republic, in my own name, and in the name of the ſenate and people of Rome. But as for our legions and auxiliary troops, guard them from death and the accidents of war.

THE proconſul had no ſooner performed this ceremony, than he began to advance at the head of his men through the ſtreets of the city, in order to attack the citadel. Polybius the hiſtorian, who marched by his ſide, adviſed him to throw caltrops and planks full of nails with the points upwards in the ſtreets through which he paſſed, to prevent his being ſurpriſed in the rear. But the brave general replied, You are over cautious, Polybius; there is nothing to be feared from a city, which is full of confuſion, and already taken. This ſaid, he advanced to the market-place, from whence three exceeding ſteep ſtreets led to the citadel. The houſes on both ſides were very high, and filled with Carthaginians, who overwhelmed the Romans, as they advanced, with darts and ſtones; ſo that they could not proceed, till they had cleared them. To this end the proconſul in perſon at the head of a detachment attacked the firſt houſe,

houſe, and made himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. His example was followed by the officers and ſoldiers, who went on from houſe to houſe, putting all to the ſword they met with. As faſt as the houſes were cleared on both ſides of the ſtreets, the Romans advanced in order of battle towards the citadel, but met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the Carthaginians, who on this occaſion behaved with uncommon reſolution. From the market-place to the citadel two bodies of men fought their way every ſtep, one above on the roofs of the houſes, the other below in the ſtreets. The ſlaughter was inexpreſſibly great and dreadful. The air rung with ſhrieks and lamentations. Some were cut in pieces, others threw themſelves down from the tops of the houſes; ſo that the ſtreets were filled with dead and mangled bodies. But the deſtruction was yet greater, when, by order of the proconſul, fire was ſet to that quarter of the town, which lay next to the citadel. Incredible multitudes, who had eſcaped the ſwords of the enemy, periſhed in the flames and by the fall of the houſes. After the fire, which laſted ſix days, had demoliſhed houſes enough for the proconſul's purpoſe, he ordered the rubbiſh to be removed, and a large area to be made, where all his troops might have room to act. Then he appeared with his whole army before Byrſa, which ſo terrified the Carthaginians, who had fled thither for refuge, that firſt of all twenty-five thouſand women, and ſoon after thirty thouſand men, came out of the gates, in ſuch a condition as moved pity. They threw themſelves proſtrate before the Roman general, aſking no favour, but life. This the proconſul readily granted, not only to them, but to all who were in Byrſa, except the Roman deſerters, whoſe number amounted to nine hundred. The wife of Aſdrubal earneſtly entreated her huſband to ſuffer her to join the ſuppliants, and carry with her to the proconſul her two ſons, who were yet very young. But the barbarous governor denied her requeſt, and rejected the remonſtrances of his wife with menaces. The Roman deſerters, ſeeing themſelves excluded from mercy, reſolved to die ſword in hand, like brave men, rather than to deliver themſelves up to the vengeance of Rome. Aſdrubal, finding them all to a man determined to defend themſelves to the laſt breath, committed to their care his wife and children, and then gave a moſt remarkable inſtance of cowardice and Carthaginian inconſtancy. This very governor who had braved death, when it was at a diſtance, and proteſted, that the ſun ſhould never

The proconſul ſets fire to one of the quarters of the city.

Aſdrubal delivers himſelf up to the Roman general.

never ſee him ſurvive Carthage; this fierce Aſdrubal was ſo mean-ſpirited, as to come alone, and privately throw himſelf at the conqueror's feet. The general was well pleaſed to ſee his proud rival humbled, but granted him his life, and kept him to grace his triumph. The Carthaginians in the citadel no ſooner underſtood, that their commander had abandoned the place, than they threw open the gates, and put the proconſul in poſſeſſion of Byrſa. The Romans had now no enemy to contend with but the nine hundred deſerters, who, being reduced to deſpair, retired into the temple of Æſculapius, which was a ſecond citadel within the firſt. There the proconſul attacked them; and thoſe unhappy wretches finding there was no way to eſcape, ſet fire to the temple. As the flames ſpread, they retreated from one part to another, till they got to the roof of the building. There Aſdrubals wife appeared in her beſt apparel, as if the day of her death had been a day of triumph to her; and after having uttered the moſt bitter imprecations againſt her huſband, whom ſhe ſaw ſtanding below with Æmilianus, Baſe coward, ſaid ſhe, the mean things thou haſt done, to ſave thy life, ſhall not avail thee; thou ſhalt die this inſtant, at leaſt, in thy two children. Having thus ſpoke, ſhe drew out a dagger, ſtabbed them both, and, while they were yet ſtruggling for life, threw them from the top of the temple, and leaped down after them into the flames [g].

So many ſcenes of horror drew tears from the eyes of the Roman general, and caſt him into a penſive ſilence, which he broke at length with two verſes out of Homer, wherein the deſtruction of Troy was foretold: The day will come, when proud Troy ſhall fall a prey to the flames, and the ſword ſhall mow down Priam and his people. As the proconſul ſighed in repeating theſe lines, Polybius, who was always near him, took the liberty to aſk him, What he meant by Troy and the people of Priam? Æmilianus, without naming Rome, gave him ſufficiently to underſtand, that he feared his own country would meet with the ſame fate as Troy and Carthage. The greateſt ſtates, ſaid he, have their periods, after which fortune overturns what ſhe took pleaſure in raiſing [h]. The proconſul delivered up the city

Carthage plundered.

[g] Appian. ibid. & in Syriac Plut. in apoph. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 1. Oroſ. l. iv. c. ult. Liv. in epit. [h] Polyb. apud Appian. Eutrop. l. iv.

city to be plundered, but in the manner preſcribed by the Roman military law. The ſoldiers were allowed to appropriate to themſelves all the furniture, utenſils, and braſs-money they ſhould find in private houſes. But all the gold and ſilver, the ſtatues, pictures, &c. were reſerved to be put into the hands of the quæſtors. On this occaſion the cities of Sicily, which had been often plundered by the Carthagi-nian armies, recovered a great number of ſtatues, pictures, and other valuable monuments; among the reſt, the famous brazen bull, which Phalaris had ordered to be caſt, and made uſe of as the inſtrument of his cruelty, was reſtored to the inhabitants of Agrigentum (S). The proconſul put part of the ſpoils on board a galley, which he diſpatched to Rome to acquaint the ſenate, that Carthage was taken, and the war in Africa finiſhed. At the ſame time, he deſired new inſtructions from the conſcript fathers as to the demolition of the walls, temples, and houſes of Carthage, his good-nature and compaſſion inclining him to ſpare what yet remained of that ſtately metropolis. The joy of the people at Rome was inexpreſſibly great on the news of the reduction of Carthage. They anticipated the decree of the ſenate, and, meeting by tribes of their own accord, crouded to the temples to thank the gods for the ſucceſs of their arms. Upon the report which the meſſenger ſent by Æmilianus made to the ſenate, the conſcript fathers, after having ſpent ſome time in deliberations and debates, diſpatched the following inſtructions to their general: 1. The city of Carthage with Byrſa and Megalia ſhall be entirely demoliſhed, and no traces of them left. 2. All the cities, that have lent Carthage any aſſiſtance ſhall be diſmantled. 3. The territories of thoſe

(S) Among the curioſities which Æmilianus gave to his friends and to ſeveral lords of Numidia, Salluſt mentions ſome libraries (30), which the general, who knew the value of ſo rich a treaſure, preſerved from the flames. He beſtowed all the books on the ſons of Micipſa, except twenty-eight volumes, which treated of agriculture, and were ſaid to have been wrote by one Mago a Carthaginian. This work the Roman ſenate thought ſo uſeful, that they ordered ſome able perſons to tranſlate it out of the language of the country into Latin: ſo very ſenſible were the Romans of the advantages of huſbandry, the moſt illuſtrious men among them applying themſelves ſeriouſly to that employment, and looking upon it as the chief reſource of the ſtate.

(30) Salluſt. de bell. Jugurth.

cities, which have declared for the Romans, ſhall be enlarged with lands taken from the enemy. 4. All the lands between Carthage and Hippo ſhall be divided among the inhabitants of Utica. 5. All the Africans of the Carthaginian ſtate, both men and women, ſhall pay an annual tribute to the Roman people at ſo much per head. 6. The whole country, which was ſubject to the Carthaginian ſtate, ſhall be turned into a Roman province, and be governed by a prætor in the ſame manner as Sicily. Laſtly, Rome ſhall ſend commiſſioners into Africa, there to ſettle jointly with the proconſul the ſtate of the new province. This decree was carried by the ten commiſſioners, and ſtrictly executed.

Carthage utterly deſtroyed. Year after the Flood, 2858. Before Chriſt, 141. Of Rome, 607.

But before the proconſul deſtroyed Carthage, he performed all thoſe religious ceremonies which were required on ſuch occaſions. He firſt ſacrificed victims to the gods, and then cauſed a plough to be drawn round the walls of the city. After this the towers, ramparts, walls, and all the works which the Carthaginians had raiſed, in the courſe of many ages and at a vaſt expence, were levelled with the ground. Laſtly, fire was ſet to the edifices of this proud metropolis, which conſumed them all, not a ſingle houſe eſcaping the flames. Though the fire began in all quarters at the ſame time, and burnt with incredible fury, it continued for ſeventeen days together before all the buildings were conſumed; and hence we may judge of the vaſt extent of that metropolis. When the city was entirely demoliſhed, and the affairs of the new province ſettled, the proconſul embarqued his troops, and returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the glorious ſurname of the Second Africanus. After his triumph he depoſited in the capital an urn full of the aſhes of the capital of Africa, which he thought an agreeable offering to Jupiter Capitolinus. Aſdrubal and Bythias the general of the Carthaginian horſe, after having been led in chains before the triumphant victor's chariot, were, at the requeſt of Æmilianus, allowed to enjoy both life and liberty. Appian is the only author, who tells us, that Aſdrubal killed himſelf, to avoid the ſhame of being carried in triumph. The reſt of the priſoners were ſold to the beſt bidder, or periſhed in the various priſons, to which they were confined [i]. Thus ended one of the moſt renowned cities in the world,

[i] Appian. in Punic. Eutrop. l. iv. Flor. l. ii. c. 15. Zonar. l. ix.

world, both for command and riches, after it had subsisted near seven hundred years, given law to many distant provinces, and for the space of an hundred years rivalled Rome herself, and reduced her once to the utmost extremity.

Corinth destroyed.

CARTHAGE was not the only great and wealthy city which the Romans destroyed in this remarkable year. Corinth had the same fate, after it had flourished at least nine hundred years. But, as we have given, in our history of the Achæans, a very particular account of this memorable event, we shall not trespass upon our readers patience by repeating the same transactions, but follow the victorious arms of the republic in the conquests they made, after the reduction of Greece and Africa, which were both now become Roman provinces.

CHAP. VIII.

The history of Rome, *from the destruction of* Carthage *to the end of the sedition of the* Gracchi.

AFTER the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, Rome had no enemy to contend with, either in Greece or Africa, the imperious republic having put it out of the power of the conquered people to raise new disturbances. However, she was not yet in a condition to lay down her arms, and suffer her citizens, after so many labours, to enjoy at home the sweets of peace. She had still a troublesome war to maintain in Spain, where the brave Viriathus had gained great advantages over all the generals, who had been sent against him, during the late Punic war. After the defeat and death of Viriathus gains great advantages over the Romans in Spain.

Viriathus, of whom we have spoken above, the Lusitanian had augmented his forces, and defeated in three pitched battles the prætors Caius Plautius Hypsæus and Claudius Unimanus, though they led against him very numerous armies. As he had been victorious for six years together, putting the Romans to flight where-ever he met them, he had drawn off whole nations from Rome, and laid waste the countries of her most faithful allies. The se-

nate therefore thought it neceſſary to ſend a conſul of reputation, with a conſular army, into Further Spain, and choſe for that expedition Q. Fabius Æmilianus, who had been juſt raiſed to the conſulate with L. Hoſtilius Mancinus. The latter had commanded the Roman fleet in Africa, two years before, in quality of prætor; the former was brother to the ſecond Africanus, and ſon to Paulus Æmilius, but adopted into the Fabian family, whence he had the name of Fabius and the ſurname of Æmilianus. While he continued at Rome to raiſe two new legions, C. Lælius, the friend of the Second Africanus, to whom Hither Spain had fallen by lot, embarqued without delay, and, paſſing from his own province into Further Spain, convinced the Luſitanian general that he was not invincible; and this is all we learn from hiſtory of this expedition. Some months after Fabius arrived, but ſpent the whole ſummer in inuring his new troops to the toils of war and diſcipline. The next year, when Ser. Sulpicius Galba and L. Aurel. Cotta were conſuls, Fabius who was continued in the command of the army in Spain, gained

But is defeated by Q. Fabius.

two victories over Viriathus, and made himſelf maſter of two important places, which had been long in the hands of the rebels. However, on his return to Rome the ſenate did not judge his victories worthy of a triumph, which at this time was granted to ſuch generals only, as had killed at the leaſt five thouſand of the enemy in one battle[k].

THE next year, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were raiſed to the conſulate, and the former with the prætor Q. Pompeius appointed to carry on the war againſt Viriathus. Pompeius reached Spain before Metellus, and attacked Viriathus with ſome ſucceſs. But he was afterwards worſted by the Luſitanian, driven out of the field, and obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Corduba. Soon after Metellus arrived, and offered the enemy battle, which Viriathus declined; and then the conſul, entering the country of the Arevacæ, who had lately revolted, obliged the whole nation to ſubmit upon his own terms. Metellus was an officer of great experience and perſonal bravery, very ſevere in keeping the ſoldiers to their duty, and the author of the famous ſaying, ſince put into the mouths of many generals, If he thought that his coat could be privy to his deſigns, he would burn it[l]. While Metellus was ſignalizing himſelf in Spain, his collegue, who commanded

Metellus gains the aſcendant over Viriathus.

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[k] Appian. in Iberic. [l] Author. de vir. illuſtr. Plut. in apoph.

an army in Ciſalpine Gaul, forced the Salaſſi into a rebellion. This nation inhabited a province near the head of the Po, and had frequent diſputes with their neighbours the Inſubres about the Druria, which watered their country before it reached the borders of Inſubria. This river then brought down gold mixed with its ſand, and the Salaſſi uſed ſeveral arts to gather the particles of this precious metal, before they were carried by the ſtream into the country of the Inſubres. Of this the Inſubres complained to the conſul, who hereupon immediately entered the country of the Salaſſi in an hoſtile manner, and obliged them, contrary to their inclinations, to have recourſe to arms in their own defence. The conſul was defeated in a pitched battle, and loſt five thouſand of his men. Upon the news of this defeat the Sibylline books being conſulted, the decemvirs declared, that all the forms of religion had not been obſerved in this haſty war with the Salaſſi. Hereupon the general was ordered to offer a ſacrifice on the borders of the enemy's country. He obeyed, and then, the prejudices of religion giving the ſuperſtitious ſoldiery new courage, he fought a ſecond battle, defeated the Salaſſi, and killed five thouſand of them in his turn. As ſoon as the campaign was ended, the conſul returned to Rome, and demanded a triumph for having killed five thouſand of the enemy in a pitched battle, which was the preſent rule: But as he had loſt five thouſand legionaries in a former battle, his petition was rejected. Hereupon the conſul decreed himſelf that honour, and was the firſt who entered Rome triumphantly in ſpite of the ſenate and people. As he was advancing towards the capitol, a tribune of the people attempted to bring the victor down from his chariot. But his daughter Claudia, a veſtal, whom he carried in the chariot with him, oppoſed the tribune, who after ſome altercations gave way, and in the perſon of Claudia ſhewed his regard both for her ſex and profeſſion. The conduct of the veſtal was highly applauded by the people, but the conſul was loaded with curſes [m].

The Salaſſi defeat the Romans, but are in a ſecond battle defeated by them.

THE following year, when Q. Fabius Servilianus and L. Cæcilius Metellus were conſuls, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who was continued in Spain in quality of proconſul, purſued the war there, and diſplayed his ſtrict regard to diſcipline among his own troops, and his humanity to the conquered, in ſo glorious a manner, that it is not eaſy to

[m] Liv. epit. l. liii. Strab. l. iv. Dio. Caſſ. l. liii.

decide which did him moſt honour. As he could not bring Viriathus to a battle, he applied himſelf to the recovering of thoſe places, which had ſided with the Luſitanian. He firſt laid ſiege to Contrebia, and having made a breach in the wall, appointed five manipuli to mount it. Theſe were repulſed; but the general ordered them to renew the attack, without being reinforced; and then the ſhame of their former cowardice inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that they fought like lions, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, carried the place. He then inveſted Nertobrigia, where he gave a remarkable inſtance of his humanity and good nature. A chief lord of the country, named Rhetogenes, came out of the place, and ſurrendered himſelf to the Romans. But, as he had left in the city his wife and children, the inhabitants, inraged at his deſertion, placed them in the breach, which the legionaries were to mount. Hereupon the good-natured general, finding he could not attack the city without ſpilling their blood, abandoned a certain conqueſt, and raiſed the ſiege. The fame of an act of ſuch humanity being ſoon ſpread through all Tarragonian Spain, the inhabitants of the revolted cities ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſubmit to him. Metellus received them, and among the reſt the Nertobrigians, into an alliance with Rome; and at length recovered the whole country except Termatia and Numantia [n], of which cities we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Metellus recovers all Tarragonian Spain.

On the other hand, the conſul Servilianus, who was engaged with Viriathus in Further Spain, gained at firſt ſome advantages over that brave commander; but in the end was defeated by him with the loſs of three thouſand legionaries. The Luſitanian would have taken the Roman camp, if he had not been prevented by a young Roman, named Caius Fannius, ſon-in-law to Caius Lælius, who, putting himſelf at the head of the legionaries, ſuſtained the attack of the enemy, till night coming on put an end to the conflict [o].

The conſul Servilianus defeated by Viriathus.

When the time came for the great elections, Q. Pompeius, a man of a mean, if not of an infamous, birth, was raiſed to the conſulate in preference to Caius Lælius, though ſupported by the intereſt of his inſeparable friend Scipio Æmilianus. The collegue given him was Cn. Servilius Cæpio, a patrician. In the ſame comitia Servilianus was appointed

[n] Liv. ibid Front. Strat l. iv. c. 1. Flor l. 1. Vell. Patercul. l ii. [o] Liv. in epit l. xxxv. Eutrop. l. iv. Appian. in Iberic.

pointed to continue the war in Spain as proconſul; whereas Metellus was only allowed to command in Hither Spain till the arrival of his ſucceſſor, though he earneſtly ſolicited the favour, formerly granted to others, of finiſhing the war, which he had ſo happily begun. When he underſtood, that Pompey, a man of no birth or merit, and beſides, his perſonal enemy was to ſucceed him, he reſolved to make the beſt uſe of his time, and ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, before the arrival of his worthleſs ſucceſſor. With this view he marched out of his quarters in the depth of the winter, entered the further province, and taking his rout towards Luſitania, where Viriathus had cantoned his troops, endeavoured, before he left Spain, to draw that famous commander to a battle. But Viriathus, though proud and enterpriſing againſt others, kept himſelf wholly upon the defenſive againſt Metellus, who thereupon over-ran great part of the country, and brought back Eſcadia, Gemella, Obolcula (T), and many other conſiderable cities to their duty. Some of the heads of the revolt were puniſhed with death, and the reſt, to the number of nine thouſand five hundred, ſold to the beſt bidder. Thus Metellus ſhewed what he could do, and would have done, had he been continued in his province; which was the chief point he had in view. But, in the height of his ſucceſs, news was brought him, that his ſucceſſor had left Rome; and then his reſentment revived; he vented his paſſion, firſt, in raſh expreſſions, and then in actions, which were much more blameable. In the height of his paſſion, he reſolved to weaken the army he was to deliver up. With this view he diſbanded the flower of his troops, exhauſted the magazines, let his elephants die, broke in pieces the arrows which were provided for the Cretan archers, and threw them into the river. Thus Metellus, famous for the conqueſt of Macedon, whence he had the glorious ſurname of Macedonicus, and one of the beſt commanders

Metellus recalled.

His ſucceſs in Spain.

His reſentments.

Rome

(T) All we know of Eſcadia is, that it ſtood in the neighbourhood of Bætica and Luſitania. Gemella, called by Pliny Tucci and Gemella Auguſta, ſtood, according to Ambroſius Morales, in the place where Martos, a ſmall city of Andaluſia, now ſtands. Obolcula, which Antoninus and Ptolemy call Obulcula, was a city of Turdetania, a province of Bœtica. Rodericus Carus is of opinion, that it ſtood on the ſpot, where Caſtillo de la Menclova was afterwards built, that is, forty-two miles eaſt of Seville. This ſituation agrees with Antoninus's itinerary.

Rome had, ſacrificed the good of his country to his own private ambition. On his return he was refuſed a triumph; the ſlighteſt puniſhment the republic could inflict upon him [o]. But after all the army, which Metellus ſurrendered up to Pompey, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, a ſufficient force to have ſubdued all Celtiberia, if the new general had had the conduct and experience of his predeceſſor. He no ſooner appeared in the field, than the Termantians and Numantines, who had kept themſelves in a ſtate of independency, offered him very advantageous terms of peace. But the preſumptuous conſul imprudently and obſtinately inſiſted upon their delivering up their arms, and thereby kindled a war, which coſt the Romans a great deal of blood. The conſul, full of confidence, drew near Numantia and inveſted it; but the Numantines, having firſt ſurrounded and cut in pieces a party of Romans, fell afterwards upon the main body of the army; and ſo galled them from the neighbouring eminences with ſhowers of darts and arrows, that the conſul thought it adviſeable to retire. Accordingly, he removed to Termantia; but was not attended with better ſucceſs before this city, than before the other. The very firſt day, the Termantians killed ſeven hundred of his legionaries, took a great convoy, which was coming to the Roman camp, after having put to flight the tribune who eſcorted it, and not only defeated a conſiderable body of Roman horſe, but forced them to retire from poſt to poſt, till they came to the edge of a precipice, where they puſhed both men and horſes down over one another; ſo that they were all daſhed to pieces among the rocks. The Termantians continued in the field all night, in order to engage the reſt of the Roman cavalry next day; which they did accordingly; but, the enemy being far ſuperior to them in numbers, they were forced to quit the field, after having kept their ground from break of day to ſun-ſet. The number of the ſlain was equal on both ſides; but the loſs, which was a very conſiderable one to a ſmall nation, was ſcarce felt by the Romans. However, the conſul did not think fit to beſiege the city; but marched to Malia, a ſmall town, whoſe inhabitants ſurrendered to the Romans, after having maſſacred the Numantine garriſon. From thence the conſul advanced to Lanci, or, as others call it, Lagni, which covered the country of the Numantines. The Numantine

The occaſion of the Numantine war.

The Numantines and Termantians gain conſiderable advantages over the Romans.

[o] Appian. ibid. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 3.

mantine garriſon, finding that the inhabitants had privately agreed with the conſul to ſacrifice them, entered their houſes in the night, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. The conſul, taking advantage of this inteſtine war, gave orders for the aſſault, and made himſelf, without oppoſition, maſter of the defenceleſs city. Pompey, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the place, thought it neceſſary to ſignalize his clemency and ſeverity: but unluckily he miſapplied them both; for he put the Lancians to the ſword, and gave quarter to the Numantian garriſon. Such were the exploits of Pompey after having kindled the Numantian war, and exaſperated a brave people, whom he might have reduced upon terms very advantageous for his republic [p].

In Further Spain, the proconſul Servilianus opened the campaign with ſucceſs, having obliged Viriathus to raiſe the ſiege of Baccia, and taken ſome caſtles in that neighbourhood. This encouraged the conſul to lay ſiege to Eriſana, a ſtrong city in Luſitania. But Viriathus, having by long marches reached the place, and got into it with a ſtrong detachment in the night, before the lines of circumvallation were finiſhed, made a vigorous ſally upon the Romans, and drove them to a place where the reſt of his army lay in ambuſh. There they were ſurrounded on all ſides, and ſo hemmed in, that the only choice they had left was death or ſlavery. The brave Luſitanian, having now the proconſul and the whole Roman army in his power, inſtead of putting them all to the ſword, as he might have eaſily done, ſent a deputation to Serviliamus, offering to conclude a peace with him on this ſingle condition; That he ſhould continue maſter of the country now in his power, and that the Romans ſhould remain poſſeſſed of the reſt of Spain. The proconſul, who expected nothing leſs than death or ſlavery, thought theſe very favourable and moderate terms; and therefore, without heſitation, concluded a peace, ſigned it, and got it ſoon after ratified by the Roman ſenate and people. Thus Viriathus at length put in execution the glorious deſign he had always had in view, which was to erect himſelf a kingdom, in the vaſt country he conquered from the republic [q]. And indeed, had it not been for the treachery of the Romans, he would have become, as an antient author calls

The proconſul Serviliamus forced to make peace with Viriathus.

[p] Appian. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in eclog. Oroſ. l. v. c. 4. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 2. [q] Appian. Liv. Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

calls him, the Romulus of Spain [r]. He would have founded a monarchy capable of counterbalancing the power of Rome, or at leaſt of ſetting bounds to her conqueſts in thoſe parts.

THE next year, C. Lælius was promoted to the conſulate with Q. Servilius Cæpio. The latter was a man of no probity or honour; but however, it fell to his lot to command in Further Spain, while Lælius, a general of experienced wiſdom, equity, and valour, continued inactive in Rome. Pompey was continued general in Hither Spain; but the republic ſent a certain number of ſenators to regulate his conduct and temper his fire. Before they arrived, he undertook the mad project of reducing Numantia, by turning the ſtream of the Durius, which ſupplied it with water. This gave the inhabitants an opportunity of harraſſing his troops, and cutting off ſuch numbers of them, that he was at length obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the place. And now, the great army, he had received from Metellus, being reduced to a very ſmall number of troops, he began to reflect ſeriouſly on his miſconduct; and, in order to ſcreen himſelf from cenſures, very artfully brought about a peace with the Numantians, on worſe terms than they had before offered him; for they only agreed to deliver up the Roman deſerters, and pay the republic thirty talents at different times. How-

A peace with the Numantines.

ever, this peace was approved of, and ſigned both by Pompey and the ſenators, who had been ſent from Rome to be of his council. In the mean time, Q. Servilius Cæpio, to whoſe lot Further Spain had fallen, being deſirous to revenge the diſgrace the Romans had ſuffered the laſt year before Eriſana, preſſed the ſenate to order him to break the peace with Viriathus. The letters he wrote, after his arrival in Spain, and his continual remonſtrances, made ſuch impreſſions on the ſenate, that they baſely directed him to exaſperate the Luſitanian by mean artifices, and force him by repeated affronts to commit the firſt acts of hoſtility. Purſuant to this order, which was ſo unworthy of a great and powerful people, the conſul did all he could to pick a quarrel with Viriathus; but he overlooked the affronts of-

The baſeneſs and injuſtice of the Romans.

fered him, proteſting, that he would inviolably obſerve the conditions of the peace, granted him by the Roman ſenate and people. The conſul, finding he could not by any means ſtir up the Luſitanian to an open breach, made freſh applications

[r] Flor. l. ii. c. 17.

applications to the ſenate; and the conſcript fathers, to the eternal ſhame of their republic, ordered him to declare war; and proclaimed Viriathus, who had not given them the leaſt provocation, an enemy to Rome. The conſul was no ſooner impowered to begin the war, than he put his troops in motion, and having made himſelf maſter of Arſa, a city of Bœtica, he purſued Viriathus into the country of the Carpetani, and there reduced him to great ſtreights. But the Luſitanian made a moſt glorious retreat, and, though the conſul believed him ſhut in among the hills and rocks on all ſides, he diſappeared with his troops ſo ſuddenly, that the Romans, when they returned to their camp, turned the affair into ridicule, and were very ſevere in their jeſts on their general. Cæpio ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by the enemy, entered the country of the Vettones, and committed there moſt dreadful devaſtations. He then marched in queſt of Viriathus, whom he reduced ſo low, having an army far ſuperior in number to his, that the Luſitanian was forced to ſue again for peace, and even to comply with the hard preliminary impoſed upon him, which was to ſacrifice all thoſe who had cauſed any cities to revolt from the Romans, among whom was his wife's father. He put ſome of them to death in his own camp, and the reſt he delivered up to the ſeverity of the conſul, who cut off their right hands. He hoped, that this blind obedience would ſoften the conſul. But, to his great ſurprize, the next order he received was, to diſarm his troops; this the whole army rejected with great indignation, and hoſtilities were renewed, during which Viriathus continued his negotiations with the conſul, being wholly bent on founding a new kingdom in Spain, and ſettling himſelf on the throne. The perſons he employed to treat with Cæpio were Audax, Ditalco, and Minur, in whom he repoſed an entire confidence. But the conſul finding them, after ſome private conferences, to be men wholly devoted to their own intereſt, and capable of any crime, by which they could promote it, engaged them by rich preſents and great promiſes baſely and treacherouſly to murder their general and their friend in his ſleep. Thus the Romans now began to have no regard to the law of nations, to public faith, or to humanity itſelf. The aſſaſſins, after they had committed the execrable murder, fled to the conſul's camp, informed him, that they had diſpatched his rival, and demanded the promiſed reward. But they found by experience, that traitors are hated even by thoſe who profit by their treachery. For

The infamous conduct of Cæpio.

the conſul told them, that all he would do for them was, to give them protection, adding with a reproachful air, that the Roman magiſtrates were not very ready to reward thoſe who murdered their own generals. The Luſitanian troops were inconſolable for the loſs of their commander, who was, without all doubt, the greateſt man Spain ever bred, and deemed invincible by Rome herſelf. After his death the Luſitanians appointed one Tantalus to command them, who, having raſhly undertaken the ſiege of Saguntum, was ſurprized by Cæpio, defeated, and forced to ſurrender himſelf and his whole army at diſcretion. And thus an end was put to this troubleſome war, after it had laſted fourteen years. However, the ſenate had ſtill ſo much honour left, as to refuſe a triumph to the infamous conſul, though they enjoyed the fruits of his villainy, and even continued him in the command of the army another year in Further Spain, with the title of proconſul [s].

The war in Further Spain ended.

THE next year, when Lucius Calpurnius Piſo and M. Popilius Lænas were conſuls, the republic baſely and unjuſtly broke the treaty, which Pompey had concluded with the Numantines, though the proconſul had received from thoſe unfortunate people the deſerters, hoſtages, and money ſtipulated. The following year, P. Scipio Naſica and D. Junius Brutus were advanced to the conſulate, and the latter appointed to govern Further Spain, where he executed the orders he brought from Rome, of ſettling ſome of the veterans in a colony with Viriathus's ſoldiers. This new colony he called Valentia, which in proceſs of time became a place of great renown. After this he attacked the banditti, who ravaged his province, in their own country, which not only the men, but likewiſe the women, defended with unparalleled bravery. However, the conſul at length reduced, and, in regard of their courage, pardoned them. In the mean time, Popilius, now proconſul, purſuant to the orders he received from the ſenate, broke the treaty of peace with Numantia, and marched againſt that city. But he no ſooner appeared before it, than the Numantines, ſallying out, put the whole Roman army to flight, and made ſuch ſlaughter of them, that they were not in a condition to make any further attempts, during the whole campaign. In the following conſulate of M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Hoſtilius Mancinus, Brutus paſſed

The Romans defeated before Numantia.

[s] Appian. in Iberic. Diodor. Sicul. apud Valeſ. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

ſed the Minius in Further Spain, and entered the country of the Bracarini, where the women, intermixed with all their troops, fought with aſtoniſhing bravery. They engaged the legionaries without betraying the leaſt fear, killed many of them, and were themſelves cut in pieces without a ſhriek. Nevertheleſs Talabriſia and other cities ſurrendered; and the conſul, rather by his clemency, than by his ſword, gained over the whole country to the intereſt of Rome [t].

DURING theſe expeditions of Brutus in Further Spain, the conſul Mancinus took upon him the command of the army, which was delivered up to him by Popilius in Hither Spain, and drew near to Numantia. But, as thoſe brave legionaries, who were the terror of the whole world, trembled at the very ſight, nay, at the bare name of a Numantine, the conſul thought it adviſeable to decamp, and move farther off in the night. But the Numantines, being informed of their motions, purſued them, and having firſt ſeized the camp, which they had abandoned, came up with the flying legions, and made a dreadful havock of them. The conſular army conſiſted of at leaſt thirty thouſand, whereas the Numantines were not above four thouſand. Nevertheleſs this ſmall body, as ſtrange as it may appear, killed in the purſuit twenty thouſand of the Romans, and put the reſt to a diſorderly flight. At the return of light the conſul ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and ſhut in on all ſides by the enemy in a rough and mountainous country. But in this ſad ſituation, inſtead of giving himſelf up to deſpair, he acted as prudence and the preſent neceſſity ſeemed to require. As there was no way left for him and the poor remains of his army to eſcape, the prudent conſul began a negotiation with the enemy, offering to conclude a peace with them upon reaſonable terms. This was what the Numantines had long deſired; but nevertheleſs, the bad ſucceſs of their agreement with the conſul Pompeius deterred them from entering into a treaty with a Roman general. They therefore deſired to treat only with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then quæſtor in the conſular army, and greatly eſteemed for his probity even by the enemy. With him the conferences were begun, and a peace concluded upon theſe terms: 1. That the Numantines ſhould ſuffer the Romans to retire unmoleſted: 2. That the inhabitants of Numantia ſhould maintain

The Numantines entirely defeat the Roman army.

They conclude a peace with the Romans.

[t] Liv. in epit. Front. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 17. Appian. ibid.

maintain their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the Roman people. The conſul, the quæſtor, and all the chief officers of the Roman army, bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath inviolably to obſerve the ſecond article. By this means the lives of ten thouſand citizens were ſaved to the republic; ſo that the quæſtor hoped to make a merit of his negotiation with the Roman people. The Numantines, ſoon after the treaty was concluded, gave an inſtance of the ſincerity of their intentions. When they plundered the Roman camp, they had taken among other things the quæſtor's books of accounts; and Gracchus went into the city to demand them. The Numantines received him with great civility and politeneſs, reſtored him his books, and even offered him all the booty they had taken in the camp. But the quæſtor, charmed with the generoſity and good-nature of the Numantines, rejected the offer and accepted only of a ſmall box, which belonged to him, and was full of the incenſe which he uſed to burn in honour of his domeſtic gods [u].

The baſeneſs and injuſtice of the Romans.

When news of the peace concluded with the Numantines was brought to Rome, the ſhocking injuſtice and baſeneſs of the Romans towards ſo generous an enemy appeared anew. The Numantinés had ſaved the lives of ten thouſand Romans, who were in their power, when the peace was concluded; but though the ſenate and people were glad to reap this advantage from the treaty, yet they reſolved to break it; and therefore would not admit the Numantine embaſſadors, on their firſt arrival, within the walls of the city. 'Tis true, that when the new conſuls, P. Furius Philus and Sex. Attilius Serranus, were choſen, they granted them an audience, when one of the embaſſadors made a ſpeech in the ſenate, which would have affected them, if they had had any ſenſe of juſtice or humanity. But as theſe virtues had now forſaken Rome, the ſenate and people baſely and unjuſtly reſolved to break the peace, and extirpate that generous and innocent people, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the conſul, the quæſtor, and all the officers of the army who had ſerved in Spain. They pretended to make the injured Numantines ſatisfaction, by ordering the conſul Mancinus to be carried, bound hand and foot, to one of the gates of Numantia, and be there delivered

[u] Liv. in epit. Plut. in Gracch. Apppian. in Iberic.

delivered up to the enemy, ſtripped of his arms and cloaths [w].

DURING theſe tranſactions at Rome, M. Æmilius Lepidus, who had been ſent to ſucceed Mancinus in Hither Spain, began an unjuſt war with the Vaccæi, purely for the ſake of finding himſelf work. But, while he was preparing to beſiege Palantia, their capital, deputies came from Rome, with a decree of the ſenate ordering him to deſiſt. However, Æmilius perſiſted in his deſign, till the Vaccæi, by intercepting his convoy, obliged him to decamp for want of proviſions. The Romans left their camp in the night, and the Vaccæi, knowing in what confuſion they retired, purſued them, and in the purſuit put ſix thouſand legionaries to the ſword. Nevertheleſs, Æmilius, on his return to Rome, was treated with more lenity than he expected, being condemned only to pay a fine. And now the conſul, P. Furius Philus, being arrived in Spain with orders to renew the war with the Numantines, thought it neceſſary in the firſt place to deliver up to them the victim he had brought from Rome. It was an affecting ſight to ſee a conſular man, who had lately appeared guarded by lictors, at the head of a flouriſhing army, now deprived of all the marks of a Roman citizen, ſtripped naked to the waiſt, and formally committed to the care of a fecialis, who was to put him into the hands of the enemy, for having, as was pretended, impoſed upon them by a falſe peace and an unlawful oath. But the Numantines, not thinking the blood of one man a ſufficient atonement for the breach of the moſt ſolemn engagements, ſhut their gates, declaring that they would not accept of Mancinus, unleſs they had the whole army with him. So that, after he had lain a whole day at the gate of the city, the conſul Furius, agreeable to the equity of the Romans of that time, thinking this a ſufficient ſatisfaction to the injured people, brought him back to his camp, entertained him with reſpect, and reſtored him to all the rights of a Roman citizen; nay, he was afterwards admitted to his place in the ſenate. The war with the Numantines, though already declared, was not renewed while Furius continued in Spain, his commiſſion being, it ſeems, confined to the delivering up of Mancinus. But the next year, Q. Calpurnius Piſo, who was

The Romans defeated by the Vaccæi.

Mancinus delivered up to the Numantines, who refuſe to accept of him.

[w] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Oroſ. l. v. c. 5. Cic. de off. l. iii.

was chosen consul with Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, was ordered to carry on the war with vigor against the Numantines. But he, not caring to engage so brave and resolute an enemy, contented himself with besieging Palantia in the country of the Vaccæi, and did not so much as appear before Numantia. But Brutus made great conquests in Lusitania, and penetrated into the country of the Callaici or Gallæci, where he engaged an army of sixty thousand Spaniards, killed fifty thousand of them on the spot, made six thousand prisoners, and almost extirpated the whole nation. Hence he acquired the surname of Callaicus, and was continued in his government, till the war should be ended. This year the Vardæi, a people of Illyricum, rebelled, and rejected all amicable measures. Whereupon the consul Flaccus was sent with an army to reduce them; which he did so effectually, that Rome at his return honoured him with a triumph [w].

Brutus makes great conquests in Lusitania.

In the mean while, the time for the elections being come, Scipio Africanus offered his nephew Fabius Buteo as a candidate for the quæstorship, when, to his great surprise, the tribes demanded to have Scipio himself for their consul, saying, that he only could destroy Numantia, who had destroyed Carthage. A law had been made some years before, enacting, that the same person should not be twice promoted to the consular dignity. The tribunes of the people therefore, in order to honour Scipio with the fasces a second time with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the comitia, that Scipio should have a special privilege granted him for his promotion, and that, his privilege should not be made a precedent. The people accepted the proposal with joy, and nominated him consul for the next year with C. Fulvius Flaccus. Scipio was ordered without drawing lots, to carry on the war against the Numantines, but was not allowed to raise any new levies, the senate telling him, that there were soldiers enough in Spain, and that they only wanted a good general. However he drew together a body of about five hundred voluntiers, all horsemen, whom he called The squadron of his friends, and borrowed about four thousand men of the cities of Italy. In the number of the former was, according to Velleius Paterculus, the famous poet Lucilius. He also wrote to Micipsa, king of Numidia, to send him succours, and then made all haste to his province, where he wisely spent the first

Scipio Africanus sent against the Numantines.

[w] Flor. l. ii. c. 18. Oros. l. v. c. 5. Liv. epit. l. lvi.

firſt ſummer in reforming his troops, till he had altered them to his wiſh; and frugality, vigilance, and a love of duty had taken place of effeminacy, lazineſs, and indolence, which had long prevailed among the officers as well as the ſoldiers. Neither did he ſpare, but rather encreaſe, their labours during the winter. He obliged every man, that went out of the camp, to carry his tools, and bring back ſome ſtakes with him. When the ſoldiers complained of this hardſhip, he told them, that he would oblige them to bring paliſades to fortify the camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their ſwords [x]. At this time he received a reinforcement of cavalry, elephants, and ſlingers from Numidia. They were a choice body, but what moſt diſtinguiſhed them was, the young prince, who commanded them, by name Jugurtha, a prince with whom the Romans will be but too well acquainted hereafter. Young Marius made on this occaſion his firſt campaign, and the brave prince entered into ſo ſtrict a friendſhip with him, that he was inſeparable from him, little ſuſpecting, that Marius would one day become his moſt cruel enemy and his conqueror.

AND now Scipio's conſulſhip expired; but he was continued in the command of the Roman army in Spain, till ſuch time as Numantia ſhould be reduced. The new conſuls choſen were P. Mucius Scævola (U) and L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi. Sicily fell by lot to the latter, where he was to make war with the revolted ſlaves; and Italy to the former, who continued in the capitol to calm, if poſſible, the ſpirit of ſedition, which began to appear there. Scipio, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, ſent out large detachments to ravage the country round Numantia; for his ſcheme was to reduce the place, not by force, which would have coſt Rome much blood, but by famine. After he had found, that his troops were no longer afraid of the enemy, but boldly faced them, and even put them to flight, he began to put ſome confidence in his legionaries, and reſolved to begin the ſiege, or rather the blockade, without delay.

[x] Flor. l. ii. c. 18. Appian. ibid. Plut. in apoph.

(U) This is the ſame P. Mucius Scævola, whom Cicero extolls in ſeveral places of his works, as one of the moſt able civilians and moſt virtuous citizens of Rome. Several of the ſame name have been famous for their virtue and probity, which ſeem to have been hereditary in the Mucian family.

Numantia beſieged.

NUMANTIA ſtood on a hill of a difficult acceſs, and had large fields within its walls, which were about three miles in compaſs. The inhabitants, able to bear arms, are ſaid to have been only four thouſand men, at leaſt when the place was firſt inveſted by Scipio, whoſe army conſiſted of threeſcore thouſand well diſciplined troops, Romans and Spaniards. Theſe the proconſul divided into two bodies, the one commanded by himſelf, the other by his brother Q. Fabius, and drawing near to the city, began his works. The Numantines, alarmed at the ſight of ſo formidable an army, made again propoſals of peace; but the proconſul inſiſting upon their delivering up, by way of preliminary, their city, their perſons, and their arms, to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure, they reſolved to prefer a glorious death to an ignominous ſlavery. After they had taken this reſolution, they marched out of the city in good order, inſulted the Romans in their trenches, and with a boldneſs, which deſpair alone could inſpire, offered the Roman general battle. But he declined it, ſaying to his ſoldiers, who began to complain of his conduct, that an able general ought never to hazard a battle, unleſs neceſſity compels him, or ſuch an opportunity offers as makes the victory certain. The Numantines, ſaid he, are actuated by deſpair; their ruin is inevitable; to engage them would be only giving them the pleaſure of ſhedding your blood. Scipio, having thus reſtrained the impetuoſity of his troops, ſurrounded the place with a wide and deep ditch, ſix miles in compaſs. Without this he drew another; and behind that raiſed a rampart, which he ſecured with paliſades, and ſupported with a wall eight foot broad, and ten foot high, with towers at proper diſtances. Then to prevent any communication with the city by water, he ſtopped the navigation of the Durius, which waſhed the walls of the city, with a kind of ſtaccado, which was flanked with two wooden caſtles on the two banks. When the works were finiſhed, he guarded them carefully night and day. The ramparts were lined with legionaries, the towers filled with archers and ſlingers, and men poſted all the way from the circumvallation to his camp, with orders to give notice by ſhouts on which ſide the alarm was given. When any of the works were attacked by the beſieged, the commander on the poſt attacked hung out a red ſtandard by day, and made a great fire by night; upon which notice the general, who kept always twenty thouſand men in a readineſs to march, ſent them immediately ſtrong reinforcements to drive

drive back the enemy. Scipio gave no reſt to the beſieged, nor relaxation to his own troops. He viſited each poſt every day, and took a view of all the parts of this vaſt circumvallation. But notwithſtanding all the precaution he could uſe, ſix of the beſieged made their way through his camp, and, eluding the vigilance of the centries, got ſafe to the neighbouring cities, which they endeavoured to ſtir up againſt the Romans. But Lutia was the only place, which did more than pity the unfortunate Numantines. The youth of this city, touched with concern for their diſtreſſed countrymen, reſolved to march to their relief. But the old men in the place, having more at heart their own ſafety, than that of the Numantines, acquainted Scipio, with the reſolution and deſigns of their youth. Hereupon the general without delay, flew to Lutia in perſon with ſome light-armed troops, marched three hundred furlongs in eight hours, and arriving, when leaſt expected, at Lutia, demanded the raſh young men to be delivered up to him. The inhabitants, unwilling to comply with his requeſt and part with their children, concealed them, and pretended they had made their eſcape. But Scipio threatening to pillage the city, they thought it adviſeable to obey, and delivered up to him four hundred of the young men who had been the chief promoters of the late reſolution. The proconſul no ſooner had them in his power, than he cauſed their right hands to be cut off, and returned to his camp by ſun-riſing [y].

Numantia reduced to great ſtreights.

AND now, famine and deſpair encreaſing together in the beſieged city, five embaſſadors came out to Scipio, entreating him in the name of their countrymen, either to let them end their days, like brave men, in a general action, or ſave their liberty by an honourable capitulation. Abarus, who was at the head of the embaſſy, ſuggeſted to Scipio, that it was for his honour, either to ſhew clemency to the people, who had ſo bravely ſignalized their love for liberty, or at leaſt not to deſtroy them otherwiſe than with the ſword. But they received this ſhort anſwer; I will hearken to no propoſals, till you have abſolutely ſurrendered up to me your city, your perſons, and your arms, without any reſerve. Then the fury of the beſiiged firſt vented itſelf on the deputies, whom they cut in pieces for bringing them nothing but ill news. Afterwards, being preſſed

[y] Liv. in epit. l. lvii. Appian. in Iberic. Oroſ l. iii. c. 7. Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 3.

by want, they reſolved to make a laſt effort in order to break through the barriers, which confined them; accordingly, they marched out in good order by two gates, and fell upon the works with a fury not to be expreſſed. Their fixed reſolution to die or eſcape made them inſenſible of the many wounds they received. In ſpite of the continual ſhowers of ſtones, darts, and arrows, which were diſcharged upon them from the ramparts and towers, they would have forced their way through the enemy's camp, had not Scipio himſelf, at the head of twenty thouſand men, haſtened to the relief of the troops that defended the poſts attacked by the enemy. They were then, after a ſharp diſpute, forced to give way to numbers and retire, which they did in good order. But their returning into the city was only changing one kind of death for another. For they were now reduced to ſuch ſtreights as to feed firſt on the fleſh of their horſes, afterwards on that of their dead companions, and laſtly, to kill and devour one another. Thus did theſe poor citizens, who were formerly ſo firmly united in carrying on their common intereſt, make war on themſelves in a much more cruel manner, than any common enemy could have done. In this deplorable condition they held a conſultation, wherein it was reſolved, that they ſhould have recourſe to the proconſul, and make an abſolute ſurrender, ſince they could by no means hold out any longer. However, this reſolution was not univerſally approved. Great numbers choſe rather to die, than to give up their liberty; and ſhutting themſelves up in their houſes, there calmly waited for the fate, which hunger ſoon brought upon them. The reſt ſent a deputation to Scipio, who was touched with compaſſion at the ſight of thoſe unhappy men. There was ſomething inexpreſſibly wild in their air, and a ſavageneſs even in the manner they addreſſed him. As ſoon as they mentioned the word ſurrender, the proconſul received them graciouſly, and ordered them to bring all their arms to a place appointed the next day. But they demanded a longer time, which being granted, they ſet fire to their houſes, as ſome hiſtorians tell us; reduced their city to aſhes, and either killed one another, or periſhed in the flames; inſomuch, that not one of them remained alive to grace the proconſul's triumph. But Appian [a] aſſures us, that, two days after the time allotted, a conſiderable number of thoſe unhappy wretches came to the place appointed, and

Numantia utterly deſtroyed.
Year of the Flood, 2871.
Before Chriſt 128.
Of Rome 620.

[z] Flor. l. ii. c. 12. Oros. l. v. c. 7. [a] Appian. in Iberic.

and ſurrendered their arms, and that Scipio, having reſerved fifty of them for his triumph, ſold the reſt to the beſt bidder. Be that as it will, thus much may be ſaid in honour of thoſe brave Spaniards, that, though they were few in number, no other people ſo long reſiſted the Roman forces, ſo often defeated the conſular armies, or brought ſo much diſgrace both on the generals and ſenate of Rome. Numantia, though infinitely inferior both to Carthage and Corinth, was much more glorious in her fall, than either of theſe proud cities. Scipio took Carthage ſword in hand; but did not think it poſſible to reduce Numantia otherwiſe than by famine. With this city fell all the hopes of the revolted Spaniards; ſo that the whole country immediately ſubmitted to the Roman yoke. Then the ſenate ſent ten of their body to ſettle the new province. But the Spaniards were too great lovers of liberty to continue long quiet. We ſhall ſee them often taking up arms and renewing the war, till the emperor Auguſtus entirely reduced them, and ſettled Spain, as well as the reſt of the then known world, in peace and tranquillity. Scipio on his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph; and on this occaſion the Roman people added the ſurname of Numantinus to that of Africanus.

NUMANTIA, while in being, had brought numberleſs diſaſters upon Rome; but, in ſome ſenſe, proved ſtill more fatal to her after her deſtruction. Her aſhes, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, ſtirred up the firſt ſedition, which polluted the capitol with blood, and was a prelude to thoſe cruel civil wars, which afterwards broke out ſucceſſively in the republic, and coſt her the lives of more citizens, than the conqueſt of the world. We mean the ſedition raiſed by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, which it may not be improper to trace up to its firſt ſource. The Sempronian family, from which Tib. Gracchus was deſcended, was, though plebeian, one of the moſt illuſtrious in the commonwealth. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the father of this Gracchus, had been twice raiſed to the conſulate, was a great general, and had been honoured with two triumphs. But he was ſtill more renowned for his domeſtic virtues and probity, than for his birth or valour. He married the daughter of the firſt Africanus, that famous Cornelia, who was the pattern of her ſex, and the prodigy of her age, and had by her ſeveral children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus, and a daughter, named Sempronia, who was married to the

The birth and education of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.

Second Africanus. Tiberius the eldeſt was deemed the moſt accompliſhed youth in Rome, with reſpect to the qualities both of the body and mind. His extraordinary talents were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countenance, and all thoſe winning graces of nature which recommend merit. He made his firſt campaigns under his brother-in-law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon all occaſions by his courage and the prudence of his conduct. When he returned to Rome, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and at thirty years old was accounted the beſt orator of his age. He married the daughter of Appius Claudius, who had been formerly conſul and cenſor, and was then prince of the ſenate. He continued for ſome time in the ſentiments both of his own and his wife's family, and ſupported the intereſt of the patricians; but without openly attacking the popular faction. We have obſerved above, that he diſcharged the office of quæſtor in Spain, whither he attended the conſul Mancinus, and ſhared with him the misfortunes of that unhappy campaign. He was the chief author and negotiator of that ſhameful, but neceſſary, peace with the Numantines. The ſenate, with the utmoſt injuſtice, diſannulled the treaty, and condemned the conſul, the quæſtor, and all the officers, who had ſigned it, to be delivered up to the Numantines. The people indeed, out of eſteem for Gracchus, would not ſuffer him to be ſacrificed; but however, he had juſt reaſon to complain both of the ſenate and people, for paſſing ſo ſcandalous a decree againſt his general and himſelf, and breaking a treaty, whereby the lives of ſo many citizens had been ſaved. But, as the ſenate had chiefly promoted ſuch baſe and iniquitous proceedings, he reſolved in due time to ſhew his reſentment againſt the party, which had moſt contributed to his diſgrace. In order to this, he ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people, which he no ſooner obtained, than he reſolved to attack the nobility in the moſt tender part. They had uſurped lands unjuſtly; cultivated them by ſlaves to the great detriment of the republic, and had lived for about two hundred and fifty years in open defiance to the Licinian law, by which it was enacted, that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred acres. This law Tib. Gracchus reſolved to revive, and by that means revenge himſelf on the patricians. But it was not revenge alone which prompted him to embarque in ſo dangerous an attempt. It is pretended, that his mother Cornelia animated him to undertake ſomething worthy of his and her family. I am

He undertakes the revival of the Licinian law.

commonly

commonly called, ſaid ſhe, by way of honour, the mother-in-law of the Second Africanus. Why don't they ſtyle me the mother of Gracchus? It is becauſe your name is not ſo illuſtrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own ſake then, and for your mother's, make yourſelf famous by ſome great attempt. Theſe reproaches of his mother, the authority of ſome great men, namely his father-in-law Appius Claudius, of P. Craſſus, the Pontifex Maximus, and of Mucius Scævola, the moſt learned civilian in Rome, and his natural thirſt after glory, joined with an eager deſire of revenge, conſpired to draw him into this moſt unfortunate ſcheme. The law, as he firſt drew it up, was very mild; for it only enacted, that thoſe, who poſſeſſed more than five hundred acres of land, ſhould part with the overplus, and that the full value of the ſaid lands ſhould be paid them out of the public treaſury. The lands, thus purchaſed by the public, were to be divided among the poor citizens, and cultivated either by themſelves, or by freemen, who were upon the ſpot. Tiberius allowed every child of a family to hold two hundred and fifty acres in his own name, over and above what was allowed to the father. Nothing could be more mild than this new law, ſince by the Licinian he might have abſolutely deprived the rich of the lands they unjuſtly poſſeſſed, and made them accountable for the profits they had received from them during their long poſſeſſion. But the rich patricians could not ſo much as bear the name of the Licinian law, though thus qualified. Thoſe chiefly of the ſenatorial and equeſtrian order exclaimed againſt it, and were continually mounting the roſtra one after another, in order to diſſuade the people from accepting a law, which, they ſaid, would raiſe diſturbances, that might prove more dangerous than the evils, which Tiberius pretended to redreſs by the promulgation of it. Thus the zealous tribune was obliged day after day to enter the liſts with freſh adverſaries; but he ever got the better of them, both in point of eloquence and argument. He often intermixed with his ſolid arguments ſuch topics, as were moſt proper to make impreſſions on the multitude. The wild beaſts, ſaid he, have dens and caverns to retire to; while the citizens of Rome have not ſo much as a roof or a cottage to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; nay, not ſo much as ground enough to ſerve them for a grave. On the other hand, the rich inſiſted on the length of their poſſeſſion, on the debts they had contracted by purchaſing

The Sempronian law.

theſe

theſe lands, and on the ſtrange confuſion which ſuch a change would occaſion in families, ſince theſe eſtates were ſettled on their wives and children. But Gracchus anſwered all their objections, ſo clearly and fully, as left no room for any reply. Cicero, who read the ſpeeches of Gracchus, tells us, that he admired them more for the ingenious turns and ſolid reaſons he found in them, than for the purity of the language, which was not yet in its perfection [b]. The people were charmed to hear him maintain the cauſe of the unfortunate with ſo much ſucceſs, and beſtowed on him the higheſt commendations. The rich therefore had recourſe to violence and calumny, in order to deſtroy, or at leaſt to diſcredit, the tribune. It is ſaid, they hired aſſaſſins to diſpatch him; but they could not put their wicked deſign in execution, Gracchus being always attended, to and from the roſtra, by a guard of about four thouſand men. His adverſaries therefore endeavoured to ruin his reputation by the blackeſt calumnies. They gave out, that he aimed at monarchy, and publiſhed pretended plots laid for crowning him king. But the people, without giving ear to ſuch groundleſs reports, made it their whole buſineſs to encourage their tribune, who was hazarding his life and reputation for their ſake [c].

Gracchus gains the favour of the people.

When the day came, on which this law was to be accepted or rejected by the people aſſembled in the comitium, Gracchus began with haranguing the mighty croud, which an affair of ſo much importance had brought together both from the city and country. In his ſpeech he ſhewed the juſtice of the law with ſo much eloquence, made ſo moving a deſcription of the miſeries of the meaner ſort of people, and at the ſame time ſet forth in ſuch odious colours the uſurpation of the public lands, and the immenſe riches which the avarice and rapaciouſneſs of the great had raked together, that the people, tranſported with fury, demanded with loud cries the billets, that they might give their ſuffrages. Then Gracchus, finding the minds of the citizens in that warmth and emotion, which was neceſſary for the ſucceſs of his deſign, ordered the law to be read. But unluckily, one of the tribunes, by name Marcus Octavius Cæcina, who had always profeſſed a great friendſhip for Gracchus, having been gained over by the patricians, declared againſt the proceedings of his friend and collegue,

[b] Cic. in Bruto. [c] Liv. epit. l. lviii. Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i, Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 13.

collegue, and pronounced the word which had been always awful in the mouth of a tribune of the people, Veto, I forbid it. As Octavius was a man of an unblameable character, and had hitherto been very zealous in the publication of the law, Gracchus was greatly ſurpriſed at this unexpected oppoſition from his friend. However, he kept his temper, and only deſired the people to aſſemble again the next day, to hear their two tribunes, one in defence of, the other in oppoſition to, the law propoſed. The people met at the time appointed, when Gracchus, addreſſing himſelf to his collegue, conjured him by the mutual duties of their function, and by the bonds of their antient friendſhip, not to oppoſe the good of the people, whom they were bound in honour to protect againſt the uſurpations of the great: nay, taking his collegue aſide, he addreſſed him thus; Perhaps you are perſonally concerned to oppoſe this law; if ſo, I mean, if you have more than the five hundred acres allowed, I myſelf, poor as I am, engage to pay you in money what you will loſe in land. But Octavius, either out of ſhame, or from a principle of honour, continued immoveable in the party he had embraced. Gracchus therefore had recourſe to another expedient, which was to ſuſpend all the magiſtrates of Rome from the execution of their offices. It was lawful for any tribune to take this ſtep, when the paſſing of the law, which he propoſed, was prevented by mere chicanery. After this he aſſembled the people anew, and made a ſecond attempt to ſucceed in his deſign. When all things were got ready for collecting the ſuffrages, the rich privately conveyed away the urns, in which the tablets were kept. This kindled the tribune's indignation, and the rage of the people. A thouſand confuſed noiſes aroſe in the aſſembly. The comitium was like to become a field of battle, when two venerable ſenators, Manlius and Fulvius, very reaſonably interpoſed, and throwing themſelves at the tribune's feet, prevailed upon him to ſubmit his law to the judgment of the conſcript fathers. This was making the ſenators judges in their own cauſe; but Gracchus thought the law ſo undeniably juſt, that he could not perſuade himſelf that they would reject it; and if they did, he knew the incenſed multitude would no longer keep any meaſures with them [d].

Gracchus ſuſpends all the magiſtrates from their functions.

Gracchus ſubmits his law to the judgment of the ſenate.

THE

[d] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Liv. epit. l. lviii.

THE ſenate, who wanted nothing but to gain time, affected delays, and came to no reſolution. There were indeed ſome among them, who, out of a principle of equity, were for paying ſome regard to the complaints of the tribune, and for ſacrificing their own intereſt to the relief of the diſtreſſed. But the far greater part would not hear of any compoſition whatſoever. Hereupon Gracchus brought the affair anew before the people, and earneſtly entreated his collegue Octavius to drop his oppoſition in compaſſion to the many unfortunate people, for whom he interceded. He put him in mind of their antient friendſhip, took him by the hand, and affectionately embraced him. But ſtill Octavius was inflexible. Hereupon Gracchus took an unjuſt, ſay ſome authors, but neceſſary ſtep, to remove all oppoſition, and leave the people at liberty to vote. He reſolved to deprive Octavius of his tribuneſhip, ſince he alone obſtinately withſtood the deſires of the whole body of ſo great a people. Having therefore aſſembled the people, he told them, that ſince his collegue and he were divided in opinion, and the republic ſuffered by their diviſion, it was the province of the tribes aſſembled in comitia to re-eſtabliſh concord among their tribunes. If the cauſe I maintain, ſaid he, be, in your opinion, unjuſt, I am ready to give up my ſeat in the college. On the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your ſervice in this ſtation, deprive him of the tribuneſhip, who alone obſtructs my wiſhes. As ſoon as you ſhall have nominated one to ſucceed him, the law will paſs without oppoſition. Having thus ſpoke, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, after having ſummoned them to meet again the next day.

Brings it again before the people.

AND now, Gracchus, being ſoured with the oppoſition he had met with from the rich and from his obſtinate collegue, and being well appriſed that the law would paſs in any form, in which he ſhould think fit to propoſe it, reſolved to revive it, as it was at firſt paſſed, without abating any thing of its ſeverity. There was no exception in favour of the children in families; or reimburſement promiſed to thoſe who ſhould part with the lands they poſſeſſed above five hundred acres. The next day, the people being aſſembled in vaſt crowds on this extraordinary occaſion, Gracchus made freſh applications to Octavius; but to no purpoſe; he obſtinately perſiſted in his oppoſition. Then Gracchus, turning to the people, Judge you, ſaid he, which of us deſerves to be deprived of his office. At theſe words the firſt tribe voted, and declared for the depoſition of

of Octavius. Upon which Gracchus, ſuſpending the ardor of the tribes, made another effort to bring over his opponent by gentle methods. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the other tribes went on to vote in their turns, and followed the example of the firſt. Of five-and-thirty tribes, ſeventeen had already declared againſt Octavius, and the eighteenth was juſt going to determine the affair, when Gracchus, being willing to try once more whether he could reclaim his collegue, ſuſpended the collecting of the ſuffrages; and addreſſing Octavius in the moſt preſſing terms, conjured him not to expoſe himſelf, by his obſtinacy, to ſo great a diſgrace, nor to give him the grief of having caſt a blemiſh upon his collegue and friend, which neither time nor merit would wipe off. Hearken, dear Octavius, ſaid he, hearken rather to the advice of a faithful friend, than to a factious cabal, who are intereſted to ſeduce you. Be perſuaded to follow the inclinations of the Roman people. It is ſtill in your power to reconcile yourſelf to them, and gain their affections for ever. Octavius could not hear theſe words without concern. He is ſaid to have wept, and to have continued ſome time in ſuſpenſe. But having unluckily caſt his eyes on the ſenators there preſent, he was aſhamed to break his word with them; and therefore reſuming his former ſteadineſs, he boldly anſwered Tiberius, that he might go on with the work he had begun. At theſe words, the eighteenth tribe voted, Octavius was depoſed, and the law paſſed, as Gracchus had propoſed it the laſt time. The depoſed tribune was dragged from the roſtra by the incenſed multitude, who would have inſulted him further, had not the ſenators and his friends facilitated his eſcape [e].

Octavius depoſed, and the law paſſed.

The Licinian law being thus revived, with one conſent both by the city and country tribes, Gracchus cauſed the people to appoint triumvirs, or three commiſſioners to haſten its execution. In this commiſſion the people gave Gracchus the firſt place, and he had intereſt enough to get his father-in-law Appius Claudius and his brother Caius Gracchus appointed to be his collegues. Theſe three ſpent the whole ſummer in travelling through all the Italian provinces, to examine what lands were held by any perſon above five hundred acres, in order to divide them among the poor citizens. When Gracchus returned from his progreſs, he found

[e] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

found by the death of his chief agent, that his abſence had not abated either the hatred of the rich, or the love of the poor, toward him. As it plainly appeared, that the deceaſed had been poiſoned, the tribune took this occaſion to apply himſelf again to his protectors, and implore their aſſiſtance againſt the violence and treachery of his enemies. The populace more attached, after this accident, to their hero, than ever, declared they would ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their blood; and this their zeal encouraged him to add a new clauſe to the law, viz. that the commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe enquire, what lands had been uſurped from the republic. This was touching the ſenators in a moſt tender point, for moſt of them had appropriated to themſelves lands belonging to the republic. But after all, the tribune, upon a ſtrict enquiry, found, that the lands taken from the rich would not be enough to content all the poor citizens. But the following accident eaſed him of this difficulty, and enabled him to ſtop the murmurs of the malecontents among the people. Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, having bequeathed his dominions and effects to the Romans, Eudemus the Pergamean brought his treaſures to Rome at this time; and Gracchus immediately got a new law paſſed, enacting, that this money ſhould be divided among the poor citizens, who could not have lands; and that the diſpoſal of the revenues of Pergamus ſhould not be in the ſenate, but in the comitia. By theſe ſteps Gracchus moſt effectually humbled the ſenate, who, in order to diſcredit him among the people, gave out, that Eudemus, who had brought the king's will to Rome, had left with Gracchus the royal diadem and mantle of Attalus, which the law-making tribune was to uſe when he ſhould be proclaimed king of Rome. But theſe reports only ſerved to make Gracchus be more upon his guard, and to inſpire the people with an implacable hatred againſt the rich, who were the authors of them. Gracchus, being now, by his power over the minds of the multitude, abſolute maſter of their ſuffrages, formed a deſign of raiſing his father-in-law Appius Claudius to the conſulate the next year, of promoting his brother Caius to the tribuneſhip, and getting himſelf continued in the ſame office. The laſt was what moſt nearly concerned him, his perſon, ſo long as he was in office, being ſacred and inviolable. As the ſenate was very active in endeavouring to get ſuch only elected into the college of tribunes, as were enemies to Gracchus and his faction, the tribune left no ſtone unturned to ſecure his election. He told

Gracchus divides the treaſures of king Attalus among the people.

told the people, that the rich had reſolved to aſſaſſinate him as ſoon as he was out of his office; he appeared in mourning, as was the cuſtom in the greateſt calamities; and bringing his children yet young into the forum, recommended them to the people in ſuch terms, as ſhewed that he deſpaired of his own preſervation. At this ſight the populace returned no anſwer but by outcries and menaces againſt the rich. When the day appointed for the election of new tribunes came, the people were ordered to aſſemble in the capitol, in the great court before the temple of Jupiter. The tribes being met, Gracchus propoſed his petition, entreating the people to continue him one year longer in the office of tribune, in conſideration of the great danger to which he was expoſed, the rich having vowed his deſtruction as ſoon as his perſon ſhould be no more ſacred. This was indeed an unuſual requeſt, it having been long cuſtomary not to continue any tribune in his office above a year. However, the tribes began to vote, and the two firſt declared for Gracchus. Hereupon the rich made great clamours, and ſome of their faction, who were poſted in different places, cried out, Juſtice. juſtice! theſe men are going to overturn all the laws. No man can hold the office of tribune two years together. Theſe clamours terrified Rubrius Varro, who preſided in the college of tribunes that day, to ſuch a degree, that he reſigned his place to Q. Mummius, who offered to preſide in his room. But this raiſed a tumult among the tribunes themſelves, ſome pretending, that the preſident had no right to diſpoſe of his place, which it belonged to the whole college to do by a majority of votes. As the tribunes began to diſpute the legality of this act, with great warmth among themſelves, Gracchus wiſely diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and ordered them to meet again the next day.

Solicits the tribuneſhip for another year.

In the mean time, the people, being ſenſible of what importance it was to them to preſerve the life of ſo powerful a protector, not only conducted him home, but watched by turns all night at his door. Next morning by break of day, Gracchus, having aſſembled his friends, led them from his houſe, and poſted one half of them in the comitium, while he went up himſelf with the other to the capitol. As ſoon as he appeared, the people ſaluted him with loud acclamations of joy. But ſcarce was he placed in his tribunal, when Fulvius Flaccus, a ſenator and friend to Gracchus, breaking through the croud, came up to him, and gave him notice, that the ſenators, who were aſſembled

bled in the temple of Faith, which almoſt touched that of Jupiter Capitolinus, had conſpired againſt his life, and were reſolved to attack him openly on his very tribunal. Hereupon Gracchus tucked up his robe, as it were, to prepare for a battle; and, after his example, ſome of his party, ſeizing the ſtaves of the apparitors, prepared to defend themſelves, and to repel force by force. Theſe preparations terrified the other tribunes, who immediately abandoned their places in a cowardly manner, and mixed with the croud; while the prieſts ran to ſhut the gates of the temple for fear of its being profaned. On the other hand, the friends of Gracchus, who were diſperſed by parties in different places, cried out, We are ready: What muſt we we do? Gracchus, whoſe voice could not be heard by all his adherents on account of the tumult, the clamours, and the confuſed cries of the different parties, put his hand to his head; which was the ſignal agreed on to prepare for a battle. But ſome of his enemies, putting a malicious conſtruction upon that geſture, immediately flew to the ſenate, and told the fathers, that the ſeditious tribune had called for the crown to be put upon his head. Hereupon the ſenators, fancying they already ſaw the king of Pergamus's diadem on the tribune's head, and the royal mantle on his ſhoulders, reſolved to give the conſul leave to arm his legions, treat the friends of Gracchus as enemies, and turn the comitium into a field of battle. But the conſul Mucius Scævola, who was a prudent and moderate man, refuſed to be the inſtrument of their raſh revenge, and to diſhonour his conſulate with the maſſacre of a diſarmed people. As Calpurnius Piſo, the other conſul, was then in Sicily, the moſt turbulent among the ſenators cried out, Since one of our conſuls is abſent, and the other betrays the republic, let us do our ſelves juſtice; let us immediately go and demoliſh with our own hands this idol of the people. Scipio Naſica was the great grandſon of Cneius Scipio, the uncle of the firſt Africanus, and conſequently couſin to the Gracchi by their mother Cornelia. But nevertheleſs not one of the ſenators betrayed a more irreconcileable hatred againſt the tribune than he. When the prudent conſul refuſed to arm his legions, and put the adherents of Gracchus to death, contrary to the uſual forms of juſtice, he ſet no hounds to his fury, but, riſing up from his place, cried out like a madman; Since our conſul betrays us, let thoſe who love the republic follow me. Having uttered theſe words, he immediately walked out of the

temple

temple, attended by a great number of ſenators. Naſica threw his robe over his ſhoulders, and, having covered his head with it, advanced with his followers into the croud, where he was joined by a company of the clients and friends of the patricians, armed with ſtaves and clubs. Theſe, falling indifferently upon all who ſtood in their way, diſperſed the croud. Many of Gracchus's party took to their heels, and, in that tumult all the ſeats being overturned and broken, Naſica, armed with the leg of a broken bench, knocked down all who oppoſed him, and at length reached Gracchus. One of his party ſeized the tribune by the lappet of his robe; but he, quitting his gown, fled in his tunic, and as he was in that hurry of ſpirits, which is inſeparable from fear, leaping over the broken benches, he had the misfortune to ſlip and fall. As he was getting up again, he received a blow on the head, which ſtunned him; then his adverſaries, ruſhing in upon him, with repeated blows, put an end to his life. Some hiſtorians pretend, that Naſica with his own hand completed the work, which had been begun by his advice, and under his conduct. Others ſay, that Publius Satureius and Lucius Rubrius, or, as Plutarch calls him, Lucius Rufus, two of his collegues, ſecretly jealous of his glory, gave him the two blows that diſpatched him. However that be, Rome was by his death delivered, according to Cicero, from a domeſtic enemy, who was more formidable to her, than even that Numantia which had firſt kindled his reſentments. Perhaps no man was ever born with greater talents, or more capable of aggrandizing himſelf, and doing honour to his country. But his great mind, his manly courage, his lively, eaſy, and powerful eloquence, were, ſays Cicero, like a ſword in the hands of a madman. Gracchus abuſed them, not in ſupporting an unjuſt cauſe, but in conducting a good one with too much violence. He went ſo far as to make ſome believe, that he had really ſomething in view beſides the intereſt of the people, whom he pretended to relieve; and therefore ſome hiſtorians have repreſented him as a tyrant. But the moſt judicious writers clear him from this imputation, and aſcribe his firſt deſign of reviving the Licinian law to an eager deſire of being revenged on the ſenators for the affront they had very unjuſtly put upon him and the conſul Mancinus, as we have hinted above. The law he attempted to revive had an air of juſtice, which gave a ſanction to his revenge, without caſting any blemiſh on his reputation. The death of Gracchus did not put an

A fray enſues.

Gracchus is killed.

end to the tumult. Above three hundred of the tribune's friends loſt their lives in the fray, and their bodies were thrown with that of Gracchus into the Tiber. Nay, the ſenate carried their revenge beyond the fatal day, which had ſtained the capitol with Roman blood. They ſought for all the friends of the late tribune, and without any form of law aſſaſſinated ſome, and forced others into baniſhment. Caius Billius, one of the moſt zealous defenders of the people, was ſeized by his enemies, and ſhut up in a caſk with ſnakes and vipers, where he miſerably periſhed. Though the laws prohibited any citizen to take away the life of another, before he had been legally condemned, Naſica and his followers were acquitted by the ſenate, who enacted a decree, juſtifying all the cruelties committed againſt Gracchus and his adherents [f].

The cruel death of CaiusBillius.

In the mean time the people, being recovered from their fear, reproached themſelves with the death of their tribune, as not having defended him with ſufficient courage. They inveighed chiefly againſt Scipio Naſica, the author of the tumult, upbraiding him publickly with murder and ſacrilege. Some threatened to murder him; others were for ſummoning him before the aſſembly of the people, and trying him for his life. The ſenate therefore, fearing leſt his preſence might raiſe a new ſedition, thought proper to remove him: and accordingly ſent him, under pretence of an embaſſy, into Aſia, though his office of pontifex maximus obliged him not to go out of Italy. He rambled about a great while in different parts of the Levant, till at length, worn out with trouble, he died at Pergamus. By his abſence the fire of ſedition was rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed. The people ſtill maintained the law, which Gracchus had paſſed in their favour, and nominated a new commiſſioner in his room to finiſh the diſtribution of the lands which he had begun. The perſon they pitched upon was P. Craſſus, whoſe daughter Caius Gracchus, brother to Tiberius, had lately married. On the other hand the patricians, to keep off the execution of the law, found means to bring into the college of tribunes a creature of their own, Q. Pompeius Rufus, one of Gracchus's moſt violent enemies. In the mean time the conſular year being near expired, the election was made without any diſturbance in the uſual place, and the ſupreme magiſtracy conferred on Publiu

Scipio Naſica is ſent into Aſia.

[f] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell civil. l. i. Oroſ. l. v. c. 8 Cic. de off. l. i. c. 21. & de orat. l. ii.

Publius Popilius Lænas, and P. Rupilius. It fell to the lot of Popilius to continue in Italy, and keep the citizens of Rome in awe, while his collegue ſet out for Sicily to make war with the revolted ſlaves in that iſland. We ſhall follow him thither, and take a view of the origin and progreſs of this rebellion, which brought more calamities on the Sicilians, than all the ravages and devaſtations of their old enemies the Carthaginians.

The war of the ſlaves in Sicily.

In Sicily the great men of the iſland, or the Roman knights, who had the management of the public revenues, having, by degrees, engroſſed all the great eſtates to themſelves, out of avarice employed in the culture of their lands ſlaves inſtead of freemen, to whom they ſcarce allowed neceſſaries; ſo that thoſe unfortunate men, being obliged to provide for themſelves, learnt to live by rapine. As they frequently met together in companies to plunder the houſes in the country, or to rob the travellers on the great roads, they came at length to deliberate how to deliver themſelves from ſlavery. They were almoſt as numerous as the natives themſelves, and therefore wanted only a leader to appear at their head, and conduct the conſpiracy. A Sicilian lord, named Antigines, had amongſt his ſlaves one by name Eunus, who was very fit for this purpoſe. He was a native of Apamea in Syria, and having been taken priſoner in war, had paſſed through the hands of ſeveral maſters, till at length he was brought into Sicily. He was a vigilant, active man, full of fire, and pretending to have a conſtant intercourſe with the gods by dreams and apparitions, was conſulted by his fellow ſlaves as an oracle. The Sicilians in general exerciſed a kind of tyranny over their ſlaves; but a citizen of Enna, a city in the center of the iſland, by name Damophilus, had made himſelf more odious than the reſt, by his cruelties, to a great number of thoſe unhappy wretches who cultivated his immenſe poſſeſſions. They were all marked with an hot iron in their foreheads, ſhut up every night in cloſe priſons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, though at the ſame time they were ſcarce allowed the neceſſary proviſions to ſupport themſelves. On the other hand Megallis, the wife of Damophilus, was no leſs cruel towards the ſlaves of her ſex, exacting their taſks with inſupportable rigor, and cauſing them to be unmercifully whipt for the leaſt fault. Theſe two tyrants had a daughter, who was very different from themſelves: tho' ſhe was very young, ſhe had good-nature enough to

pity the afflicted; she often alleviated their sufferings, appeased her furious mother, supplied, as far as she was able, the wants of the necessitous, and, in short, was the only refuge of those unhappy men. We are sorry history has not transmitted to us the name of this humane and virtuous young woman. The oppressed slaves, not being able to bear any longer the unspeakable miseries they groaned under, entered into a plot against the authors of them. But in order to secure themselves success, they first went to consult Eunus, who, with a solemn prophetic tone, pronounced, that the enterprise was agreeable to the gods, and that it would be attended with success, provided they did not delay the execution of it. He offered to conduct it himself; and the slaves, overjoyed to have such a man at their head, assembled in great haste to the number of four hundred on Damophilus's estate, armed with forks, hooks, and other instruments of husbandry, and marching directly to Enna, surprised and pillaged it. The slaves in the city joined their comrades, and committed barbarities not to be expressed. The men were massacred, the women dishonoured, and even the children at the breast dashed on the ground, and trod under foot. As Damophilus was gone with his wife and daughter to take the air in a garden near the city, Eunus, who had taken upon him the office of general, sent a party to seize them, which was done with circumstances of great barbarity. However, they treated the daughter with all the respect which was due to her virtue. So true it is, that good-nature commands regard even from the most furious[g].

Eunus heads the revolted slaves, and seizes Enna.

Eunus, being now master of Enna, assembled the slaves he commanded in the public theatre; and having erected there a kind of tribunal, ordered Damophilus and his wife to be brought before him, in order to be tried. Some of the slaves were accusers, others witnesses, and the multitude judges. Eunus presided, and gave the accused leave to speak their defence. But while Damophilus was endeavouring to raise compassion, and some began to shew pity for him, Hermias and Zeuzis, two of his slaves, whom he had treated with great cruelty, came up to him, and with repeated blows dispatched him. His wife Megallis was sentenced to be delivered up to the slaves of her own sex, whom she had treated without mercy. These furies set no bound to their cruelty, inflicted on their mistress every torment which

[g] Liv. epit. l. lvi. Dodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Flor. l. iii. c. 19

which revenge could invent; and at length after having satiated their rage, threw her down a precipice, which put an end to her unhappy life. As for the daughter, she was treated with the utmost respect, conducted with the unanimous consent of all to Catana, and there delivered untouched into the hands of her relations. In the mean time Eunus, finding he could not pretend to assume a perfect authority over such untractable people, without being invested with sovereign power, prevailed upon the multitude to proclaim him king. The first orders the new king gave were very cruel; for he caused all the inhabitants of Enna to be barbarously murdered, saying, that there could never be any real concord between freemen and slaves. After this, having got into his power Antigines and Pithon, who had successively been his masters, he put them to death with his own hand. He then assumed all the ensigns of royalty, changed his name of Eunus into that of Antiochus, gave the title of queen to his wife, who was a Syrian, and a slave as well as himself, and applied himself to settle a kind of government among his new subjects. His regulations drew above six thousand slaves to Enna in less than three days, armed with such weapons as came first to their hands, viz. spits, axes, saws, poles, &c. At the head of these Eunus took the field, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages. The people, whose houses were burnt, and lands laid waste, came in flocks to the Roman prætor, who governed the island, imploring his assistance. Manlius, who was governor of Sicily in the year of Rome 615, when this sedition first broke out, marched against the rebels with one legion, the usual army of prætors, who resided in peaceable provinces, but he was defeated, and his camp taken and plundered. The same misfortune happened to the prætors P. Cornelius Lentulus and Caius Calpurnius Piso, whom the republic sent into the island the two following years. The news of these advantages being spread all over the island, the new king's forces daily encreased. Among the rest, one Cleon, a native of Cilicia, joined him with five thousand men; others came from the most distant parts of the island at the head of considerable bodies to support, under the banners of Eunus, the common cause: insomuch, that when the prætor L. Plautius Hypsæus landed in Sicily, he found above seventy thousand slaves in arms under the command of Eunus, besides those who had assembled under other leaders in different places; so that the whole number of armed slaves in the island amounted to

Eunus proclaimed king.

He gains great advantages over the Roman prætors.

two hundred thouſand. As Hypſæus had only eight thouſand men in his army, he no ſooner appeared in the field, than he was attacked, and entirely defeated. The rebels, elated with this victory, laid ſiege to Taurominium, a city of great ſtrength, and having ſoon reduced it, made it their magazine of arms, and place of refuge. At length the republic, alarmed at the progreſs the rebels made in the beginning of the year 619, ordered C. Fulvius, collegue in the conſulate to the ſecond Africanus, into Sicily, to ſuppreſs this conſpiracy, which began now to be formidable. But whether he gained any advantages over the rebels, hiſtory has not informed us. In the following year 620, the conſul L. Calpurnius Piſo (W), to whoſe lot Sicily fell, attacked the Syrians, for ſo the rebellious ſlaves were commonly called, under the walls of Meſſana, which city they had inveſted, put them to the rout for the firſt time, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and killed above ſix thouſand of them on the ſpot. But though Piſo conquered the rebels, he had not the glory of entirely reducing them. This was reſerved for P. Rupilius, who was choſen conſul for the preſent year. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Taurominium. As this city was ſituated on a high and ſteep hill, and difficult of acceſs on all ſides, the conſul reſolved to reduce it by famine. With this view he drew a line of circumvallation round the mountain, and by that means cut off all communication with the neighbouring country. As the garriſon was very numerous, proviſions ſoon began to fail them; and then want added to their obſtinacy produced many tragical events. They killed and devoured one another, but, as they could expect no pardon, ſtill perſiſted obſtinate. At length the city was betrayed to the Romans by a Syrian ſlave, named Sarapion; and the governor,

And takes Tauromini-um.

C. Fulvius ſent againſt the ſlaves.

Taurominium betrayed to the Romans.

(W) This Calpurnius Piſo is ſaid to have been the author of the famous law De repetundis againſt the avarice of magiſtrates, who robbed the public. While he was prætor in Sicily, there being a great ſcarcity of corn at Rome, the ſenate charged him to buy up a great quantity all over that iſland; which he did with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as acquired him the glorious ſurname of Frugi, that is, The honeſt. He remitted to the public treaſury a conſiderable part of the money which had been ſent him for this purpoſe, and managed the reſt with ſuch prudence and frugality, as to provide with it for the wants of the public (31).

(31) Cic. in Verr. act 3.

governor, with all his garriſon were, by the conſul's orders, thrown down headlong from the top of a rock. From Tauromínium the conſul led his army to Enna, where the pretended king had ſhut himſelf up with Cleon, and the flower of his troops. This place likewiſe Rupilius reſolved to reduce by famine; and accordingly inveſted it on all ſides. The beſieged, being ſoon reduced to great ſtreights, made ſeveral ſallies, attempting to break through the enemy; but though they fought like men in deſpair, they were conſtantly repulſed by the Romans. In one of theſe ſallies, Cleon fell alive into the conſul's hands, covered with wounds and blood, but did not long ſurvive his captivity. His empaled body was expoſed to the view of the beſieged to encreaſe their terror. At length Enna likewiſe was treacherouſly delivered up to the conſul, whoſe troops put all the ſlaves they found in the place to the ſword. We are told, that at the taking of theſe two cities above twenty thouſand of the rebels loſt their lives. As for Eunus, when he ſaw the Romans maſters of the walls, he put himſelf at the head of his guards, conſiſting of about ſix hundred men, forced his way through the legionaries, fled for refuge to a ſteep, and there prepared to ſell his life dear. He was purſued cloſe, and ſurrounded in his retreat by the conſular troops; and then it appeared, that there was more oſtentation than true courage in his ſervile ſoul. The ſoldiers of his guard agreed to kill one another. But their king concealed himſelf among the rocks, and was at laſt taken alive out of a cave with four of his domeſtics, and delivered up to the conſul, who ſent them to Murgantia, to be ſtrictly guarded there, till the departure of the Roman army. Rupilius reſerved Eunus, not ſo much to grace his triumph, as to ſhew the Romans the chief they had ſo much dreaded with ſo little reaſon. But he fell ſick, and died in priſon, worn out with grief, and devoured with vermin [h]. Rupilius continued ſome time in Sicily in quality of proconſul; retook the cities which were ſtill in the hands of the rebels; reſtored the fugitive ſlaves to ther maſters; and laſtly, drew up a new code of laws for the Sicilians, which were ever after obſerved to the great ſatisfaction of the whole iſland. Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned

And alſo Enna.

Eunus taken priſoner.

Eunus dies in priſon.

[h] Diodor. Sicul. in eclog. Flor. l. iii c. 19. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 7. & l. iv. c. 3. Cic. pro Fonteio, & in Verr. act. 6,

to Rome; but refuſed a triumph, being aſhamed to have it recorded in the triumphal tables, that he had overcome ſlaves. He was one of thoſe great and diſintereſted men, who had the virtue of the firſt ages of Rome. The only glory he ſought was, that of promoting the public good; and the only reward he deſired was, the conſciouſneſs of having ſerved his country [1].

DURING the war in Sicily, Andronicus, the illegitimate ſon of Eumenes, laid claim to the kingdom of Pergamus, which Attalus was ſaid to have bequeathed to the Romans; and having ſeized it, put himſelf in a condition to maintain a war with Rome, which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of the kingdom of Pergamus. The next year, P. Licinius Craſſus and Valerius Flaccus were choſen conſuls; the former was pontifex maximus, and the latter flamen Martialis, that is, high-prieſt of Mars; ſo that Rome was now for the firſt time governed by two perſons devoted to the ſervice of the gods. This ſame year two plebeians, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, ſurnamed Macedonicus, and Q. Pompeius were choſen cenſors. It had been an invariable cuſtom in Rome for two hundred and twenty years to chuſe one of the cenſors out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians. But now the patricians, probably to ſoften the people, ſuffered them to raiſe two of their body to this eminent dignity, which had never happened before. In the cenſus, which theſe two plebeians took of the citizens of Rome, they found 317823 men able to bear arms; and their cenſorſhip was famous for a law, which they got paſſed, obliging all Romans to marry at a certain age.

Two plebeians choſen cenſors.

IN the mean time, the diſturbances about the Sempronian law were continued by the tribune Carbo, who was continually complaining to the people of the chicaneries of the rich in oppoſing the execution of it. One day he publicly aſked the great Scipio Africanus what he thought of the murder of Sempronius Gracchus his brother-in-law, not doubting, but he would condemn the authors of his death; but, to his great ſurpriſe, Scipio anſwered, that if Gracchus had endeavoured to ſow diſcord in the republic, he thought him lawfully put to death. Upon this unexpected anſwer, the tribun[illegible]irred up the people to inſult the moſt venerable man in [illegible] But Sci[illegible] aſſuming an aſcendant over the multitude [illegible]e ſilent, ſa[illegible], ye untractable people. Think ye

New diſturbances about the Sempronian law.

[1] C[illegible] in Ver. act. ii.

ye that I am afraid of your murmurs, who have been so often unconcerned at the fury of your enemies? At these words the unruly multitude began to hiss him, which that brave commander not being able to bear, Miserable wretches, said he, exalting his voice, What would have become of you, had it not been for my father Paulus Æmilius, and myself? you would have been enslaved by your enemies, and spent your unhappy lives in a state of subjection. And is this the respect you owe your deliverers; Is this your gratitude? These words, uttered with that authority, which the long command of armies gives a general, silenced the multitude, and made the most seditious tremble like slaves. The comitia were immediately dissolved, and every one returned home with more esteem, but less affection, for the great Scipio. After this the illustrious Roman retired to one of his country-houses at Gaieta with his dear Lælius. There these two inseparable friends, who had discharged with glory the highest offices in the republic, amused themselves with the same little innocent pleasures which had diverted them when children. They walked by the sea-side, entertained themselves with picking up smooth flat stones, and throwing them on the surface of the water, and enjoyed more pleasure in this sweet retirement, than they had done at the head of the republic and her armies [k].

In the mean time, Carbo, more active than ever in supporting the interests of the people, having prevailed upon them to continue him in his office another year, proposed a law, enacting that the same persons should hold the tribuneship during the pleasure of the people, without coming to an annual election. But Scipio and Lælius, upon the report of this new storm, hastened to Rome, opposed the law with all their interest, and got it rejected. In the following consulate of Claudius Pulcher and M. Perperna, a soldier of fortune, and not so much as a Roman citizen, the disturbances of Rome were daily encreased by the tribunes. Caius Atinius Labeo, who was at the head of the college, seized Q. Cæcilius Metellus the censor, who had refused him a place in the senate, at noon-day, and immediately pronounced sentence of death upon him, commanding his attendants to throw him headlong from the Tarpeian rock. The officers took hold of the venerable magistrate by the throat, and threw him with the utmost barbarity. The insolence of the tribune Labeo. iv.

[k] Cic. de orat. l. i.

barbarity. One of his ſlaves flew to acquaint his maſter's relations with the violence offered him. They all came and found the cenſor half dead wallowing in his blood. As it was not lawful to take even a relation, no not a father, out of the hands of a tribune, they flew with all poſſible ſpeed, and brought one of Labeo's collegues, who oppoſed the unjuſt ſentence, and ſaved the remains of Metellus's life. Without this timely aſſiſtance, the moſt conſiderable magiſtrate in Rome after the conſul, the triumphant victor and conqueror of Macedon, whence he had the glorious ſurname of Macedonicus, would have been executed like a common criminal. Labeo was ſo far from being puniſhed for this cruél inſult on Metellus, that he had intereſt enough to get a law paſſed, enacting, that for the future the tribunes ſhould all have votes in the ſenate. This law being paſſed, he went in ſtate to the forum, and there by ſound of trumpet ordered all the effects of the great Macedonicus to be ſold to the beſt bidder. Such acts of violence were to all diſcerning men the forerunners of thoſe civil wars which not long after broke out [1].

In the next conſulate of C. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Aquilius, freſh troubles were raiſed on account of the Sempronian law. The commiſſioners for putting it in execution, were continually ſtirring up the people againſt the rich by their complaints; and the allies of the republic complained as much of the injuſtice of the commiſſioners, who in the diſtribution of the lands were more favourable to the inhabitants of Rome, whoſe votes might be of ſervice to them, than the people of the provinces. Scipio therefore took the latter under his protection, and having ſpoke warmly in favour of thoſe poor allies, got the execution of the law transferred from the three commiſſioners to the conſul Sempronius. But the conſul, dreading the conſequences of civil broils at home, as much as he loved the glory of arms abroad, ſet out for Japidia, one of the weſtern provinces of Illyricum, which had fallen to him by lot, to quell ſome diſturbances lately raiſed there. Scipio, thus left alone to ſtand the hatred of the three commiſſioners, for the other conſul was then ſettling the kingdom of Pergamus in peace, was charged by them with the moſt odious deſign [illegible] That indeed of aſpiring to the dictatorſhip was probab[illegible]ue; but it was no matter of juſt reproach to him, th[illegible] he was greatly calumniated for it by the commiſſioners,

[illegible]ian.
[illegible]om

[1] Gell. l. xiv. c. 8. Cic. pro domo ſua.

miſſioners, and their adherents. C. Gracchus his brother-in-law told him to his face, That he ought to be put to death as a tyrant. Scipio calmly replied; There is ſcarce any man, who is not an enemy to his country, that deſires it. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, one of the triumvirs, caſt the moſt bitter reflections rage could ſuggeſt upon Scipio, cenſured both his public and private conduct, and warmly inſiſted, that the dictatorſhip was his point in view, and that he deſired this dignity only in order to uſurp a perpetual tyranny. But nevertheleſs, both the ſenate and people ſeemed inclined to favour Scipio's motion, the partiality of the triumvirs in the diſtribution of the lands being very palpable. All the ſenators in a body, and vaſt crouds both of Roman citizens and allies, attended him to his houſe. In ſhort, Rome ſeemed to nominate him dictator the next day. But in the morning, to the great grief and ſurpriſe of all well-wiſhers to their country, he was found dead in his bed. Thoſe who viewed his body more narrowly, diſcovered the marks of a violent death about his neck, as if he had been ſtrangled. His death was, upon good grounds, imputed to the triumvirs, Papirius Carbo, C. Gracchus, and Fulvius Flaccus, and to his wife Sempronia, the ſiſter of the Gracchi, who is ſaid to have conveyed in the night the triumvirs into his room. The authors of the crime took great pains to ſpread a report, that Scipio, finding he could not obtain for the allies the advantages he had promiſed them, had out of grief and deſpair laid violent hands on himſelf. Thus died this illuſtrious hero, whoſe talents and exploits were ſo equal to thoſe of the firſt Africanus, that Rome herſelf could not determine which was ſuperior in merit. Their characters, their conduct, their tempers, and their honours, were equally great; and, to the eternal reproach of their country, one died with grief in a kind of exile, and the other a violent death in Rome. The ſecond Africanus died poſſeſſed of very little elſe but the glory of his exploits. For he left to Quintus Fabius Maximus, his nephew and heir, having no children himſelf, ſcarce thirty-two pounds weight of ſilver, and two pounds and a half of gold. Surpriſing poverty in a general, who might have enriched himſelf with the ſpoils of Carthage! The patricians wept for him as a father. When Metellus [illegible]o had been all his life-time his rival for glory, heard [illegible]ews of his death, he ſhewed the utmoſt concern, and [illegible]rning to his two ſons, Go, ſaid he, attend the funeral of [illegible] greateſt man Rome ever bred; you will never ſee his e[illegible]l. The people

The death of Scipio.

His character.

people too lamented his death, and attended in great crouds his body to the funeral pile; but they would not ſuffer any enquiries to be made after the authors of his death, for fear of finding C. Gracchus, who now began to be their darling, concerned in ſo baſe and treacherous a murder [m].

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting at Rome, the conſul Tuditanus was making war in Japidia, where he was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that in one campaign he quieted the whole country, and upon his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph, as was likewiſe his collegue Aquilius three years after for reducing the kingdom of Pergamus, though he did it by poiſoning the ſprings, which ſupplied the ſeveral towns with water; which was a moſt execrable and inhuman breach of the law of nations. And now there was not the leaſt diſturbance or commotion in any of the provinces ſubject to the Roman republic. Ciſalpine Gaul, Spain, Africa, Iſtria, Illyricum, Macedon, and Greece, bore the yoke with great ſubmiſſion; ſo that there was no expedition for the new conſuls, Cn. Octavius and T. Annius, to undertake within or without Italy. The people gave themſelves wholly up to pleaſures and luxury in this time of tranquillity; which licentiouſneſs greatly encreaſed in the ſucceeding conſulate of L. Caſſius Longinus and L. Cornelius Cinna. But when M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Aurelius Oreſtes were raiſed to the conſular dignity, this general tranquillity was a little interrupted by a revolt in Sardinia, which province fell to the lot of Aurelius; and Caius Gracchus was his quæſtor.

Caius Gracchus.

This young Roman was become the idol of the people, who after the death of his brother looked upon him as their chief patron and protector. He had indeed ſome very eminent qualities, and was deemed the beſt orator in Rome. The multitude adored him on account of his favouring the citizens of Rome, more than the allies, in the partition of lands. He had for ſome time retired from public life, and applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of eloquence. During his retirement, the republic enjoyed a profound tranquillity; and it was commonly ſaid, that he had reſolved to bury his talents in obſcurity for fear of his brother's [illegible]ate. But after two years retirement, he unexpectedly [illegible]eared upon the ſtage, and ſtood for the quæſtorſhip,

[m] App[illegible] de bell. civil. l. 1. Cic. in Lælio, & pro Muræna. Plut. in R[illegible]ul. & Gracch. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt.

ſhip, which he obtained, and in that quality attended the conſul Aurelius into Sardinia, where he ſignalized his courage, and obliged all who depended upon him in the diſcharge of his office. He gained the affection of his general by his punctuality, ready obedience, and the great ſervices he rendered him in ſupplying the army with cloaths and proviſions by the intereſt he had among the Sardinians, who were greatly taken with his temperance, modeſty, and obliging carriage. But the ſenate, in the mean time, growing jealous of the popularity Gracchus acquired in the army, and dreading the conſequences of it, ordered all the troops in Sardinia to be recalled, and freſh ones to be ſent in their room. The next year the patricians had the mortification to ſee Fulvius Flaccus, who had had been one of the triumvirs for the partition of the lands, raiſed to the conſulate. His collegue was Plautius Hypſæus, a patrician of a mild and pacific diſpoſition. The plebeian conſul was no ſooner entered upon his office, than he propoſed a law, enacting, that the right of Roman citizenſhip ſhould be granted to all the Italian allies, to whom the triumvirs had not been able to aſſign any ſhare in the divided lands. He had, when one of the triumvirs, exaſperated the people in the provinces, by not admitting them to an equal ſhare of lands with the inhabitants of Rome; and now by this law he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to them. He ſupported it with a fury, which ſhewed him determined to exaſperate the ſenate. The patricians earneſtly entreated him to drop the law, which would not fail to be attended with dangerous conſequences, and might kindle a war in the bowels of Italy. But the imperious conſul did not even vouchſafe to give them an anſwer, ſo that there was reaſon to fear an immediate rupture: but a new incident intervened, which kept the republic for ſome time in tranquillity. Embaſſadors came from Maſſilia, deſiring the aſſiſtance of the Romans againſt the Salyes, who had ravaged their country. This gave the ſenate an opportunity of ſending Fulvius beyond the Alps; and he, being greedy of glory, readily accepted the commiſſion. His abſence, and that of Gracchus, might have given the republic an interval of reſt, if the ſeditious conſul had not, before he left Rome, ſown the ſeeds of a rebellion, which broke out as ſoon as he was gone. For the Italian allies having by his departure loſt all hopes of obtaining the right of citizenſhip, with which he had flattered them, began to enter into cabals againſt the republic. Fregellæ, a city of the Volſci razed.

He gains the affection of the ſoldiery.

Fregellæ rebels, and is

on

on the Liris, was the firſt that openly revolted. But Numitorius Pullus, the chief author of the rebellion, being cited before the prætor, and frightened into a diſcovery of the whole plot, a Roman army was ſent againſt the city, which by the advice of Numitorius ſubmitted; but nevertheleſs was immediately razed. Numitorius himſelf was pardoned, but all his accomplices condemned to die, and executed. The exemplary puniſhment of the Fregellani checked the boldneſs of the malecontents, and ſtifled the ſedition for ſome time [n].

ALL ſeemed quiet, when C. Caſſius Longinus and C. Sextius Calvinus were raiſed to the conſulate; but this calm was of ſhort duration. C. Gracchus, who had been continued, much againſt his inclination, in Sardinia, with the character of pro-quæſtor, being weary of his long ſtay in an iſland where his talents were buried, and fearing the affections of the people might cool by ſo long an abſence, reſolved to run all the hazards of a very bold ſtep. In open defiance to all law, he embarqued unknown to the conſul, left Sardinia, and, when leaſt expected, appeared at Rome. He was therefore accuſed before the cenſors, but ſo far impoſed upon his judges by his eloquence, that he was acquitted. The high eſteem and great concern which the multitude ſhewed for him on this occaſion, encouraged him to ſtand for the tribuneſhip. He flattered himſelf, that if he could once get poſſeſſion of this important office, he ſhould eaſily find means to maintain himſelf in it, and to execute all his ſchemes of revenge at leiſure. He therefore put himſelf among the candidates, and ſolicited the office with the utmoſt diligence and application. This rouſed the ſenate to be more active in oppoſing him; and his excellent mother Cornelia was very preſſing with him to deſiſt. She wrote to him from one of her country-houſes in Campania near cape Miſenum, whither ſhe had retired after the melancholy death of her eldeſt ſon, two very affectionate letters upon this ſubject (X); in which ſhe

C. Gracchus returns from Sardinia.

[n] Liv. epit. Appian. l. i. de bell. civil. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 5. Jul. Obſeq. Cic. de inven. l. ii. de finib. l. ii. in Piſon. & ad Heren l. iv.

(X) [illegible] theſe letters have reached our times, and ſufficiently ſhew [illegible] ſpirit and ſentiments of that heroine, in whoſe [illegible]raiſes the [illegible]ients often ex[illegible]iate. In one of them ſhe expreſſes herſelf thu[illegible] "Son, you [illegible]ve now no partner in the affection "of

the labours to divert him from his deſign with ſuch tenderneſs both for him and her country, as ſhews her worthy of the

" of your mother. Tiberius is no more. All my joys and fears " centre wholly in you. The death of your elder brother was " owing to his deſire of revenge ; and will you ſuffer yourſelf to " be hurried on to your deſtruction by the impetuoſity of the " ſame paſſion ? Avert, ye gods, ſo fatal a preſage ; It will be " a ſatisfaction, you will ſay, to revenge his murder. I allow " it, dear child. I have as ſtrong a ſenſe as you, of the pleaſure " of revenge. But I can, by force of reaſon, ſuppreſs the firſt " ſallies which paſſion raiſes in my breaſt. And at preſent, my " concern for the welfare of the public has a greater influence up- " on me, than my grief at the loſs of my ſon. Ah, Gracchus ! " remember, that with the ſame blow which wounds your coun- " try, you will ſtrike deep into your mother's breaſt. But what " am I ſaying ! You will yourſelf ſink under the weight of this " raſh attempt. I ſhall loſe you ; but your enemies will remain. " Unfortunate mother ! let what will happen, the ill effects of " the civil broils, in which you are preparing to engage, will " fall upon me, and be more than I ſhall be able to bear (32) ".

Gracchus paid no regard to the repreſentations of his mother, his rage againſt the ſenate getting the better of her wholeſome advice. This drew from her a ſecond letter in the following words : " Undutiful child ! next to the murderers of Tiberius, I have " not a more cruel enemy in the world than you. Have I had " any reaſon to expect, that my only ſurviving ſon ſhould bring " me nothing but bitterneſs in my old age ? To what can I im- " pute this diſobedience, but to my continual indulgence, and too " great compliance with your inclinations ? And is it too much to " deſire an equal return of deference and reſpect ? Impious " wretch ! will you never be at reſt till you have deſtroyed the " republic ? Shall I have the mortification before I die, to ſee " that you have overturned it ? Do not, Gracchus, do not act " over again the tragical ſcenes of my unfortunate family ! Wait " at leaſt till my eyes are cloſed, before you ſtand for the tri- " buneſhip ; and then my aſhes will not feel the misfortunes " which you will bring upon yourſelf. In the midſt of your di- " ſtreſs you will perhaps invoke the manes of your father and mo- " ther : but will they then be affected with your tears ? The " time to believe and obey them, is while they live. O great " Jupiter ! ſuffer not my ſon to perſiſt in a deſign, which muſt " be the deſtruction of himſelf, his country, and his mother (33)". From theſe ſmall remains we may judge whether this celebrated parater

(32) Ex frag. Cornel. Nepotis apud Andrea Schottum Hiſtoricis.
(33) Idem ibid.

the ſtatue which the ſenate permitted the people to erect to her memory. But neither her entreaties nor commands could prevail; he purſued his point, and ſucceeded. There was this circumſtance peculiar to his election, that for want of room in the campus Martius, a great number of citizens got up on the roofs of the houſes round it, and from thence voted for Gracchus with ſhouts and acclamations. His graceful perſon, noble air, fine features, and modeſt deportment, poſſeſſed every ſpectator in his favour before he ſpoke; and when he did ſpeak, their ears were no leſs charmed; for a more complete orator had never aſcended the roſtra ° (Y). Soon after the election of Gracchus to the tribuneſhip, his fellow triumvir Fulvius Flaccus returned from Gaul to ſecond him in his attempts. He was a furious plebeian, and a declared enemy to the ſenate and the rich, and ready to embarque in any bold and deſperate undertaking. Gracchus procured him a triumph for an expedition of little importance, in order to bring new honour and ſtrength to his party by the addition of a conſular man, and a triumphant victor [P].

Is choſen tribune.

THUS

° Cic. l. ii. de orat. [P] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. ibid.

ble matron could have any hand in the baſe aſſaſſination of the ſecond Africanus, which ſome writers have, without any grounds, laid to her charge. She loved her children, but had at the ſame time a tender regard for her country; and therefore the ſenate, notwithſtanding their reſentment againſt her two ſons, ſuffered the people to erect a ſtatue to her with this inſcription on the baſe; To Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi.

(Y) Cicero, a good judge in point of oratory, tells us, that a more complete orator than Caius Gracchus never appeared in the roſtra. His graceful perſon, noble air, fine features, and expreſſive action, charmed all who ſaw or heard him. His voice, which was ſtrong and melodious, reached and affected the moſt diſtant auditors. The only fault imputed to him was too much vehemence, when he ſuffered paſſion to tranſport him. The orator, who was himſelf well appriſed of this defect, choſe out from among his ſlaves an excellent muſician, whom he kept conſtantly behind him, when he was ſpeaking. If in a fit of paſſion the orato[r] h[e] opened to raiſe his voice too much, the ſlave with a ſort of f[lute] et brought him back to his proper key. So much care did the Romans take, when they ſpoke in public, to give their ſpeech all poſſible graces. But Gracchus never appeared more

THUS all things ſeemed to tend to a ſedition in Rome, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus and T. Quinctius Flaminius were choſen conſuls. The former was ſent into the Balearic iſlands to quell an inſurrection there, and the latter continued at Rome, where Gracchus was daily inventing new ſchemes to depreſs the ſenate, and exalt the people. He got his brother's law confirmed, relating to the diviſion of the lands of Italy between the citizens of Rome and the indigent allies; and for the more ſpeedy execution of it, he cauſed himſelf to be nominated one of the commiſſioners for the ſaid partition, in conjunction with Fulvius Flaccus, and Licinius Craſſus, who ſeems to have been the brother of his wife Licinia. With the aſſiſtance of theſe he undertook and performed ſeveral works in favour of the people. For the convenience of travellers, he repaired the great roads, built a great many bridges, erected the firſt milliary columns, or columns at the end of each mile, and placed ſtones at proper diſtances for the eaſe of travellers in mounting their horſes. Theſe public works gained him the hearts of the people; but the two following laws which he got paſſed in ſpite of the ſenate, were far more agreeable to the multitude than any public works. The firſt was, that public granaries ſhould be built at Rome, and filled with corn at the public expence; the ſecond, that monthly diſtributions ſhould be made from thence to every citizen who wanted corn, at a very low price. In order to enable the treaſury to bear this expence, he got duties laid on all the goods imported into Aſia at the ports deviſed to the republic by king Attalus. He paſſed ſeveral other laws relating to the ſervice and cloathing of the troops, which were ſo agreeable to the people, that the tribune gained an abſolute aſcendant over them, and became in a manner deſpotic maſter of Rome. This could not but raiſe the hatred and jealouſy of the patricians, who united all their intereſt to cruſh him as ſoon as his office ſhould expire. To prevent this, Flaccus preſſed him to ſolicit the tribuneſhip a ſecond time; which

His new laws.

He is choſen tribune a ſecond time.

more eloquent, than when he lamented the tragical end of his brother. As he was affected with it himſelf, his deſcriptions were ſo ſtrong and lively, that they drew tears from every eye (34).

(34) Cic. de orat. l. iii.

which he did accordingly, and ſucceeded, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the ſenate, and the whole body of the nobility [q].

The Balearic iſlands ſubdued.

WHILE Gracchus was thus humbling the ſenate, the conſul Metellus, landing in the Balearic iſlands, ſubdued them, and treated thoſe poor helpleſs barbarians with ſuch cruelty, that, out of thirty thouſand, he ſcarce left one thouſand of them alive. After this bloody and eaſy victory, the conſul built two cities in the larger iſland, one to the eaſt, called Palma, now Majorca; the other to the weſt, named Pollentia, now no longer in being. To people theſe two places, the conſul brought three thouſand Romans from the colonies on the continent of Spain. After this the conſul returned to Rome, where he triumphed, and was honoured with the ſurname of Balearicus, as his father had been with that of Macedonicus. At the ſame time the proconſul Sextius, who had been continued in

And the Salyes in Tranſalpine Gaul.

Tranſalpine Gaul, having gained a complete victory over the Salyes, found no difficulty in ſubduing the whole nation. He beſieged their capital, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from Maſſilia or Marſeilles, took it, and reduced the inhabitants to ſlavery. When the conquered came to be ſold, the proconſul, being informed that one of them, by name Crato, had ſuffered much from his countrymen on account of his affection to the Romans, not only gave him his liberty, and reſtored to him all his effects; but allowed him to chuſe out nine hundred among his countrymen, who were, at his requeſt, ſet at liberty [r]. After this the proconſul, to ſecure his new conqueſt, founded a colony in the place where he had gained his victory, chuſing a ſpot of ground for this purpoſe, which abounded both with hot and cold ſprings. Here he built a new city, which, from the ſprings and his own name, he called

Aquæ Sextiæ or Aix founded.

Aquæ Sextiæ. This place, now known by the name of Aix in Provence, he peopled with a colony, which Rome had formerly planted at Fabrateria, in the country of the Volſci. Sextius, having thus ſettled the Romans in Tranſalpine Gaul, returned to Rome, and triumphed; an honour which he better deſerved than his predeceſſor Fulvius Flaccus had done [s].

THE

[q] Plut. in Gracch. Salluſt. in frag. [r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xv. Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 15. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſ.
[s] Strabo, l. iv. Vel. Paterc. l. i. Flor. l. iii. c. 2.

THE conſul, on his return to Rome, found the republic in great confuſion on account of the innovations of Gracchus. The ſeditious tribune ſaw with concern, that the Roman knights, who were the moſt wealthy of the citizens, inclined more to the ſide of the nobility, than to his; ſo that the plebeian party was made up only of the indigent populace. The knights were indeed reckoned a part of the plebeian body; but, as they were the richeſt of that order, they made alliances with the patricians, and, upon a diviſion, generally ſided with them. Gracchus therefore, in order to draw them off from the ſenate, and bring them into his meaſures, drew up a law for making ſix hundred of them ſenators; but this law the crafty tribune propoſed only to pave the way for another, which was in appearance more moderate, but in effect raiſed the knights above the ſenators. This was, to transfer from the ſenators to the knights the cognizance of all private cauſes, civil and criminal. The ſenators uſed their utmoſt efforts to get this law rejected; but Gracchus was abſolute maſter of the ſuffrages of the people, ſo that the following plebiſcitum paſſed by a vaſt majority, Let the judging of all private cauſes belong to the knights, excluſive of the ſenators. The tribune was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that he cried out in a tranſport of joy, I have at length humbled the ſenate. The favour which the people ſhewed him on this occaſion, emboldened him to proceed ſo far, as to ſolicit for the conſulſhip, in ſuch terms as led the people to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himſelf; but when the day of the elections came, he entered the campus Martius, leading his friend C. Fannius Strabo by the hand, whom he recommended to the favour of the people, ſaying, with a very engaging air, which he knew how to aſſume when he pleaſed, If you confer the conſulſhip on my friend, it is the ſame thing as if you conferred it upon me. This was enough, Fannius was declared conſul with Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus. It fell to the lot of the latter to carry on the war beyond the Alps, and to the former to continue in Italy. And now Gracchus, being raiſed to ſuch a pitch of power and authority over the people of Rome, as the moſt abſolute monarchs have over their ſubjects, in order to ſhew his contempt for the ſenate, cauſed the ſeats in the comitium to be changed. The plebeians had hitherto been ſo placed, that the orators, who harangued them, at the ſame time faced the ſenate, and addreſſed themſelves

The knights made judges in all private cauſes.

ſelves to that venerable body as well as to the people; but Gracchus, by altering the ſituation of the plebeians, contrived it ſo, that, when he harangued the people, he turned his back to the ſenators. This was a glaring proof, that he acknowledged no ariſtocratical power in the republic, but thought the whole authority lodged ſolely in the people. This laſt outrage rouſed the ſenators, and put them upon contriving expedients to check the inſolence of the daring tribune. As the conſul Domitius was abſent,

Gracchus is oppoſed by the conſul C. Fannius.

they applied themſelves to his collegue C. Fannius, whom, to their great joy and ſurprize, they found to be in his heart a ſteady republican, and a ſincere friend to his country, not to be corrupted, and determined not to ſacrifice the intereſt of the public to his private gratitude. Soon after his election, the popular tribune revived a prohibition formerly given to the judges, not to put in execution a capital ſentence on a Roman citizen, without the conſent and order of the people. This law met with no oppoſition; but when he propoſed the following edict, That the allies ſhould be upon the ſame foot with the citizens of Rome as to a right of ſuffrage, even in the acceptance or refuſal of laws, the conſul Fannius, thinking this a monſtrous innovation, to the great ſurprize of his benefactor, openly declared againſt him, and, mounting the roſtra, harangued the people with great zeal, expatiating on the evil conſequences that would infallibly attend the paſſing of the law propoſed by the tribune. By this means the republic was divided between her two chief magiſtrates, and the debates grew every day warmer and warmer. One was ſupported by the ſenate, the other by the multitude, and both carried matters to great extremities. Gracchus was for giving the right of citizenſhip and ſuffrage to all the Italian allies of Rome, from the moſt eaſtern parts of Italy to the foot of the Alps, which drew vaſt crouds of thoſe people to the capital. The ſenate, alarmed at this prodigious concourſe of ſtrangers, engaged the conſul to forbid all thoſe, who had not yet a right of ſuffrage, to continue in the city, or within five miles of it. This order gave riſe to a warm diſpute between the conſul and the tribune in point of juriſdiction. Fannius inſiſted, that theſe new-comers ſhould leave Rome; Gracchus encouraged them not to obey an order, which the conſul had no right to publiſh. On one ſide were enacted conſular edicts; and on the other ordinances of the tribune directly contrary to them. At length the boldeſt man ſucceeded; Fannius, who was a better ſoldier than orator, thinking

ing it neceſſary to make uſe of force, ſent his lictors to ſeize ſome of thoſe pretenders to the citizenſhip of Rome, and cauſed them to be dragged through the ſtreets, and driven out of the city. Gracchus, either out of cowardice, or, as he ſaid, for fear of giving riſe to a civil war, ſuffered his friends to be thus treated, without offering to aſſiſt them; and this too great tameneſs was the firſt thing that leſſened his credit, and made his partizans ſomewhat diffident [t].

But it was not enough for the ſenate to have thus checked the exorbitant power of the tribune; they aimed at nothing leſs than his deſtruction: but as they could not compaſs their deſign, without gaining over one of his brother tribunes, they applied themſelves to Livius *Druſus*, judging him the moſt proper perſon in the college for their purpoſe. He was in the flower of his age, of an illuſtrious family, though plebeian, in point of manners blameleſs, ſkilled in buſineſs, a good orator, and capable of a laudable emulation. As he had nothing more at heart than the welfare of his country, and the ſervice of his fellow-citizens, he came readily into the meaſures of the conſcript fathers; but they, remembering the misfortunes of Octavius, who had oppoſed the attempts of Tiberius, directed Livius to purſue quite different meaſures from thoſe which that tribune had taken, and taught him a conduct ſo refined and ſo well-judged, that hiſtorians commend it as a maſter-piece of policy. They did not deſire him to oppoſe the novelties which Gracchus daily introduced, but, on the contrary, to court the favour of the people, by attempting to ſurpaſs Gracchus himſelf in popularity; a ſcheme finely laid, and executed with ſtill more addreſs. If Gracchus propoſed any law agreeable to the people, and diſpleaſing to the ſenate, Livius immediately propoſed another which was more ſo, and by that means brought himſelf into great favour with the multitude. This game was ſo artfully played, as not to be ſuſpected even by the moſt ſagacious of the adverſe party. Gracchus could not ſee without concern the good-will of the people divided between him and Livius; and being ſenſible that his intereſt was daily leſſened among the multitude, he began to ſhew ſome reſpect to the fathers, who returned it with great civilities, and pretended to be upon very good terms with him. But their maſter-piece was yet behind: they prevailed

The ſenate gains over Livius, one of the tribunes.

The artifice of the ſenate.

[t] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

vailed on Rubrius, another tribune, to propoſe a law for raiſing ſix thouſand Romans to rebuild and repeople Carthage. The law being paſſed, Rubrius, under pretence of doing honour to Gracchus, named him in the firſt place to be the leader of the colony, his ſeditious friend Fulvius Flaccus in the ſecond place, and himſelf in the third. Gracchus fell into the ſnare, and croſſing the ſea, ſpent ſome months in Africa, and began to build there a new city on the ruins of Carthage, which he called Junonia, from the name of the goddeſs, who had always been the protectreſs of the old city. At the end of two months, Gracchus returned to Rome, where he met with a very indifferent reception, even from the moſt zealous of his party. Livius, during his abſence, had got the aſcendant, and gained the affections of the people to ſuch a degree, that Gracchus was now almoſt quite forgot by the unſteady multitude. The popular tribune was ſo ſenſible of this, that his friends had much ado to keep up his drooping ſpirits. However, he took ſome ſteps to prevail on the people to elect him tribune the third time, which was his laſt game; but at the ſame time he very imprudently affronted the reſt of his collegues, by ordering a ſcaffold to be pulled down, which they had erected to ſee more conveniently a ſhew of gladiators (Z). Gracchus pretended, that the ſcaffold

A decree paſſed for rebuilding Carthage.

Gracchus ſtands for the tribune ſhip a third time.

(Z) The combats of gladiators paſſed from Greece, or, as others will have it, from the Aſiatic provinces, to Hetruria, and from thence to Rome. This cruel cuſtom was firſt introduced into the world to ſupply the room of human victims, which the pagans offered at the funeral piles, or near the tombs of their anceſtors, from a ſuperſtitious notion, that the ſouls or manes of the deceaſed were rendered propitious and highly pleaſed with human blood. This monſtrous perſuaſion prevailed even among the more civilized nations. They generally believed, that the effuſion of human blood was a tribute which the dead required of the living; but, to diſguiſe their impious barbarity with the ſpecious ſhew of pleaſure and voluntary combat, they introduced gladiators, that is, men deſtined by the ſtate to cut one another's throats. Theſe combats were, in their firſt riſe, confined to the funerals of great men; but in a ſhort time became common at the obſequies of private perſons. Thoſe who could afford it, never failed to allot in their wills a certain ſum for a combat of gladiators, this being a ſure way of drawing a great concourſe of people together, and having their obſequies performed with great ſolemnity. The firſt ſhew of gladiators, called by the Latins munus gladiatorum, was exhibited at Rome

ſcaffold raiſed by the tribunes left no room for the common people to ſee the ſhew. By this bold action he ingratiated

Rome, according to Valerius Maximus (35), by M. and D. Brutus upon the death of their father, in the year of the city 490. Several years after, that is, in the year of Rome 537, upon the death of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus the augur, who had been thrice honoured with the conſulate, his three ſons, Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus, entertained the people with the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing twenty-two couple of gladiators fight in the forum. In the year of Rome 547, the firſt Africanus diverted his army at new Carthage with a ſhew of gladiators, which he exhibited in honour of his father and uncle, who had begun the reduction of Spain. On this occaſion two young Spaniards, of an illuſtrious birth and couſin-germans, who contended for the ſovereignty of a city named Lacibis, obtained leave of Scipio to end their quarrel by ſingle combat; which they did accordingly, and their example was followed by ſeveral other Spaniards of diſtinction, who fought either to end their perſonal quarrels by duels, or purely to gain ſome glory by conquering. In proceſs of time the Romans grew ſo fond of theſe bloody entertainments, that not only the heir of any great and rich citizen lately deceaſed, but all the principal magiſtrates, preſented the people with ſhews of this nature, to procure their eſteem and affection. The ædiles, pretors, conſuls, and, above all, the candidates for offices, made their court to the people, by entertaining them frequently with theſe fights. As for the emperors, it was ſo much their intereſt to ingratiate themſelves with the populace, that they obliged them with combats of gladiators almoſt upon all occaſions. As theſe bloody ſolemnities were encreaſed, ſo was the number of the combatants. At the firſt ſhew exhibited by the Bruti, only three couple of gladiators fought; but Julius Cæſar, in his ædileſhip, diverted the people with three hundred and twenty couple (36). Titus exhibited a ſhew of gladiators, wild beaſts, and repreſentations of ſea-fights, which laſted an hundred days; and Trajan continued a ſolemnity of this nature an hundred and twenty-three days, during which time he brought out a thouſand couple of gladiators. The number of gladiators were ſo great, even in the time of the republic, that when the conſpiracy of Cataline broke out, the ſenate ordered them to be diſperſed about the ſtrong-holds, and ſecured, leſt they ſhould join in the diſaffected party. The famous Spartacus, who put Rome under no ſmall apprehenſion, was himſelf a gladiator, and of the ſame condition were the greater part of his troops, with which he defeated the two Roman generals Claudius and Vatinius. As to the condition of the gladiators, they were commonly

(35) Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. (36) Dio Caſſ. l. lxviii.

himſelf with the mob, but provoked the whole college of the tribunes, who ſoon found an opportunity to ſhew their reſent-

ly ſlaves, or captives purchaſed by the laniſtæ, that is, by perſons who made it their profeſſion to teach them how to manage their arms, and brought them up for public ſhews. The laniſtæ hired them out at a great price to the perſon who was at the expence of the ſhew, and led them, armed to the amphitheatre, like ſo many victims. Before they entered the liſts, their maſters, or the laniſtæ, engaged them by the moſt dreadful oaths, never to give ground, but to fight to the laſt extremity. The form of this oath is ſtill preſerved in the fragments of Petronius. When brought to the place ſet apart for theſe bloody ſhews, they were ranged into claſſes, and divided into couples; ſo that each had his adverſary. They fought with the utmoſt fury, and purſued one another without mercy, their maſters ſparing neither threatenings nor blows to ſtir up the cowardly. If either of the two combatants, exhauſted with fatigue and loſs of blood, or ſtruck with horror at the approach of death, begged quarter, he held up his finger, and laid down his arms, to ſhew that he had recourſe to the mercy of the people preſent, from whom he expected the deciſion of his fate. It often happened, that the ſpectators took a cruel pleaſure in giving up the ſuppliant to the fury of his adverſary; and then, Recipe ferrum, Stab him, ſtab him, was the cry from all parts of the theatre. Sometimes the multitude declared their pleaſure, by holding up, or, as others will have it, by bending back their thumbs, which was the fatal ſign of condemnation. The cowardly ſcarce ever met with any favour from the populace, who were deaf to their cries and prayers. On the other hand, thoſe who ſhewed a generous contempt of death, were generally favoured by the people, and ſaved.

As ſoon as the mournful ſound of the trumpets proclaimed the death of one of the gladiators, his body, covered with wounds and blood, was ignominiouſly dragged with a crook, through one of the gates of the amphitheatre to a place adjoining, called Spoliarium, where the conquerors ſtripped the dead of their cloaths and arms, and inhumanly diſpatched them, if they ſtill breathed. Pliny tells us (37), that many of the common people often crouded round the dying, and clapping their mouths, without the leaſt concern, to their trembling limbs, drank their warm blood, as it ſtreamed from their wounds, out of a perſuaſion, that it was a ſovereign remedy for the falling-ſickneſs. If the people ſhewed an inclination to favour the vanquiſhed, the laniſta ſtill retained his right to them, and kept them for other combats. The reward

(37) Plin. l. xxviii.

reſentment; for a few days after, when the election came on, the old tribunes, whoſe buſineſs it was to collect the votes,

ward of the conqueror was only a crown of maſtic and a palm branch which he received from the hands of the magiſtrates, to which was added ſometimes, but very rarely, a ſmall ſum of money.

The greateſt of all the advantages the gladiators ever gained in their victories, and after many years of ſervice, was, the recovery of their liberty. In this caſe, the prætor declared them for ever free from the hard fate of being ſubjected to an avaricious and mercileſs maſter. A kind of foyl, called by the Latins rudis, was put into their hands, as a pledge of their enfranchiſment, and on their heads a ſort of bonnet, named pileus, which was given to all thoſe, who from ſlaves became free. When they were thus ſet at liberty, they conſecrated their arms to Hercules, the tutelary god of the gymnaſia, or military ſchools.

The gladiators were, as we have hinted above, commonly priſoners taken in war, or refractory and ungovernable ſlaves; for it was a common cuſtom for maſters to ſell ſuch ſervants to the laniſtæ, or the inſtructors of the gladiators: but, in proceſs of time, free men often fought for hire as gladiators; whence they had the name of auctorati. Some young perſons, of good families, after they had ſpent their eſtates in debauchery, were not aſhamed to hire themſelves out as gladiators; nay, the knights and noblemen, and even the ſenators themſelves, often took up this infamous profeſſion, to keep themſelves from ſtarving, after they had ſquandered away their patrimony; inſomuch, that Auguſtus was obliged to publiſh an edict, forbidding any of the ſenatorial order to turn gladiators. Not long after, he laid the ſame reſtraint on the knights (38). But theſe prohibitions were ſo little regarded by the following princes, that, in one ſhew exhibited by Nero, four hundred ſenators, if the numbers in Suetonius are not corrupted, and ſix hundred of the equeſtrian order, fought in the arena as common gladiators (39). Nay, even women of diſtinction frequently engaged in theſe public encounters, particularly under Nero, and Domitian, and are upon that account elegantly expoſed by Juvenal in the following verſes:

Quale decus rerum, ſi conjugis auctio fiat,
Balteus, & manicæ, & criſtæ, cruriſque ſiniſtri
Dimidium tegmen? vel ſi diverſa movebit
Prælia, tu felix, ocreas vendente puella.

(38) Dio Caſſ. l. xlviii. & Suet. in Auguſt. c. 43. (39) Suet. in Ner. c. 11.

Hæ

But is diſappointed.

votes, ſo counted them, that the majority was declared to be againſt Gracchus, tho', in all likelihood, the greateſt number

Hæ ſunt quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade, quarum
Delicias & panniculus bombycinus urit.
Aſpice quo fremitu monſtratos perferat ictus;
Et quanto galeæ curvetur pondere; quanta
Poplitibus ſedeat, quam denſo faſcia libro (40)!

Thus engliſhed by Mr. Dryden.

Oh! what a decent ſight 'tis to behold
All the wife's magazine by auction ſold!
The belt, the creſted plume, the ſev'ral ſuits
Of armour, and the Spaniſh-leather boots!
Yet theſe are they that cannot bear the heat
Of figur'd ſilks, and under farſenet ſweat.
Behold the ſtrutting Amazonian whore,
She ſtands in guard, with her right-foot before,
Her coats tuck'd up, and all her motions juſt,
She ſtamps, and then cries, Hah! at every thruſt.

But the moſt ridiculous ſet of combatants were the dwarfs, who, encountering one another, or engaging with the women, afforded the people great diverſion. They are deſcribed with a great deal of humour by Statius (41), to whom we refer our readers.

There are ſeveral kinds of gladiators, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, which they took from their country, their arms, their way of fighting, or from ſuch-like circumſtances. The moſt famous, and moſt frequently mentioned by the antients, are, the Retiarii, the Secutores, the Myrmillones, the Thracians, the Samnites, the Pinnirapi, the Eſſedarii, and the Andabatæ. The Retiarius was dreſſed in a ſhort coat, having a fuſcina or trident in his left-hand, and a net in his right, with which he endeavoured to entangle his adverſary, that he might the more eaſily diſpatch him with his trident. The Secutor, who was always matched with the Retiarius, was armed with a buckler and a helmet, on which was engraven a fiſh, in alluſion to the net. If the Retiarius failed in caſting the net, he fled round the place of combat, till he had got it ready for a ſecond throw. In the mean time, his antagoniſt purſued him to prevent his deſign; and from thence was called Secutor or Follower. In the ſeveral motions, which the Retiarius made while he was attempting to catch the head of his adverſary in his net, he repeated the following words, recorded

(40) Juv. ſat vi. ver. 254, & ſeq. (41) Stat. l. vi. ver. 57., & ſeq.

number of ſuffrages was for him. To complete his misfortune, his profeſſed enemy, L. Opimius, was choſen conſul, with Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, nephew to the ſecond corded by Feſtus: Non te peto, piſcem peto; quid me fugis, Galle? Why do you fly from me, Gaul? my aim is not at you, but at your fiſh. The Secutor's weapon was a falx ſupina, or kind of ſcymiter. Juvenal gives us a very particular account of this ſort of combat, in ſpeaking of a young nobleman, who ſcandalouſly took up the profeſſion of a Retiarius in the reign of Nero (42). The Myrmillo was, as is pretty plain from Juvenal, the ſame as the Secutor. However, Lipſius will have the Myrmillones to be a diſtinct order of gladiators, who fought completely armed. The Thracians uſed a ſica, or dagger, and a parma, or little round ſhield. Some writers think they were called Thracians, becauſe they were natives of Thrace; others pretend they were ſo named from their weapons, which were peculiar to the Thracians. As to the Samnite gladiators, Livy tells us, that the Campanians, bearing a great hatred to the Samnites, armed ſome of their gladiators after the faſhion of that country, and called them Samnites. Such was their original. What their arms were, he tells us in another place; they wore, ſays he, a ſhield, broad at the top to defend their breaſts, and narrow at the bottom, that it might be moved with greater eaſe; they wore a belt over their ſhoulders, a greave on their left-foot, and a creſted helmet on their heads. Hence it is plain, that the Amazonian combatant, deſcribed above by Juvenal, had aſſumed the armour and duty of a Samnite gladiator. The Pinnirapi, who always entered the liſts againſt the Samnites, were ſo called from the pinnæ or creſt, which adorned the Samnite's helmet. Theſe pinnæ they uſed to catch at, and carry them off in triumph, as marks of their victory; and hence the name of Pinnirapi. made up of the two Latin words pinnæ and rapere. The Eſſedarii engaged one another in chariots, called eſſeda. The Andabatæ fought on horſeback, armed with a helmet, which covered their face and even their eyes, ſo that they ſtruck at a venture; and hence Andabatarum more pugnare is, among the Latins, to fight blind-fold.

We ſhall take our leave of the gladiators, with an obſervation out of Petronius Arbiter, who tells us, that the combats of gladiators were introduced out of ſuperſtition, but maintained out of policy; a cruel policy indeed! but the republic found her account in it. The Roman youth, being accuſtomed to look on blood and ſlaughter as matter of diverſion, learned to deſpiſe death, which was become familiar to them, and to brave the greateſt dangers.

(42) Juv. ſat. viii. ver. 199.

ſecond Africanus. It fell to the lot of Fabius to make war in Gaul, where Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had continued there with the character of proconſul, had gained great advantages, which we ſhall take notice of hereafter. As for Opimius, he continued in Italy, and made it his buſineſs to humble in his turn the great adverſary of the ſenate, and his own perſonal enemy; for Gracchus had got him formerly excluded from the conſular dignity, becauſe he would not come into his meaſures. The idol of the people, being thus reduced to the condition of a private man, and conſequently expoſed to the perſecution of his enemies, had recourſe to the law for rebuilding Carthage, and, together with Fulvius Flaccus, his inſeparable friend, raiſed ſix thouſand men for that purpoſe. When they had made the neceſſary preparations for paſſing over into Africa, they were informed, that the law would be repealed. This news brought them back to Rome; for they were then buſied in getting together on the ſea-coaſt a ſufficient number of veſſels for the tranſporting of their men. Upon their arrival, they found, that the ſenate had given the tribune M. Minucius inſtructions for that purpoſe; and that his chief argument to the people was built on ſome pretended prodigies, which were ſaid to have happened at Carthage, when the workmen firſt began to mark out the circumference of the new city. To diſprove this pretence, Gracchus mounted the roſtra once more, but both ſpoke and acted like a madman. Among other things he ſaid, That, if the ſenate reported, that heaven obſtructed the rebuilding of Carthage by prodigies, the ſenate lyed. Gracchus, who was naturally of a mild diſpoſition, would never have carried things to this extremity, if he had not been led to it by the advice of his friend Fulvius, who, tho' advanced in years, ſtill retained all the fire of youth. On the day appointed for the comitia to meet about the confirming or repealing of the law, Fulvius, early in the morning, poſted ſome of his faction in the area of the capitol, where the aſſembly was to be held; and Gracchus, with a numerous guard, took poſſeſſion of one of the porticos of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, there to wait for the reſult of the comitia. In the mean time, the conſul Opimius, having offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter in his temple on the capitol, one of the conſul's lictors, by name Antillius, as he was bringing out the entrails of this victim, after they had been preſented on the altar, inſulted Gracchus and his friends, crying out, 'Take care, rioters; make way for the faithful ſervant of the

the republic. Upon this one of Gracchus's domeſticks drew a dagger, and laid Antillius dead at his feet. This unhappy accident, together with a violent ſtorm, diſperſed the crowd, every one retiring in great conſternation to his own houſe. As the author of the murder was not known, the greater part imputed it to Gracchus himſelf, tho' no one, even of the adverſe party, was more affected with it than he; for he knew, that his enemies waited for an opportunity to lay on him the blame of a civil war, which they were reſolved to begin. He paſſed the night in great uneaſineſs, dreading the evil conſequences of that raſh action; but Fulvius, who, from his earlieſt years, had been bred up in a camp, behaved in a very different manner. He retired to his houſe attended with a ſtrong guard, and there made a great entertainment for his friends, drinking hard, and cauſing wine to be freely diſtributed among thoſe who attended him. He did not retire till it was very late, and then ſlept ſound, till the out-cries of his guard, and the noiſe that was heard in all the ſtreets of Rome, awaked him. The conſul Opimius had taken poſſeſſion of the capitol with his conſular troops before day, and thereby made himſelf maſter of a poſt which commanded the city. After this, he had aſſembled the ſenate at the break of day in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, and cauſed the dead body of Antillius to be expoſed to public view, in order to ſtir up the multitude againſt Gracchus and his adherents. The ſenate in great haſte drew up a decree, impowering the conſul to do whatever he ſhould judge proper for the publick good; which was in effect creating him dictator. Hereupon Opimius, reſolving to repay his old enemy all the evils the republic and himſelf had ſuffered from him, ordered the Roman knights to take up arms, and each to bring with him two domeſtics well armed. On the other hand, Fulvius, upon the firſt notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, ran like a madman about the ſtreets; and, having raiſed the mob, flew, with his two ſons and a confuſed multitude, to take poſſeſſion of mount Aventine; ſo that the two extremities of Rome to the eaſt and weſt were like two camps, whence two armies were ready to march againſt each other. Gracchus, foreſeeing that much blood would be ſhed in this quarrel, ſhewed a great reluctance to follow Fulvius to mount Aventine. However, he reſolved at length to go and join his friend; but left his houſe more like a magiſtrate, who was going to put an end to a civil conteſt, than a warrior, who was marching to battle. He neither changed

A lictor killed in the capitol by one of Gracchus's domeſtics.

The conſul Opimius ſeizes the capitol.

And Fulvius mount Aventine.

the habit, which he uſually wore in the city, nor took any other arms than a dagger under his robe, to defend himſelf in caſe he was attacked. As he was juſt going out of his houſe, his wife, who tenderly loved both her huſband and her country, ran, all in tears, to ſtop him. She ſeized him by his robe, and holding in her arms his ſon, the only pledge of their mutual affections; Whither are you going, ſaid ſhe, ſo early? Can you be ignorant, that the murderers of your brother are preparing the ſame fate for you? You are going to put yourſelf at the head of a vile rabble, who will baſely abandon you at the ſight of the leaſt danger. If you have any affection either for me or your dear child, take care of a life which is to us ſo dear. She was going on, when Gracchus, pierced to the heart with grief, and not having power to anſwer her, broke away from between her arms; but ſhe holding him by the robe, followed him, till at length, borne down with the weight of her grief, ſhe fainted and fell down in the ſtreet, whence ſhe was carried to the houſe of Licinius Craſſus her brother, who had entirely devoted himſelf to Gracchus's party.

Gracchus joins Fulvius.

Gracchus, at his arrival on mount Aventine, found there a confuſed multitude of people, no-ways in a condition to withſtand the conſular troops and the whole body of the nobility, who, with their clients and domeſtics, formed a very powerful party. He therefore ſummoned the chief men of his party to a council of war, when they unanimouſly reſolved to fortify the temple of Diana, to invite the ſlaves to join them, with a promiſe of granting them their liberty, and, laſtly, to offer a treaty before they began hoſtilities. Gracchus prevailed on Fulvius to ſend to the conſul his youngeſt ſon, a child ſcarce twelve years old, but of extraordinary beauty, and admired by all for his underſtanding, which was much above his years. When young Fulvius appeared before Opimius with a caduceus, the ſymbol of peace, in his hand, the conſul, in deriſion to the embaſſy, received the young embaſſador with great pomp and ceremony, and then ordered him to return to mount Aventine, and inform thoſe who had ſent him, that, if they would obtain peace, they muſt come themſelves, and ſubmit to the judgment of the ſenate. Take care, child, ſaid the conſul, after he had returned that anſwer, take care you don't appear here a ſecond time. Their ſending an ambaſſador of your age can be done only to inſult us. Hereupon young Fulvius withdrew, and, returning to mount Aventine, made his report.

The conſul Opimius rejects the terms of accommodation offered by Gracchus and Fulvius.

Then

Then Gracchus himſelf, to prevent the ſpilling of Roman blood, offered to come down from the hill in perſon, to hear the propoſals of the ſenate; but the multitude would not ſuffer him, fearing to be deprived of their leader. As no body elſe cared to charge themſelves with this commiſſion, Fulvius had the imprudence to ſend his ſon a ſecond time to the conſul, who, without ſo much as hearing him, tho' he appeared before him with a great air of modeſty, cried out in a violent rage, It is too much to inſult us in this manner. Let the child be carried to priſon, not ſo much to puniſh the ſon, as to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the father. The order was immediately put in execution, and no farther mention made of treaties. The conſul reſolved, without loſs of time to fall upon the rebels and force them from their poſt. Accordingly he marched down the capitol, and, arriving at the foot of mount Aventine, began the attack with the prudence of an experienced officer. Fulvius, whoſe bravery had been honoured with a triumph, made a vigorous reſiſtance. And now Romans engaged for the firſt time with Romans, and conſuls with conſuls, within the very walls of Rome. There had been, before this time, ſeveral frays; but this was a formal battle, both parties being commanded by generals of great experience. Opimius ordered a body of archers, armed with bows and arrows after the Cretan manner, to march up the hill, under the command of Decimus Brutus, and charge the rebels. On the other hand, Fulvius came down the hill like a torrent, and fell upon the archers with incredible fury. In this firſt attack Lentulus, the prince of the ſenate was dangerouſly wounded, and many perſons of diſtinction loſt their lives; for in the engagement the ſenators and knights were confounded with the common ſoldiers, and the people with their magiſtrates. The conſul meeting with a more vigorous oppoſition than he expected, proclaimed an amneſty for all thoſe, who ſhould lay down their arms, and at the ſame time ſet a price on the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius, promiſing to give their weight in gold to any one who ſhould bring them to him. This proclamation had the deſired effect; the populace ſlipt away one by one, and, deſerting their leaders, returned ſilently to their own houſes. Fulvius, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned all of a ſudden, fled for refuge, with his eldeſt ſon, to a friend's houſe, and concealed himſelf in an old bathing-room, which was

A battle in Rome.

very

very private and no longer in uſe. In the mean while, his enemies, greedy of the reward ſet upon his head, made a diligent ſearch after him, and not finding him, tho' they knew he could not be far off, threatened to burn down the whole neighbourhood. This terrified the owner of the houſe, to which Fulvius and his ſon had retired; however, he would not betray his friend himſelf, but directed another to ſhew where he was. Hereupon armed men entered the houſe, and killing both the father and the ſon, cut off their heads, with a deſign to preſent them to the conſul when the action was over [u].

Fulvius killed.

In the mean time, Gracchus, who had not engaged in the battle, for fear of imbruing his hands in Roman blood, fled for refuge to the temple of Diana; but Licinius Craſſus, his brother-in-law, and Pomponius, a Roman knight, who attended him, adviſed him to make his eſcape through the gate Tergemina. He followed their advice, and, paſſing through the centre of the city, got to the bridge Sublicius, where his enemies, who purſued him cloſe, would have overtaken and ſeized him, if his two friends, Licinius and Pomponius, with as much intrepidity and reſolution, as Horatius Cocles had formerly exerted in the ſame place, had not oppoſed their fury. They defended the bridge againſt all the conſular troops, till Gracchus was out of their reach; but at length, being overpowered by numbers and covered with wounds, they both expired on the bridge, which they had ſo valiantly defended. In the mean while, Gracchus fled to a ſacred wood, dedicated to the Furies, and there ordered a generous ſlave, by name Euphorus, or, as others call him, Philoſtratus, who had attended him, to put an end to his life. The faithful ſlave, reſolving not to outlive his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame dagger, which he had plunged into the breaſt of Gracchus, and expired with him. Others tell us, that, Gracchus being overtaken by thoſe who purſued him, Euphorus, embracing his maſter, covered him with his body; ſo that his enemies could not hurt him, without firſt killing the faithful ſlave, who, after receiving many wounds, breathed his laſt over Gracchus, whom the rabble ſoon diſpatched. As ſoon as he was dead, one of the multitude cut off his head; but as he was carrying it

The death of Gracchus.

like

[u] Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. Auth de vir. illuſt.

ike a trophy to the conſul, Lucius Septimuleius, who had ilways profeſſed a ſtrict friendſhip for Gracchus, ſnatched it out of his hand, and baſely went with it to the conſul, to get the reward ſet upon it, which was its weight in gold; but firſt he privately poured melted lead into the ſkull, and then delivered it to Opimius, who was ſo taken with the preſent, that he paid ſeventeen pounds and a half for it, without diſcovering the cheat. The body of Gracchus was firſt thrown into the Tiber, and afterwards carried to his mother Cornelia, who paid it all funeral honours. It is not agreed, whether Caius Gracchus had any thing in view prejudicial to the public liberty, in courting the favour of the people, and publiſhing ſo many laws to the diſadvantage of the ſenate. Some are of opinion that he aimed at the ſovereign power; others, that his deſign was only to eſtabliſh an equilibrium in the republic, and deliver the common people from the oppreſſions of the rich. His whole conduct ſeems to confirm the latter opinion; but thus much, however, muſt be allowed, that the methods he took were ſeditious, and that ambition and deſire of revenge carried him beyond the bounds of juſtice. He ſo far altered the conſtitution of the commonwealth, and diſturbed the public peace, particularly by the diſunion of patrons and clients, that the Roman ſtate became very unſettled and liable to any new revolution. Tho' his intentions might have been upright, yet there was room to fear, that ruin would be the effect of ſuch diſturbances in ſo corrupted a common-wealth. The people, inſtead of ſupporting their protector, deſerted him in his greateſt danger, and were not ſenſible of their loſs, till it was too late to retrieve it; but afterwards they erected ſtatues to the Gracchi, worſhipped them as gods, and inſtituted feſtivals in their honour [w].

Cruelty of Opimius.

On the other hand, the conſul Opimius, not ſatisfied with the death of Gracchus, of Fulvius, and above three thouſand of their party, who had been ſlain in the engagement on mount Aventine, impriſoned and condemned to die all the friends and adherents of the Gracchi whom he could diſcover. His ſeverity towards young Fulvius was highly blameable, and deſervedly condemned even by thoſe of his own party. The child had, notwithſtanding the conſul's prohibition, thought it his duty to obey

[w] Plut. & Appian. ibid. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 7.

obey his father, and return a ſecond time with terms of accommodation. This act of obedience and filial duty the brutiſh conſul looked upon as a great crime, and accordingly ſent a lictor to the young Roman in priſon, to acquaint him, that he muſt die, and to offer him in his name the liberty of chuſing what kind of death he thought the eaſieſt. The innocent youth, at this unexpected meſſage, burſt out into tears; which an Hetrurian aruſpex who was ſhut up in the ſame priſon, obſerving, Why all this buſtle, ſaid he, in parting with life? I will ſhew you how eaſy a thing it is to die. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when he took a leap, and daſhed his head againſt one of the lintels of the door with ſuch violence, that he died upon the ſpot. Young Fulvius followed his example, and, by a like death, put the inhuman conſul's orders in execution. After this, Opimius commanded the bodies of thoſe who had been killed on the Aventine, to the number of three thouſand, to be thrown into the Tiber, confiſcated their goods, and publiſhed an edict, forbidding their widows and relations to put on mourning for them. Licinia, the wife of Gracchus, was even deprived of her dowry. The cruel conſul, after having ſhed ſo much blood, was not aſhamed to build a temple to Concord, as if he had, by pacific meaſures, brought his fellow-citizens to an union. The people never ſaw this temple but with horror, and looked upon it as a monument of the cruelty of Opimius. As for the ſenate, they made it their chief buſineſs to extinguiſh even the memory of the laws publiſhed by the Gracchi. With this view they gained over one of the commiſſioners, and prevailed upon him to repreſent in the aſſembly of the people, that he met with unſurmountable difficulties in the enquiry after, and partition of, the lands; but that, to relieve the people, he would take care that every proprietor of ſuch lands ſhould pay a certain rent, proportionable to the quantity he poſſeſſed; and that the money, ariſing from theſe rents, ſhould be diſtributed among the poor citizens, who enjoyed no ſhare of thoſe public lands. He added, that, in conſideration of this payment, he was of opinion, that thoſe who poſſeſſed ſuch lands ſhould be acknowledged the lawful proprietors of them, with a diſcharge from all claims for the future; and that they ſhould be allowed afterwards to alienate and diſpoſe of theſe inheritances as they pleaſed; but the ſaid lands ſhould be always ſubject to the rent that ſhould be agreed upon. The people, ſeduced with the hopes of this advantage,

The Gracchian laws repealed. Year after the Flood, 2883. Before Chriſt, 116. Of Rome 632.

advantage, paſſed the law, which abſolutely deſtroyed that of the Gracchi. Soon after, the rents, which the owners of the lands were to pay to the people, were ſuppreſſed, one of the tribunes of the people pretending, that the rich paid a ſufficient tribute to the public, by being at the charge of ſupporting the dignity of the commonwealth in the magiſtracies, with which they were inveſted. Thus the people were again reduced to their former wants, and ſubjected to the authority of the ſenate and the oppreſſions of the rich; a juſt puniſhment for their inconſtancy, and ingratitude to their benefactors, whom they baſely abandoned in their greateſt danger [x].

The ſucceſs of the Romans in Tranſalpine Gaul.

DURING theſe troubles at home, the late conſul Domitius was ſpreading with great ſucceſs the terror of the Roman arms in Tranſalpine Gaul. He had, during his conſulſhip, entirely ſettled the country of the Salyes in peace; a work happily begun by C. Sextius Calvinus three years before; but the Allobroges, whoſe country bordered on that of the Salyes, being uneaſy at the ſettlements of the Romans in their neighbourhood, began to riſe, with a deſign to fall upon the Roman colony at Aquæ Sextiæ. Hereupon Domitius, who was now only proconſul, having been ſucceeded by Q. Fabius Maximus the collegue of Opimius, to prevent the Arverni, a powerful people, from joining the Allobroges, entered into an alliance with their neighbours the Æqui, one of the moſt conſiderable nations in Tranſalpine Gaul. Upon this the Arverni began hoſtilities with the Æqui, who complained to Domitius; and the Roman general took occaſion from thence to force himſelf a paſſage into the country of the Arverni. He had ſcarce entered it, when the king of the Arverni, named Bituitus, or, according to the Celtic orthography, Bituitick, ſent a deputation to the proconſul, which was quite a new ſcene to the Romans. The head of the embaſſy was very richly dreſſed, and followed by a great number of attendants; but his chief guard conſiſted of a company of huge dogs, that followed him in good order, like regular troops. By his ſide walked a bard, that is, according to Feſtus, a prieſt, who, being a ſkilful verſifier in the language of his country, ſung the praiſes of his king, his people, and the embaſſador. The proconſul received the embaſſador with great civility, who, aſſuming an imperious air, commanded him, in the name of his maſter, to forbear

[x] Plut. Appian. Vell. Paterc. ibid.

bear moleſting the Allobroges, and to retire forthwith from all Gaul. Domitius, who was not a man to be terrified by ſuch rhodomontades, turned his back upon the embaſſador and his bard, without deigning to give them an anſwer, and immediately led his troops into the fruitful plains of the Cavari. While he was encamped there near a village called Vindalia, not far from the place where the Sulga, now the Sorgue, falls into the Rhone, an innumerable multitude of Allobroges came to attack him; but were eaſily routed by the proconſul's regular and well diſciplined troops. We are told, that twenty thouſand Gauls were killed on the ſpot, and three thouſand made priſoners of war [y].

The Allobroges defeated with great ſlaughter.

THE defeat of the Allobroges put the powerful nation of the Arverni in motion. Bitultick raiſed an army of two hundred thouſand men, and marched againſt the Romans, whom they found encamped in the country of the Cavari. The Roman army, thirty thouſand ſtrong, was commanded by Q. Fabius Maximus, who came from Rome during the troubles raiſed by Gracchus, but was now become proconſul, P. Manlius and C. Papirius Carbo having been raiſed to the conſulate. Domitius had ſurrendered the command to Fabius, but ſtill continued in the camp to aſſiſt the general with his advice. Bitultick, who placed too great confidence in his numbers, when he ſaw the Roman camp, deſpiſed ſo weak an enemy, and turning to thoſe who attended him, This handful of men, ſaid he, will ſcarce be ſufficient to feed the dogs that follow me. When he began the attack, the proconſul Fabius, who had a quartan ague, was in the height of one of his fits; however, he drew up the legions himſelf, and, being carried through the ranks, encouraged his ſoldiers to behave like true Romans. The Gauls, who were utterly undiſciplined and without experience, were ſoon put to the rout, and vaſt numbers of them ſlain. And then Domitius, deſirous to ſhare the glory of the day with Fabius, ſent to invite the king of the Arverni, who had not yet left the field of battle, to an interview. The credulous Gaul accepted the invitation, and came to meet Domitius with a ſmall attendance at the place appointed; but, to his great ſurprize, ſaw himſelf all on a ſudden ſurrounded by Domitius's guards. The betrayed king called for vengeance from the gods,

And the Arverni.

The treachery of Domitius.

[y] Strabo, l. iv. Flor. l. iii. c. 2. Vell. Paterc. l. iii. Appian. apud Fulvium. Oroſ. l. v. c. 13.

gods, protectors of faith, but in vain; the baſe Roman telling him, that he muſt go to Rome, to give an account of his conduct to the ſenate. Accordingly he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to Marſeilles, and there put on board a veſſel, which conveyed him to Rome [z]. The Allobroges, upon the news of the victory gained by Fabius over their friends the Arverni, immediately ſubmitted. As for the Arverni, the captivity of their king and the loſs they had ſuſtained in the battle, which is ſaid to have amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, either killed or drowned in the Rhone, ſo diſheartened them, that they ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit a peace; which was granted them upon very reaſonable terms, the proconſul only requiring of them, that they ſhould continue at home, and not diſturb the Æqui, or any of the neighbouring nations. Fabius and Domitius, having thus ſettled the eaſtern part of Gaul in peace, returned to Rome, where the ſenate approved of the baſeneſs of Domitius, and not only detained the injured Bitultick, and expoſed him in the triumphs of his conquerors, but, by a freſh act of injuſtice, ordered the conſul P. Manlius, who was then ſetting out for Gaul, to ſend Congeniatus, the ſon of Bitultick, to Rome. The young prince indeed was entertained and educated at Rome in a manner ſuitable to his rank; and therefore, when returned to his dominions, maintained to the laſt a great friendſhip and eſteem for the Romans, by whom he had been educated. As for the unhappy Bitultick, after he had been baſely obliged by the ſenate to grace the triumphs of Domitius and Fabius, he was confined to the city of Alba, where he ſpent the reſt of his days, the ſenate being afraid, leſt he ſhould renew the war, if they allowed him to return to his own dominions [a]. Thus were all rules of equity, and even the laws of nations, ſhamefully neglected and trod under foot by the ſenate, when they came in competition with the intereſt of their republic.

The Allobroges and Arverni ſubmit. Year after the Flood, 2884. Before Chriſt, 115. Of Rome, 633.

THIS year ended with a remarkable trial: P. Decius Mus, one of the tribunes of the people, accuſed the late conſul Opimius, and cited him to appear before the comitia. The crimes laid to his charge were, his having put to death a great number of citizens on the Aventine, and afterwards ſentenced others to die, and cauſed them to be

Opimius accuſed before the people.

[z] Appian. in Celtic. Vell. Paterc. l. ix. c. 6. [a] Flor. l. iii. c. 2. Vell. Paterc. ibid. Jul. Cæſ. comment. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. apud Valeſ.

executed, before the people had condemned them; a cauſe of the utmoſt importance to both parties, and debated with great warmth. Decius, no mean orator, maintained, that Opimius had tranſgreſſed the law enacting that no citizen ſhould be put to death, but by a decree of the people; and pretended, that if the people gave up their right in this inſtance, the defenders of the people would undergo the fate of the Gracchi, whenever the ſenate ſhould think fit. They will declare them, ſaid he, dangerous citizens, and then death will be the reward of their zeal for the intereſt of the people. On the other hand, the conſul Papirius Carbo undertook the defence of Opimius, and by ſhewing to the multitude how dangerous it was, and inconſiſtent with reaſon, that ſeditious men and rebels ſhould have no other judges or avengers but themſelves, prevailed upon them to acquit Opimius, and thereby declare, that it was lawful for a conſul, when empowered by the ſenate, to deliver the republic from a dangerous citizen, without waiting for the conſent of the people aſſembled in comitia. Thus was tranquillity reſtored to the city. The ſenate recovered their antient aſcendant over the people, who bore their mild government without complaints; but this tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by new commotions, which greatly ſhook the conſular ſtate, and paved the way for an abſolute monarchy. Theſe civil diſturbances, and ſome foreign wars, together with the riſe, progreſs, declenſion, total ruin of the imperial ſtate, ſinking under the weight of its own greatneſs, will be the ſubject of the following chapters.

And acquitted.

CHAP. IX.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the end of the ſedition of the* Gracchi *to the perpetual dictatorſhip of* Sylla.

THE civil commotions of the republic being allayed, by the death of the Gracchi and the abolition of their laws, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, L. Cæcilius Metellus, the nephew of the great Metellus, ſurnamed Macedonicus, and L. Aurelius Cotta were, without

out any diſturbance or oppoſition, raiſed to the conſulate. The latter was ſent into Tranſalpine Gaul, with a conſular army to keep the Allobroges and Arverni in awe, and the former into Illyricum to reduce the Segeſtani (A), who had ſhaken off the Roman yoke. The conſul defeated them in the field, and made himſelf maſter of their city and territory; but, as this expedition was not of importance enough to procure him a triumph, he made war unjuſtly on the Dalmatians, who, not being in a condition to withſtand a conſular army, voluntarily ſubmitted to him; ſo that he ſpent the winter in tranquillity at Salona (B), the capital of the country. Nevertheleſs, he aſſumed the ſurname of Dalmaticus, aud was honoured with a triumph for his pretended conqueſt [a].

The Dalmatians ſubdued.

In the mean time, a young orator had courage enough to impeach the late conſul Papirius Carbo, at the tribunal of the prætor Q. Fabius Eburnus, who had been commiſſioned by the ſenate to try ſtate-criminals. The orator's name was L. Licinius Craſſus. No Roman had ever been endowed by nature with greater talents for eloquence, which he had carefully improved, though but twenty years of age, by a ſtrict application to ſtudy. As he was of the Licinian family, and nearly related to Licinia, the wife of C. Gracchus, he reſolved to do all that lay in his power to deſtroy Papirius Carbo, a ſworn enemy to the Gracchian party. Papirius had formerly been zealous for the people and the Gracchi, even to madneſs, and had been ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated the ſecond Africanus. But, having ſince changed his party, and with it his ſentiments, he had devoted himſelf entirely to the intereſt of the nobility, who had promoted him to the conſulate, and looked upon him as one of the chief ſupporters of their cauſe; ſo that he had great intereſt, and, beſides, was himſelf an orator

Papirius Carbo accuſed by young Craſſus.

[a] Appian. in Illyric. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

(A) Segeſta, formerly a city of upper Pannonia, is long ſince deſtroyed. There are only ſome of its ruins remaining on the banks of the Save, near the mouth of the Kulp and the little city of Siſeg.

(B) The antient city of Salona in Dalmatia ſtood about ten miles from the gulph of that name, on the coaſt of the Adriatic ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the place where the preſent city of Spalatro ſtands. It was once famous for the retreat of the emperor Dioclefian, but is now buried in its ruins.

orator of no mean character, as appeared in the cauſe of Opimius, which he defended with uncommon ſucceſs, having by force of perſuaſion induced the people to give judgment againſt their own intereſt. Nevertheleſs the love of revenge prompted young Craſſus to attempt the deſtroying of this powerful enemy to the Gracchian faction. He reduced the whole impeachment to theſe three articles; 1ſt, That he had ſtirred up the elder Gracchus to demand the tribuneſhip a ſecond year; 2dly, That he had made a law for this purpoſe, when he was tribune; and, 3dly, That he had been, at leaſt, an accomplice in the aſſaſſination of the Second Africanus. Theſe were heavy accuſations; and Craſſus might have eaſily proved them, had not his probity got the aſcendant over all his paſſions. For one of Papirius's ſlaves, being angry with his maſter, ſtole the box in which he kept all his papers, and brought it to the accuſer. But the generous Roman had ſuch an abhorrence of the treachery, that he ſent back the ſlave in chains, and the box unopened, ſaying, that he had rather let an enemy and a criminal eſcape unpuniſhed, than deſtroy him by baſe and diſhonourable means. On the day appointed, the cauſe was pleaded before the prætor and a very numerous aſſembly, all Rome flocking to hear the firſt eſſay of a young orator, who had never yet diſplayed his talents but in the ſchools. When he aſcended the roſtra, he was ſo intimidated at the ſight of ſo crouded an audience, that, his heart failing him, he looked pale, and was ready to faint. The prætor, obſerving the confuſion he was in, adjourned the court to the next day. Then the croud was ſtill greater; but the young orator took courage, and ſpoke with ſuch energy and life, that the accuſed, ſinking into deſpair, did juſtice on himſelf. Some ſay, that he went into baniſhment; but Valerius Maximus aſſures us, that he poiſoned himſelf with cantharides to avoid a more ſhameful death [b]. From this time Craſſus gained the reputation of the greateſt orator Rome had ever bred. His oration was put into the hands of all young orators, and long after looked upon by Cicero himſelf as an inimitable performance [c].

Papirius lays violent hands on himſelf.

Marius, his birth, education, &c.

DURING the preſent conſulate, the famous Caius Marius firſt appeared in a public office. He was of ſo mean extraction, that even the village where he was born is not certainly

[b] Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7. [c] Cic. de orat. l. i. & iii. in Bruto, & paſſim alibi.

certainly known. All that is certain of his origin is, that he was a native of the country of the Arpinates in the territory of the Volſci; that his father's name was Marius, and his mother's Fucinia. He was a man of an extraordinary ſize, of great ſtrength of body, of an uncommon underſtanding, courageous, and enterpriſing; but at the ſame time of a fierce aſpect, and, as he had ſpent great part of his youth in the country, where he had been brought up in ruſtic employments, in his manners a perfect ſavage. As ſoon as he attained to the military age, he entered into the army, and gave the firſt proofs of his courage and intrepidity at the ſiege of Numantia. Scipio, with whom he made his firſt campaign, diſcovering under a rough outſide a great fund of underſtanding and bravery, told his officers, that young Marius, however clowniſh, would one day be an honour to the republic, and prove one of her greateſt generals. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions by actions of uncommon valour, but more by an exact obſervance of military diſcipline. He went through all the degrees in the army, and every ſtep he roſe was in reward of ſome action, with which he had ſignalized himſelf. He now began to ſolicit civil magiſtracies, and ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people, which he obtained, and diſcharged with the ſame intrepidity he had ſhewn in the field. He propoſed a new law relating to the manner of collecting the ſuffrages in the election of the curule magiſtrates: this the conſul Cotta oppoſed, and even cited the tribune to appear before the ſenate, and anſwer for his conduct. Marius obeyed the ſummons; but, inſtead of being daunted, threatened to exert his authority, and ſend the conſul to priſon, if he perſiſted in his oppoſition. Metellus, then prince of the ſenate, though the patron and friend of Marius, declared for Cotta. Whereupon the bold tribune, without ſhewing the leaſt regard for that venerable ſenator, to whom he was indebted for his fortune, and by whoſe intereſt he had even obtained the tribuneſhip, ordered one of his officers to ſeize him and carry him to priſon. His orders had been put in execution, if the conſul had not waved his oppoſition, and the ſenate given their conſent to the law. The boldneſs of the new tribune ſurpriſed the conſcript fathers, but gained him great reputation among the people, who from this time began to look upon him as their chief protector, againſt the incroachments of the nobility [d].

Marius tribune of the people.

His intrepidity.

THE

[d] Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Cic. de legib, l. iii.

THE tribuneſhip of Marius expired almoſt at the ſame time that Rome choſe new conſuls. Theſe were M. Porcius Cato, grandſon to the great Cato, but by his firſt wife, and Q. Marcius, ſurnamed Rex. The former died ſoon in Numidia, whither he had been ſent to watch the ſteps of Jugurtha, who had uſurped that kingdom; ſo that Marcius remained the ſole head of the republic for almoſt the whole year. The province which fell to his lot was Tranſalpine Gaul, where he opened a way for the Roman armies from the Alps to the Pyrenees; a work of an immenſe labour and great danger. For the Stœni, a fierce nation and fond of liberty, whom Stephanus places at the foot of the Maritime Alps, took arms, and oppoſed Marcius's deſign with great courage. But when they found themſelves ſurrounded by the Romans, they ſet fire to their houſes, killed their wives and children, and then threw themſelves into the flames; ſo that not one of them ſurvived the loſs of their liberty. After this, Marcius, to ſecure his conqueſt, planted a colony in the country of the Volcæ Tectoſages, who antiently poſſeſſed all that tract which lies between the Pyrenees to the ſouth, and the preſent city of Toulouſe to the north. The city which Marcius founded was called by his name Narbo-Marcius. Such was the origin of the famous city of Narbonne, which in proceſs of time became the capital of a great country, and a convenient place of refreſhment for the Roman armies, when they paſſed from the Pyrenees to the Alps, or from the Alps to the Pyrenees. The ſenate thought the reduction of this part of Gaul, the opening of a way from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and the founding of the city of Narbonne, ſo conſiderable works, that they honoured Marcius, upon his return to Rome, with a triumph[e].

The courage of the Stœni.

THE conſulate of L. Cæcilius Metellus and Q. Mucius Scævola proved ſo peaceable, that the Romans had little elſe to do, but attend their ſuperſtitions, Rome being filled with reports of prodigies. The ſucceeding conſuls, C. Licinius Geta and Q. Fabius Eburnus, had as little opportunity of acquiring glory as their predeceſſors. In their conſulate C. Marius ſtood for the prætorſhip, and with great difficulty obtained it by the moſt bare-faced bribery and corruption. For this he was accuſed before the people, but,

Marius created prætor.

[e] Feſt. Capitol. Cic. pro Fonteio.

but, they being divided in their opinions, he was acquitted. As he had a great deal of good ſenſe, and a penetrating underſtanding, he preſided in the court of judicature, which was aſſigned him as prætor, without reproach. The next year it fell to his lot to govern Further Spain, which he did with great equity and moderation. He cleared his government of the banditti, who had long infeſted it, and cured thoſe people of their antient cuſtom of living by rapine [f]. The next year, Æmilius Scaurus and L. Cæcilius Metellus were created conſuls. The latter was the ſon of the famous Metellus Macedonicus, and the former an intrepid ſoldier, a brave officer, and eloquent orator. Scaurus propoſed ſeveral laws, and got them paſſed in the comitia, in ſpite of the tribunes, who had for ſome time ingroſſed to themſelves the prerogative of propoſing laws. By one of theſe he reſtrained the exceſſive luxury of the Romans, forbidding them to eat dormice, foreign ſhell-fiſh, and ſuch birds as were brought from diſtant countries. By another he left the freedmen, who had been long confined to the Eſquiline tribe, at liberty to inrol themſelves in any of the four city-tribes, which they liked beſt. His zeal for maintaining ſome order in Rome, in ſpite of the general depravity of manners, was ſeconded by the cenſors, L. Metellus Dalmaticus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who ſtruck thirty two unworthy ſenators out of the roll, and among them Licinius Geta the late conſul; proſcribed games of hazard and concerts of muſic; and, after having nominated the conſul Scaurus prince of the ſenate, finiſhed their office with a cenſus, in which were counted 394336 citizens able to bear arms. From Rome, Scaurus ſet out for Gaul, where he ſubdued the Gentiſci and Carni, and ſpent the reſt of the ſummer in making a good road from Rome to the Alps, for the more convenient marching of the armies, which had been hitherto obliged to march through a miry and almoſt impaſſable country. For this important piece of ſervice the ſenate and people granted him a triumph, which his eaſy victory over the Gentiſci and Carni had not deſerved [g]. The Gentiſci and Carni ſubdued.

THE next year, M. Acilius Balbus and C. Porcius Cato, the grandſon of Cato the cenſor, were raiſed to the conſulate. The latter was ſent into Macedon to oppoſe the Scordiſci,

[f] Plut. in Mar. c. 3. Strab. l. v.

[g] Auth. de vir. illuſtr. Front. ſtrat. l. iv.

The Roman army cut off by the Scordiſci.

Scordiſci, a people of Thrace, who had invaded that province. The barbarians were at firſt terrified at the ſight of a conſular army, but, afterwards taking courage, faced the conſul, and, having drawn him into a country full of rocks, foreſts, and narrow paſſes, cut off all his army to a man, Porcius alone having ſaved himſelf by flight. The republic had not for a long time ſuffered ſuch a defeat. The hiſtorians ſpeak of it with aſtoniſhment, and tell us, that it would have alarmed the city as much as the battle of Cannæ did formerly, if ſuch a misfortune had happened in the heart of Italy. The Scordiſci, after ſo complete a victory, laid waſte Macedon, ſpread themſelves all over Theſſaly, and advanced to the coaſts of the Adriatic, into which, becauſe it put a ſtop to their incurſions, they diſcharged, in revenge, a ſhower of darts. But T. Didius, the Roman prætor in Illyricum, ſoon repaired the loſs which the republic had ſuſtained, and drove the enemy back, with great ſlaughter, to their own country. For this the republic honoured him with a triumph. As for Porcius Cato, though the ſenate and people did not condemn him for his misfortune, they accuſed him unjuſtly of oppreſſion, and under that pretence baniſhed him to Tarracon in Spain, where he ſpent the remainder of his days. A puniſhment not ſo juſt, as in point of prudence neceſſary, in order to deter Roman generals for the future from expoſing their troops too raſhly to the mercy of barbarians [h].

The Scordiſci defeated by T. Didius.

The incontinence of the veſtals puniſhed.

THIS ſame year an infamous commerce was diſcovered between ſeveral veſtals and their gallants. The intrigue was begun by L. Betucius Barrus, a Roman knight, but a profeſſed debauchee, who gloried in corrupting women of the greateſt families and beſt characters. He carried on an amour with a veſtal named Æmilia, who drew in two others, Licinia and Marcia, to the like crimes. Upon the accuſation of a ſlave, Betucius and Æmilia were condemned to the uſual puniſhment, but Licinia and Marcia, though no leſs guilty, acquitted, the pontifices being afraid, leſt the condemning of ſo many criminals at once might bring the whole ſacerdotal order into diſrepute. This raiſed great murmurs among the people; and Seduceius, one of the tribunes, revived the affair, ſhewed the iniquity of the judgment of the pontifices, and brought the cauſe

[h] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 8. Cic. in Ver. & pro Balbo. Diodor. Sicul. apud. Valeſ. Flor. l. iii. c. 3.

cauſe before the people, who nominated L. Craſſus, one of the prætors, to rehear it. Craſſus was a man of known integrity; but ſo ſevere, that his court was called the wreck of criminals. He without any regard to the birth of the accuſed, or the ſentence paſſed in their favour, or the rights of the pontifical college, or the eloquence of the famous L. Craſſus, who pleaded for his relation Licinia, condemned the two veſtals to be buried alive, and their gallants to be whipped to death. Nor did this ſatisfy the people: a temple was built at the public expence to Venus, under the appellation of Verticordia, becauſe that goddeſs was in this temple to be implored to turn the hearts of the Roman women to virtue. So that Venus was now invoked for chaſtity. The honour of conſecrating this temple was conferred upon Sulpicia, the daughter of Servius Sulpicius Paterculus, who, though very young and lately married to Q. Fulvius Flaccus, had given ſuch proofs of an extraordinary modeſty, that ſhe was deemed the moſt chaſt woman in Rome [i].

A temple erected to Venus Verticordia.

In the mean time, Rome was alarmed with accounts of an inundation of barbarians. The moſt northern part of Germany was inhabited by a nation ſaid to have been originally deſcended from the Aſiatic Cimmerians, and to have taken the name of Cimbri, when they changed their old habitations. Theſe people were now ſettled near the ocean, in the peninſula which we call Jutland, and the antients Cimbrica Cherſoneſus. But, being tired of cultivating a cold country, ſhut up between two ſeas, they left their peninſula with their wives and children, and, joining the Teutones a neighbouring nation, took their journey ſouthward, and fell upon the country which the Boii had long poſſeſſed, not far from the Hercynian foreſt. The Boii ſoon drove them out of their country, and obliged them to carry war and devaſtation into other parts. They then fell on the Scordiſci, whom Didius had juſt driven back to the banks of the Danube; and from thence, advancing ſtill nearer to the Roman provinces, they penetrated into Vindelicia (C), and there ravaged the country of the Tauriſci.

An inundation of Cimbri and Teutones.

The

[i] Cic. in Brut. Val. Max. l. iii. & viii. Ovid. Faſt. l. v.

(C) Vindelicia contained part of the preſent biſhoprick of Conſtance, of the Tirol, of the biſhoprick of Paſſau, all Upper and part of Lower Bavaria. Some geographers are of opinion, that all the countries between the Inn and the lake of Bergentz belonged formerly to Vindelicia.

The approach of theſe barbarians made Rome tremble; the new conſuls therefore, Caius Cæcilius Metellus, the fourth ſon of Metellus Macedonicus, and Cn. Papirius Carbo, the ſon of the ſeditious Caius Carbo, were no ſooner choſen, than the ſenate ordered the latter to wait for the Cimbri at the furtheſt parts of the eaſtern Alps, and ſtop the paſſages againſt them. As for Metellus, he was ordered into Macedon to finiſh the war with the Scordiſci, whom he drove from poſt to poſt, and ſo weakened by repeated battles, that he put them out of a condition of making for ſome time any new attempts upon the Roman provinces. Upon his return he was honoured with a triumph, in which there was this moſt agreeable circumſtance, that his brother, who had been conſul a year before him, and was now returned from ſuppreſſing a rebellion in Sardinia and Corſica after two years labour, was ordered to triumph with him. The conſul Papirius was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the Cimbri, who offered him a peace, which he pretended to accept; but afterwards, by corrupting their guides, treacherouſly drew them into a ſnare, as he imagined, and attacked their camp. Papirius promiſed himſelf certain victory. But what difficulties cannot a warlike people ſurmount, when actuated by deſpair and indignation? They ran to arms, and not only repulſed the legions, but, becoming the aggreſſors, fell upon them with ſuch fury, that they put them in diſorder, and obliged them to betake themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The Romans fled in great confuſion to the neighbouring foreſts, and there lay concealed for three days, without daring to appear in the open country. Upon the news of this defeat, the conſternation at Rome was univerſal. No-body doubted, but the barbarians would immediately paſs the Alps, over-run the provinces neareſt to the capital, and attempt the deſtruction of Rome itſelf. But the Cimbri, upon what motive is utterly unknown, by a kind of miracle turned their arms elſewhere, and marching towards the country of the Helvetii (D), entered

Metellus defeats the Scordiſci.

The Romans defeated by the Cimbri.

(D) The Helvetii at the time we are ſpeaking of, and for ſome ages after, were reckoned among the Gauliſh nations. Strabo and Cæſar divide their country into four cantons, viz. Tigurinus Pagus, Tugenus Pagus, Ambrones, and Urbigenus Pagus. The firſt contained the cantons of Zurich, Appenzell, Shaffhauſen, and Rhintall; the ſecond the cantons of Zug, Glaris, Schwitz, and Uri; the third a ſmall part of the canton of Friburg, and the whole

that

that way Tranſalpine Gaul, which they filled with deſolation and ſlaughter. This miraculous deliverance quickened the zeal of the Romans in puniſhing all accomplices in the late guilt of the veſtals. Among others, the famous orator M. Antonius, the grandfather of Mark Antony the triumvir, was ſuſpected of having kept an unlawful commerce with the condemned veſtals. He was then in the flower of his age, had been very lately nominated to the quæſtorſhip of Aſia, and was already got to Brunduſium, in order to embarque for Pergamus. But, when advice was brought him that his reputation was attacked, he immediately returned to Rome, appeared before the ſevere prætor Caſſius, and deſired, that his cauſe might be heard without delay. The judge endeavoured to intimidate him by threatening to put his young ſlave to the torture, who was ſaid to have been privy to his amours; but the ſlave offered himſelf to the rack, with an aſſurance which induced the judge to ſpare him. Valerius Maximus tells us, that the faithful ſlave endured the moſt cruel tortures, with an intrepidity, which ſurpriſed the judge [k]. However that be, the quæſtor of Aſia was acquitted, and ſet out for his province with more honour, than if he had not been accuſed [l]. And now Rome was in ſuch tranquillity, that ſhe had only one war to finiſh, viz. that with the Scordiſci, who were already weakened, but ſtill very haughty, and ready to take arms again, as ſoon as the Roman armies ſhould leave Macedon. The elections therefore were no ſooner over, than M. Livius Druſus, who was raiſed to the conſulate with L. Calpurnius Piſo, was ſent againſt them, while his collegue covered Italy againſt the invaſion of the Cimbri, whoſe return was ſtill dreaded. Druſus prevailed upon the Scordiſci, partly by force and partly by capitulation, to quit the country they poſſeſſed, and repaſs the Danube, which river from this time became a barrier between them and the Roman provinces. The conſul upon his return was honoured with a triumph. And now the tranquillity was ſo general, in all the

M. Antonius the famous orator accuſed, and acquitted.

The Scordiſci ſettle on the other ſide of the Danube.

[k] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 8. [l] Strab. l. v. Plin. l. iii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

whole cantons of Lucern, Bern, Solothurn, and Underwald; and laſtly, the fourth contained the greateſt part of the canton of Friburg, the principality of Neufchattel, and part of the Pais Romain. The country of the Rauraci, now the canton of Baſle, was afterwards added to the Helvetic body.

the countries ſubject to the republic, that ſhe would have ſhut the temple of Janus, if ſhe had not been under ſome apprehenſions from Jugurtha, whoſe wars make a conſiderable part of this hiſtory, and therefore muſt be traced a little farther back.

Birth, education, &c. of Jugurtha.

MASINSSA, king of Numidia, who had been ſo remarkably devoted to the Romans, left three ſons, Micipſa, Manaſtabal, and Guluſſa, joint-heirs of his kingdom, which they long governed in perfect amity. At length Micipſa, ſurviving his two brothers, poſſeſſed the throne alone. This good king had two legitimate ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal. His brother Manaſtabal had likewiſe two ſons, Jugurtha and Gauda, by two different miſtreſſes; and Guluſſa had a ſon, named Maſſiva, by a concubine. But, as natural children had no right to the crown, according to the laws of Numidia, Jugurtha, Gauda, and Maſſiva, were by their illegitimacy excluded from ſucceeding to the kingdom, ſo long as Adherbal and Hiempſal, the lawful heirs, were alive. Jugurtha was born before the death of his grandfather Maſiniſſa; but that wiſe king never acknowledged him as a prince of the blood-royal. However, Micipſa had ſo much regard for his brother Manaſtabal, that he cauſed Jugurtha to be brought up in the royal palace with the young princes his children. But afterwards, growing jealous of him, he ſent him to the ſiege of Numantia, in hopes of getting rid of him. Jugurtha diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that memorable ſiege in a very eminent manner, and, upon the taking of the place, returned home loaded with glory, and brought with him recommendatory letters from Scipio, under whom he had ſerved. And now age and experience having put a ſtop to his youthful ſallies, he was ſo far from giving umbrage to the king, that by his prudent conduct he gained his favour, and cultivated his friendſhip with ſuch addreſs, that the eaſy prince adopted him two years before his death, and thereby made him capable of ſucceeding, as joint-heir to his kingdom, with his own children. No ſooner was the old king dead, than diſputes aroſe among the three heirs of the kingdom. After ſome days had been decently ſpent in mourning, they met to deliberate about the affairs of the new government, when Jugurtha, who was the eldeſt, ſeated himſelf in the middle of the throne, which was prepared for the new kings. Hereupon Hiempſal, who was the youngeſt, thinking himſelf injured by the ſuperiority which Jugurtha aſſumed, ſeated himſelf by Adherbal's ſide, in order to give him the middle place, which was deemed by

by the Numidians, as by moſt other nations, the moſt honourable; and it was not without much difficulty, that his brother prevailed on him to pay ſome regard to ſuperior age, and remove to Jugurtha's left-hand. As ſoon as the diſputes about the ceremonial were ended, Jugurtha propoſed the diſannulling of all the edicts the late king had publiſhed within the laſt five years, under pretence, that Micipſa's underſtanding being then impaired by age, he had iſſued many ordinances prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom. Hiempſal replied with a diſdainful air, I am willing to come into the propoſal; and we will begin with diſannulling the act, whereby you was aſſociated with us in the inheritance of the crown; ſince this was done within the time which you have fixed for my father's dotage. Theſe reproachful words ſunk ſo deep into Jugurtha's mind, that thenceforth he made it his whole buſineſs to find an opportunity of ridding himſelf privately of a young prince, who might thwart his ambitious ſchemes. For we are told, that he had formed a deſign long before, when he ſerved in Spain, of extorting the crown by force from his two couſins. At the ſiege of Numantia, he had contracted friendſhips with ſeveral young Roman officers, who had rouzed his ambition, by ſtirring him up boldly to ſeize the kingdom, as ſoon as the old king's eyes ſhould be cloſed. They told him, that he would find friends and protectors enough at Rome, where any point might be carried with money and intereſt. Jugurtha therefore to gratify his ambition, and at the ſame time revenge the late affront, ſuborned the chief officer of Hiempſal's guard to murder him? which he did to the great grief of the Numidians, who had founded their hopes on his courage and uncommon underſtanding. The head of the young prince, thus treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in the flower of his age, was carried to Jugurtha, who beheld it with pleaſure. Though ſuch a notorious piece of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs ought naturally to have driven all the Numidians into a revolt; yet they were divided among themſelves. Thoſe who hoped to reap advantage from the public confuſions, ſided with Jugurtha, while the wiſe and the virtuous, who had the good of their country at heart, declared for the pacific Adherbal. But, as the latter were by far the weakeſt, the young prince, though not very ſagacious, had penetration enough to ſee, that his only refuge was in the protection of the Romans, to whom his rival could not but be ſuſpected. He therefore acquainted the conſcript fathers with the baſe aſſaſſination of his brother,

Hiempſal affronts Jugurtha.

Hiempſal murdered by Jugurtha's orders.

and at the same time, foreseeing that the deliberations of the senate would take up much time, he began to levy troops, and put himself upon his defence against any attempt of Jugurtha. But this warlike prince soon got the ascendant over his surviving rival, and, by taking some cities by assault and forcing others to capitulate, made himself master of almost the whole kingdom. Hereupon Adherbal, having no asylum but Rome, conveyed himself thither, in order to lay his complaints before the senate. Jugurtha was no sooner informed of his design, than he sent embassadors to the capital, well furnished with money to gain over the republic to his interest. He was well apprised, that all things were venal at Rome; and therefore ordered his embassadors to spare no expence in gaining him new friends, and in cultivating the friendships he had formerly contracted, when in Spain. Upon their arrival they found the senate strongly prepossessed against their master, but met with few senators, who were proof against their presents. When the day came, on which Adherbal and the embassadors were admitted before the senate, it was easy to perceive, by the debates of the conscript fathers, what effect had been wrought by Jugurtha's money. The just complaints of Adherbal were despised, Jugurtha's courage extolled, and his crimes palliated. M. Æmilius Scaurus, then prince of the senate, declared for Adherbal, and with him a few others; but a great majority were against him. The senate therefore, without taking any notice of the assassination of Hiempsal, or the usurpation of Jugurtha, only appointed ten commissioners to go into Africa, and divide the kingdom between the two rivals. Lucius Opimius, so famous for his zeal against the faction of Caius Gracchus, was at the head of this commission; and, as he had declared for Adherbal at Rome, Jugurtha had reason to fear his arrival and determinations. But this formidable judge, who had avenged the cause of the republic against the Gracchi and their powerful party, was no sooner arrived in Africa with his collegues, than Jugurtha gained them all over with the immense sums he sent them. They found him innocent, made Hiempsal the aggressor, and declared that his death had been occasioned by his own rashness. After they had pronounced this iniquitous sentence, they came to the division of Micipsa's dominions, which was made upon the plan proposed by Jugurtha himself. To him were allotted the strongest places and the richest provinces, without any regard to the complaints of Adherbal;

Adherbal flies to Rome.

The corruption of the Roman senate.

bal, who, though thus injured, ſubmitted to the judgment of the commiſſioners, and thought of nothing but reigning in peace over the ſubjects which Rome had aſſigned him [m].

Jugurtha begins the war anew.

But the ambitious Jugurtha, finding that there was nothing to fear from the part of Rome, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all Numidia. With this view he entered the frontiers of his brother's kingdom at the head of his troops, laid waſte the country with fire and ſword, pillaged the villages, and committed every-where moſt dreadful devaſtations. He hoped by theſe inſults to provoke the reſentment of Adherbal, and induce him to uſe repriſals, whence he might have a pretence to drive him from his kingdom, and to juſtify his conduct at Rome. But the timorous prince contented himſelf with ſending an embaſſy to Jugurtha to complain of the injuſtice of his proceedings. Nor could even the ill treatment which his embaſſador's received at Jugurtha's court, provoke him to take arms. Hereupon Jugurtha, without troubling himſelf any longer about pretences, entered his dominions at the head of a numerous army, and encamped near Cirtha. Then Adherbal, ſeeing himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of taking the field, or flying his country a ſecond time, thought it more adviſeable to run any hazards, than trouble Rome again with his complaints. Having therefore aſſembled his forces and made new levies, he brought an army into the field, but more conſiderable for its number than courage. As he came in ſight of the enemy, when the day was far ſpent and it was too late to engage, he encamped in haſte, in order to reſt his troops fatigued with long marches. But Jugurtha, without waiting for the return of the day, attacked his brother's trenches in the dead of the night, forced them, and put all to the ſword who withſtood him. Adherbal's army was diſperſed in an inſtant, and the king himſelf forced to take refuge in Cirtha his capital. Jugurtha ſought every-where for his rival, whom it was his chief buſineſs to deſtroy; but the prince had the good luck in his misfortunes to eſcape the fury of his enemy. Some Italian cohorts he had in his army covered his retreat, and hindered the conquerors from entering the city with the conquered. Had it not been for this ſeaſonable relief, the war had been begun and ended the ſame day. However, the ſiege of Cirtha was not delayed a moment. Jugurtha, who well remembered

Adherbal defeated.

Cirtha beſieged.

[m] Salluſt. bell. Jugurth.

membered the leſſons he had learnt of Scipio before Numantia, puſhed it on with great vigor; but the valour of the Italian troops protracted it longer than he expected. In the mean time, news was brought to Rome of theſe unwarrantable proceedings; but the uſurper's money had ſuch an effect there, that the ſenate ſent only a kind of mock commiſſion into Africa, to perſuade the parties to an accommodation. The commiſſioners found Jugurtha untractable; he told them, that he did not doubt but his conduct would be approved by the ſenate, who were well acquainted with his integrity; that, Adherbal having made an attempt upon his life, he had been obliged to raiſe troops to guard againſt the villainy of a brother, who was an aſſaſſin; and that the republic was too equitable to diſapprove of a juſt defence, which was agreeable to the laws of nations. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the deputies, without ſuffering them to confer with Adherbal, who was ſhut up in the beſieged city [n].

Commiſſioners ſent from Rome to bring the parties to an accomodation.

As ſoon as they were gone, Jugurtha purſued the ſiege with vigor, and, following the method which he had ſeen Scipio take in Spain, encompaſſed the place with a wide ditch and a rampart, guarded with towers at proper diſtances, to keep out ſuccours and convoys. In this extremity Adherbal prevailed on two ſoldiers of the garriſon to croſs the enemy's trenches in the night, and carry a very affecting letter to Rome. When it was read in the ſenate, ſome voted for marching an army immediately againſt the uſurper. But the venal ſenators, who were moſt numerous, oppoſed this motion, and reduced the decree to this ſingle point, that a ſecond deputation ſhould be ſent to Jugurtha, conſiſting of men eminent for their probity, and venerable for their age; and that M. Scaurus, preſident of the ſenate, ſhould be at the head of it. As the affair required diſpatch, the deputies were ready to ſet out in three days; ſoon croſſed over into Africa, and landing at Utica, ſummoned Jugurtha to appear before them. The prince was thunderſtruck with this ſummons, and long in ſuſpenſe what to do. At length he reſolved to make a general aſſault upon the place, and not to appear before the Roman embaſſadors, till he had completed his conqueſt. But he did not ſucceed in his attempt, his ſoldiers being repulſed with conſiderable loſs by the Italian cohorts. In the mean time, Scaurus began to be tired with theſe delays; and, as it

[n] Idem ibid.

it was dangerous to provoke him, Jugurtha reſolved to obey the ſummons; and, leaving his camp, came guarded by a ſmall body of horſe to plead his cauſe before the embaſſadors. Scaurus at firſt broke out into bitter invectives againſt the Numidian king, reproaching him with having baſely aſſaſſinated one of his brothers, and ſhut up the other in his metropolis, with an intention to deſtroy him by famine; he ordered him to raiſe the ſiege forthwith, under pain of being declared and deemed an enemy to the ſenate and people of Rome, who had taken the innocent and injured Adherbal under their protection. But the anger of the Romans was ſoon abated. He heard Jugurtha's excuſes with great compoſure, acquieſced in the frivolous accuſations he brought againſt his rival, and returned home, without ſo much as ordering the cruel and ambitious king to raiſe the ſiege. This ſudden departure made Scaurus ſuſpected of having ſacrificed the public good to his private intereſt; and his conduct afterwards confirmed this ſuſpicion. Jugurtha, having got rid of the Roman embaſſadors, returned before Cirtha, and ſhut it up with more care than ever. As the famine began to be very troubleſome to the garriſon, the Italian troops perſuaded Adherbal to capitulate, and thereby ſecure his life, leaving the reſt to the Roman republic, which was concerned, both in honour and intereſt, to re-eſtabliſh him in the dominions ſhe had allotted him. Adherbal, not thinking it ſafe to reject the advice of armed troops, began, with the utmoſt reluctance to treat with his rival, and agreed to deliver up the place, on condition that he and his garriſon ſhould have their lives ſpared. This Jugurtha readily promiſed; but he no ſooner entered the city, than he put all he found in arms to the ſword, extended his fury even to the foreign merchants, and, to complete the ſcene, ſeized on Adherbal, and inhumanly murdered him in his own palace, after having made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments his cruel temper and the deſire of revenge could invent. The news of this baſe murder ſoon reached Rome, where it was heard by all honeſt men with the utmoſt horror and indignation. But the friends of Jugurtha endeavoured to get the decree put off, which was ready to paſs againſt him, in hopes that time would abate this firſt heat. And indeed the villainy of the Numidian king would have eſcaped public vengeance, had not a zealous tribune, named Caius Memmius, acquainted the people in the comitia with the heinous crimes that were laid to that prince's

Cirtha ſurrendered.

Adherbal murdered.

charge, and bitterly exclaimed againſt the venality of the ſenate. The people, convinced by their tribune, that the ſcandalous prevarication of the patricians was the effect of the money, which the emiſſaries of Jugurtha had liberally diſtributed among them, reſolved to bring the affair before their own tribunal. Hereupon the conſcript fathers, to avoid the reproach of a ſcandalous cenſure upon themſelves, decreed, that, as ſoon as the elections were over, one of the new conſuls ſhould have Numidia for his province; which was declaring, that they deſigned to make war on Jugurtha the next year [o].

The ſenate reſolve to make war upon Jugurtha.

Year after the flood, 2892. Before Chriſt, 107. Of Rome 641.

WHEN the time came for the elections, the aſſembled tribes promoted to the conſular dignity two men of very oppoſite characters, Lucius Calpurnius Piſo Beſtia and P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica. The latter poſſeſſed all the virtues of his anceſtors, had always rejected with indignation the offers of Jugurtha, and ſhewed a great deteſtation of the general corruption of the ſenate. The former was a man of great perſonal bravery, very active and vigilant, a ſtrict obſerver of military diſcipline, and conſequently fit to ſtrike terror into an enemy, and command reſpect from his own troops. But theſe valuable qualities were tarniſhed by a ſordid avarice; for he looked upon war merely as a trade, and a means to get money. So that Naſica was the more proper man to be ſent into Numidia, ſince the avarice of the generals was more to be dreaded, than the forces of the enemy. But Numidia unfortunately fell to Beſtia's lot, and Italy to Naſica's. The former began, without loſs of time, to make the neceſſary levies, and prepare for his expedition. In the mean time, Jugurtha, being informed by his emiſſaries at Rome, that a conſular army was raiſing againſt him, and that Calpurnius Beſtia was to command it, immediately diſpatched his ſon to Rome, attended by two lords of diſtinction, with orders to ſpare no expences in keeping ſteady his old protectors, and purchaſing new ones. Though his crimes had made ſuch a noiſe, that no-body could ſo much as take his part openly, yet he did not doubt, but the blow might be ſtill averted by the irreſiſtible power of money. The conſul Beſtia, who looked upon his African expedition as a glorious harveſt, heard with great concern the news of the Numidian prince's arrival in Italy. He was afraid, leſt, by his intrigues and preſents, he ſhould prevail upon the conſcript

Jugurtha's ſon ſent to Rome.

[o] Salluſt. bell. Jugurth.

ſcript fathers to poſtpone the war, from which the conſul propoſed great riches. He therefore oppoſed the embaſſy with all his intereſt, and got a decree paſſed, ordering Jugurtha's ſon and his attendants to depart Italy in ten days, unleſs they were come to deliver up the king of Numidia, and all his dominions, to the republic, by way of dedition. This decree being notified to them by the conſul, they returned, without ſo much as having entered the gates of Rome [p].

But is ordered to quit Italy.

Upon their departure Beſtia haſtened his preparations. As he was not ignorant, that he might one day be called to a ſevere account for his conduct by the tribunes of the people, he had the precaution to chuſe for his council and lieutenants ſome of the moſt eminent members of the ſenate, under pretence, that he ſtood in need of perſons conſummate in the art of war and well ſkilled in negotiations. But his real deſign was, to throw upon them the odium of his future miſconduct, and ſcreen himſelf under their names and credit againſt all enquiry. Scaurus, with whoſe vices he was ſo well acquainted, though the prince of the ſenate affected to conceal the depravity of his heart, appeared to him a very proper man for his purpoſe; ſince both his extreme avarice and his weight in the ſenate were proper qualifications for it. Scaurus readily conſented to follow the conſul, promiſing himſelf great wealth from a war, which was to be carried on in a country never before entered by any Roman army. And now, all things being ready, the legions marched by land to Rhegium, there embarqued for Sicily, and from Sicily croſſed over into Africa. The conſul upon his arrival briſkly attacked Jugurtha's dominions, reduced ſeveral cities, took ſome caſtles, and made a great many priſoners. This he did in order to bring Jugurtha into his meaſures. And indeed theſe acts of hoſtility did not much affect the Numidian king. Though he was not aequainted with the conſul's character, he conceived great hopes from the preſence of Scaurus, to whoſe avarice he was no ſtranger. He therefore ſent a deputation to the conſul, deſiring a conference, and promiſing to come himſelf to the Roman camp, upon an aſſurance of ſafety for his perſon. The offer was accepted, and from that moment a ſuſpenſion of arms took place. And now, to bring the Numidian king to the conference he had deſired, and

Calpurnius Beſtia ſets out for Africa.

[p] Idem ibid.

at the ſame time to ſave appearances, the conſul and Scaurus agreed to ſend the quæſtor P. Sextius to the city of Vacca, where Jugurtha reſided, under pretence of getting a certain quantity of corn, which, they ſaid, the king had promiſed in order to obtain a truce. But their real intent was, that he ſhould be an hoſtage for the king's ſafety, who, upon this proof of their ſincerity, came to the conſul's camp. A council of war was immediately aſſembled to hear his propoſals; but he there only made ſome excuſes, endeavoured to clear himſelf from the crimes laid to his charge, and dropped a few words about a dedition. The reſt was ſettled between Beſtia, Scaurus, and himſelf, in private conferences; and it is not to be doubted, but Rome was betrayed by theſe two avaricious men, ſince they granted the king more advantageous terms, than could reaſonably have been expected. They only obliged him to give the republic a certain number of horſes and cattle, thirty elephants, and a very inconſiderable ſum of money. Upon theſe terms they made a ſolemn treaty of friendſhip, with one who had baſely and treacherouſly murdered two kings, uſurped their dominions, and deſpiſed the orders of the ſenate. All men therefore ſuſpected, that Jugurtha had paid the conſul and his lieutenant very dear for a peace, which was ſo little to the honour of the Roman name. However, the reſpect which the ſenators had for Scaurus, their preſident, kept them in ſuſpenſe, no one daring to propoſe the diſannulling of the treaty, till they had heard the particulars of the agreement from the conſul himſelf and from Scaurus. In the mean while, Scipio Naſica dying, and the time for the great elections approaching, Beſtia, the only ſurviving conſul, was recalled to preſide in the comitia, in which M. Minucius Rufus and Sp. Poſthumius Albinus were choſen conſuls. Numidia fell by lot to Poſthumius, and Macedon to Minucius. The latter marched againſt the Scordiſci, who, though driven back beyond the Danube, as we have related above, repaſſed that river every winter on the ice, and laid waſte the Roman provinces. The Triballi (E), a people of Lower Mœſia, and

The corruption of Beſtia and Scaurus.

(E) The country, now known by the name of Bulgaria, was inhabited by the Triballi at the time we are ſpeaking of. Strabo indeed places the Triballi in Thrace; but we have obſerved in our hiſtory of that country, that the antients extended its boundaries far beyond the river Strymon, which divided it from Macedon,

and the Daci (F), of Upper Mœſia, had joined them, and together penetrated as far as Macedon, where they committed moſt dreadful devaſtations. But the conſul having attacked them among rocks and mountains, put them to flight, and obliged them to croſs the Hebrus, on the banks of which river the battle was fought. As the river was then frozen over, the enemy ventured to croſs it on the ice; but that breaking under the weight of their heavy carriages, the river ſwallowed up great numbers of them, and the reſt diſperſed; ſo that Minucius, after having ſettled all thoſe countries in peace, returned to Rome the following year, where he was honoured with a triumh [q].

The Scordiſci and Triballi defeated by Minucius.

But the people were little affected with the ſucceſs of of theſe wars in the north. Their whole attention was turned towards Numidia. The peace lately made with Jugurtha was looked upon with deteſtation at Rome. The ſenators indeed continued ſilent out of reſpect to their head; but Caius Memmius, tribune of the people, addreſſed himſelf to the comitia, and, after having bitterly inveighed againſt the ſenate, concluded his ſpeech thus: We are told, that the Numidian has yielded up to the republic himſelf, his troops, his ſtrong-holds, and his elephants. Let us con-

vince

[q] Liv. epit. Front. ſtrat. l. ii. Vell. Patercul.

cedon, and beyond mount Hæmus, which parted it from Mœſia. Herodotus ſpeaks of Thrace as the largeſt country in the world, except the Indies; Pliny extends its frontiers to the Danube, and Appian joins it to Illyricum. And hence it is, that Stephanus reckons the Triballi among the Illyrian nations.

(F) Dacia is generally placed by geographers between the Boryſthenes and European Sarmatia to the north; Upper Hungary to the weſt; the Danube to the ſouth; and the river Pruth and the Euxine ſea to the eaſt. This vaſt country is divided by geographers into three large provinces, viz. Dacia Alpeſtris, Dacia Ripenſis, and Dacia Mediterranea. The firſt contained part of Upper Hungary, Tranſilvania, Raſcia, and the bannat of Temeſwar; the ſecond Walachia and Moldavia; and the third the greateſt part of Upper Hungary. Dio places in Dacia all the countries on both ſides of the Danube, from mount Hæmus to the mouth of that river. Pliny ſuppoſes the Daci and Getæ, who inhabited European Scythia near the Euxine ſea, to be one and the ſame nation; and adds, that the people, who were called Getæ by the Greeks, were named Daci by the Latins (1).

(1) Plin. l. vii. & l. xxii.

vince ourſelves of the truth of this aſſertion by ſummoning Jugurtha to Rome. If he has truly ſubmitted, he will obey our orders; if he does not obey, you may eaſily judge, that what they call a treaty is nothing but a colluſion between that crafty prince and our generals. His diſcourſe ſtirred up the public animoſity to the higheſt degree. As the people could know with certainty only from the mouth of Jugurtha himſelf, whether Opimius, Scaurus, or Beſtia had been corrupted with his money, the people upon this conſideration likewiſe paſſed a decree, ſummoning Jugurtha before their tribunal. The prætor Caſſius, a man of great addreſs and unſpotted probity, was thought a proper perſon to carry the decree of the people into Numidia. Accordingly, he was charged with this important commiſſion, and ſet ſail without delay for Africa, where he found the army univerſally corrupted. The inferior officers and the private men, following the example of their general, thought of nothing but acquiring riches. Some had ſold to Jugurtha the thirty elephants, which he had given to the republic; others had ſet the deſerters at liberty for money, plundered the countries of their allies, and committed every-where moſt dreadful ravages. But the prætor, without taking notice of theſe diſorders, which it was not his province to correct, applied himſelf wholly to cure Jugurtha of his ſuſpicions, and to perſuade him to come to Rome. The Numidian, after a long ſtruggle with himſelf, reſolved at length to comply with the order of the Roman people, having for his ſafeguard the public faith, and, what he chiefly relied on, the word of Caſſius. A great honour indeed to the Roman people to ſee the powerful and warlike king of Numidia come to Rome, in compliance with their ſummons, and by that act of obedience acknowledge their ſovereignty. The king, to raiſe compaſſion, entered the city without any pomp or attendance, and dreſſed in a very negligent manner. He was no ſooner arrived, than he had recourſe to his uſual weapons, money. He knew, that the ſecuring of one of the tribunes was ſufficient to put a ſtop to all proceedings before the aſſembly of the people. He therefore, without loſs of time, gained with a large ſum one of the ten, named Caius Bæbius Salca, a man of great boldneſs and unbounded avarice. Having ſecured this point, he preſented himſelf before the people aſſembled, when the tribune Memmius reproached him with his ingratitude to the family of Micipſa, his cruelty, his exceſſive ambition, the murder of his two adopted brothers, his diſobedience

Jugurtha ſummoned before the people.

Comes to Rome.

Gains over one of the tribunes.

bedience to the orders of the ſenate, and his private intelligence with thoſe whom the ſenate had commiſſioned to carry them, which, he ſaid, was highly criminal and odious to the republic. The zealous tribune ended his ſpeech with theſe words: You would never have carried your audaciouſneſs to ſo great a height, if you had not been ſupported by a Roman faction, which you have purchaſed with money. We know them all; their zeal for ſupporting you in your iniquity has betrayed them. But it concerns us to have their names from your mouth. You may hope for all favour from the faith and clemency of the Romans, if you honeſtly declare to us, without any evaſions, the perſons whoſe protection you have purchaſed. But if you conceal, or diſguiſe, the truth, you are irrecoverably loſt. Speak, Jugurtha, ſpeak, and anſwer the expectations of the Roman people. While Jugurtha was preparing to reply, Bæbius, the mercenary tribune, whom the king had purchaſed, ſtood up, and with an imperious tone, Though they preſs you to ſpeak, Jugurtha, ſaid he, I enjoin you ſilence. This unexpected oppoſition raiſed ſuch murmurs and clamours, as would have confounded a man of leſs impudence and intrepidity than Bæbius. But he obſtinately perſiſted in his oppoſition; ſo that the people, betrayed by one of their own magiſtrates, were forced to break up the aſſembly, without having received the leaſt information. Jugurtha, having thus eſcaped the judgment of the people with impunity, carried his villainy to an exceſs ſcarce to be imagined. We have obſerved above, that Guluſſa, brother to Micipſa, left an illegitimate ſon, named Maſſiva. This prince had eſpouſed the cauſe of Adherbal, as the moſt juſt; but, after the taking of Cirtha and the cruel death of the king his relation, he had fled for refuge to Rome, where the few men of honour, whom Jugurtha could not corrupt, encouraged him to demand of the ſenate and people the crown of his anceſtors, which Jugurtha had forfeited by the many crimes he had committed. The conſul Poſthumius Albinus, to whoſe lot Numidia was now fallen, was his avowed friend and moſt zealous protector. At his motion the people were ſtrongly inclined to beſtow the crown of Numidia on this prince, who, though he had not been adopted by Micipſa, was of the blood-royal, and grandſon to Maſiniſſa. But Jugurtha, to defeat at once all the deſigns of his enemies, cauſed Maſſiva to be aſſaſſinated, in Rome itſelf and in the face of the republic. The wretch who executed the villainy was inſtantly ſeized,

He eſcapes with impunity.

Cauſes Maſſiva to be aſſaſſinated.

and

and brought before the prætor, to whom he confeſſed, that he had been hired by Bomilcar, one of the king's attendants, to commit the murder. Hereupon Bomilcar was cited to appear before the prætor; but Jugurtha found means to convey him privately out of Rome, and ſend him back into Africa. Upon the ſudden diſappearing of Bomilcar, all the odium of the baſe aſſaſſination fell upon Jugurtha. But, as the treating him like a criminal was contrary to the promiſe made him, he was ordered by the ſenate to quit Rome immediately; which he did, without taking leave of the conſcript fathers, and, for fear of being ſtopped, made all poſſible haſte to embarque at the neareſt port. As he was on the road, he looked back on the city, and cried out, O mercenary city, thou wouldſt even ſell thyſelf, if thou couldſt find a man rich enough to purchaſe thee. He was no ſooner gone, than the ſenate by a ſpecial decree diſannulled the infamous peace which Beſtia had made with him; and then Poſthumius Albinus, having raiſed with all poſſible expedition the neceſſary troops, croſſed over into Africa, flattering himſelf, that he ſhould be able to put an end to the war, before the year of his conſulate expired; though it was already far advanced. But the artful Numidian found means to amuſe him, at one time pretending to be ready to ſurrender himſelf up to the Romans, at another declaring, that he would ſooner part with his life than his crown. When the conſul began to puſh on the war with vigor, he ſent deputies to treat of peace, and promiſed to ſubmit to all that was demanded of him; but when he was preſſed to perform his promiſe, he found out a thouſand pretences to put off the execution of the articles which he had agreed to. Thus by one evaſion or other, he gained time, which he improved to the beſt advantage in the regulation of his affairs. And now, the conſular year being ready to expire, Poſthumius was obliged to return to Rome to preſide in the comitia for the new elections; ſo that he left Africa without having concluded any thing, either by action or treaty. Upon his arrival at Rome, he was loaded with the curſes of the people, and ſtrongly ſuſpected of having betrayed his country, as his predeceſſors had done. No-body believed, that the Numidian could have found means, by artifices alone and without any connivance in the general, to ſuſpend the motions of a large army, which Rome maintained in Africa at a vaſt expence [r].

Is ordered to quit Rome.

THE

[r] Idem ibid.

The Licinian law againſt luxury.

THE conſul on his return found great diſturbances in Rome, occaſioned by ſome tribunes of the people. Licinius Craſſus had paſſed a law againſt luxury and expenſive tables, and C. Manilius another for erecting a tribunal to try thoſe whom Jugurtha had corrupted. The law publiſhed by Licinius was in ſubſtance this; that on the days of the calends, nones, markets, and great games, any one might lay out on his table thirty aſſes, that is, 1 s. 11 d. but that on other days no man ſhould have more than three pounds of freſh meat, and one of ſalt, at a meal; but as to pulſe, herbs, and fruit, every one might have what quantity of them he pleaſed. This, though a ſevere edict, met with ſo ready a compliance from the citizens, that they put it in execution, even before it was confirmed by the people. Upon the merit of this law, Licinius endeavoured to get himſelf continued in his office; as did alſo his collegue Manilius. But this ended only in protracting the elections, which at laſt came on, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus and M. Junius Silanus were choſen conſuls. During their adminiſtration, the commiſſioners, appointed to try thoſe who had been corrupted by Jugurtha, purſuant to the law paſſed at the motion of Manilius, ended their enquiries, after they had been two years in that commiſſion. Scaurus, prince of the ſenate and the moſt guilty among them, was artful enough to get himſelf nominated at the head of the commiſſion, which he diſcharged with the utmoſt ſeverity, puniſhing many, who were leſs criminal than himſelf. He condemned to baniſhment ſeveral conſular men, and even one pontifex, a thing never heard of before. He did not even ſpare his accomplice Lucius Calpurnius Beſtia, but baniſhed him with the late conſul Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, and the famous proſecutor of the Gracchi, L. Opimius, who died of want at Dyrrachium. Cicero never mentions the baniſhment of Opimius, but with indignation. To the ſhame of the Romans, ſays he, this great man, who had juſt ſaved his country from the fury of the Gracchi, could not find a quiet retreat for his old age in the city he had preſerved. Rome proclaims the importance of his ſervices by a famous monument erected to his memory in the forum; and yet forces him to ſeek a ſepulchre in a foreign country [s]. Thus Scaurus, who had been himſelf moſt ſcandalouſly bribed by Jugurtha, not only eſcaped puniſhment, but judged and puniſhed others for having ſuffered themſelves to be bribed.

Several ſenators and conſulars baniſhed.

THE

[s] Cic. pro Sextio. pro Planco, & in Piſon.

THE new conſuls having drawn lots, Narbonne Gaul fell to Silanus, who marched againſt the Cimbri and Teutones; but his army was routed at the firſt onſet, and, in conſequence of this defeat, all Narbonne Gaul expoſed at once to the ravages of thoſe barbarians. Rome only continued miſtreſs of thoſe cities, which the Cimbri could not take for want of ſkill in carrying on ſieges [t]. As for Metellus, it fell to his lot to make war in Numidia, where he was attended with better ſucceſs. Jugurtha had gained a conſiderable advantage over the Roman army, after the departure of the late conſul Poſthumius Albinus. That general, before he left Africa, had given the command of the army to his brother Aulus Poſthumius, whoſe only qualification was his being the conſul's brother. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the head of forty thouſand men, than he reſolved to take advantage of the conſul's abſence, in order to gain himſelf both riches and glory. Though the troops were in winter-quarters, and the month of January was a very improper time for military expeditions, he aſſembled all his forces, marched into the field, and, through roads almoſt impaſſable, brought them before Suthul, a ſtrong hold in Numidia, where the king's treaſures were lodged. This was the lure that drew him; but the caſtle ſtood upon the brow of a hill, and was ſurrounded by marſhes, which in the winter made it altogether inacceſſible. However, Aulus, blinded by his avarice, ventured to beſiege it. Jugurtha, overjoyed to ſee him loſe his time and tire his troops, in ſo difficult an undertaking, cauſed ſeveral propoſals to be made to him, as if he dreaded the ſucceſs of his arms. To keep up his preſumption, he ſent deputies from time to time to beg peace, in as ſubmiſſive terms, as if he had been under the greateſt apprehenſions. He did not, however, neglect to advance with his army, as if he intended to throw ſuccours into the place. As he drew near Suthul, he pretended to be terrified at the ſight of the Roman forces, and in order to encreaſe the confidence of the general, he retired from poſt to poſt through difficult roads. Aulus, quitting Suthul, purſued him cloſe, leſt he ſhould find means to make his eſcape. But the crafty Numidian, who was well acquainted with the country, drew him inſenſibly into narrow paſſes, and then returned to his uſual artifices. He held the general in ſo great contempt, that he did not think it worth his while to bribe him: but he applied

Aulus Poſthumius beſieges Suthul.

[t] Liv. epit. l. lxviii. Eutrop. Oroſ.

plied himſelf to the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and gained over, by his emiſſaries, not only two cohorts of Thracians and one of Ligurians, but many of the legionaries themſelves, who baſely agreed to ſacrifice the good of their country, and the lives of their fellow-citizens, to their private intereſt. As Jugurtha's camp was not far from that of the Romans, the king ordered his light-armed Numidians to mount the enemy's ramparts in the dead of the night; which they did with inconceivable ſwiftneſs, and filled the camp with terror and confuſion. In the mean time, the chief officer of the third legion, purſuant to his agreement with Jugurtha, opened to him two gates of the camp, and, being joined by the Ligurian and Thracian cohorts, covered the Numidian army as they entered. The Romans with their general abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The ſlaughter was not great, the darkneſs of the night favouring the retreat of the fugitives; they fled through the two other gates of the camp, and, taking different roads, gained a neighbouring eminence, and poſted themſelves there. When it was day, Aulus found ſcarce any of his men wanting, except thoſe who had ſold themſelves to the enemy; but the greateſt part of them had thrown away their arms, that they might fly with more expedition.

Jugurtha takes the Roman camp.

EARLY next morning, Jugurtha ſurrounded the hill, on which the Romans were poſted; and then Aulus, ſeeing himſelf beſieged by a victorious army, ſent a ſhameful deputation to Jugurtha, demanding quarter only, and offering a laſting peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the ſenate and people. The Numidian anſwered, that he would grant the Romans life and liberty, upon condition, that they ſhould all paſs under the yoke, and quit Numidia in ten days. To this the timorous general ſubmitted, and marched with all his army between two poſts ſet up for that purpoſe, amidſt the taunts and ſhouts of the Numidian ſoldiers. The Roman troops, thus diſgraced, diſbanded themſelves, and retired into the African province, that is, the antient dominions of Carthage, which were now poſſeſſed by the republic. The ſenate was no ſooner informed of this ſhameful peace, than they declared it void, and recalled Aulus, who was ſoon after tried by Scaurus, and condemned to baniſhment. Metellus, to whoſe lot Numidia was fallen, as we have related above, haſtened the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigor. He was a ſenator of great virtue

The Roman army paſſes under the yoke.

and

Metellus ſent into Numidia.

and integrity, and, beſides, had given proofs of uncommon valour and prudence in the command of armies; ſo that all things ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs to his enterpriſe. The Romans, fully perſuaded that it would not be in Jugurtha's power to corrupt him with offers, readily decreed him the recruits he deſired, and at his requeſt even diſannulled ſome laws which reduced the pay of the legionaries. In ſhort the people refuſed him nothing which he thought neceſſary for the carrying on of the war, and wiping off one of the moſt ſhameful reproaches, that had ever been caſt on the Roman name, ſince the diſgrace of the Caudine Forks. As for Metellus himſelf, his chief concern was, to chuſe ſuch ſubalterns as he could confide in, and whoſe ſkill in the art of war had been already proved. Among theſe was the famous Marius, who, as he had neither birth, fortune, nor eloquence ſufficient to raiſe him to the firſt dignities, had continued quite idle at Rome, ever ſince his prætor-

Marius lieutenant to Metellus.

ſhip. He therefore joyfully accepted the offer Metellus made him, of being one of his lieutenant-generals. When all things were ready, the conſul ſet out without delay, and, landing in Africa, ſpent the whole ſummer in diſciplining his troops, which lived diſperſed about the province in the utmoſt diſorder, declaring, that he would not ſuffer them to engage, till they had learnt how to conquer. And now Jugurtha, finding he had to deal with a general, whom he could neither over-reach nor bribe, ſent an embaſſy to him, with all poſſible marks of a ſincere ſubmiſſion, begging only quarter for himſelf and children. But Metellus, ſuſpecting the Numidian of double dealing, oppoſed artifice with artifice. He took each of the embaſſadors aſide, and prevailed upon them to promiſe, that they would deliver up to him the uſurper, dead or alive. But this project being diſconcerted by the circumſpection, vigilance, and ſuſpicions of the king, the conſul reſolved to attack him with open force. Accordingly, he entered Numidia, and, tho' no enemy appeared, he kept conſtantly upon his guard againſt a ſurpriſe. His troops always marched in order of battle. Metellus himſelf led on the advanced guard at the head of the archers, ſlingers, and light-armed troops; Marius commanded the cavalry of the legions in the rear, and Rutilius, another of Metellus's lieutenants, the foot in the centre. In this fine order the conſular army appeared be-

Vacca taken by Metellus.

fore Vacca, a trading city full of Italian merchants, which upon the firſt ſummons received a Roman garriſon. From Vacca the conſul ſtill kept advancing, in the ſame order, towards

towards the heart of Numidia. In the mean time, Jugurtha, having drawn together all the troops he could, lay in ambuſh for the Romans, waiting to engage them as they ſhould come down from a mountain, which ſtood directly in the conſul's road. Metellus no ſooner reached the top of the mountain, than he diſcovered men and horſes concealed among the buſhes, which were not thick enough to cover them; and being fully ſatisfied, as he drew nearer, that the enemy was in ambuſh there, he changed both the rout and diſpoſition of the army. In the firſt place, he ordered Rutilius to march down the hill another way, and pitch a camp on the banks of the Muthullus, about twenty thouſand paces from the hill. This was a wiſe precaution to ſecure water for his troops in that dry and burning climate. As he was reſolved to leave the hill on his right-hand, he altered the diſpoſition of his troops, and made his right wing three times as ſtrong as uſual, knowing it would be moſt expoſed to the enemy. In the centre he placed his infantry, intermixed with ſome manipuli of light-armed troops, and ordered his cavalry to cover the army in the flanks. In this order he marched down the ſteepeſt part of the hill, and advanced ſlowly towards the plain. Marius commanded in the centre; and Metellus himſelf in the right wing, which muſt naturally be firſt attacked. As ſoon as the conſular troops had got below the top of the hill, Jugurtha began to move, and, having ordered two thouſand men to take poſſeſſion of the top of the mountain, which the Romans had quitted, he ſounded the charge. The Romans faced about, but could not bring the Numidians to a cloſe engagement. As they had got above the conſular troops, they diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them, and wounded them at a great diſtance. If they were purſued by the Roman cavalry, they diſperſed and fled ſingly, entering the coppices, whither the enemy durſt not purſue them. They then rallied, and, ſallying out again, fell unexpectedly on the conſular army in different quarters. Never was a more extraordinary battle fought; they all engaged in ſmall parties, every one attacking the enemy, or defending himſelf as occaſion offered, without any rule or order. The day was far advanced, before it could be known which ſide had the advantage. Both armies were equally tired and exhauſted with heat and fatigue; and many had fallen on both ſides in the ſeveral attacks, which had ſucceeded one another, without intermiſſion, from morning to night. At length the Numidians, towards Jugurtha defeated by Metellus.

the cloſe of the day being briſkly attacked by the Roman legionaries, and purſued from poſt to poſt, diſperſed, and no more appeared [u].

While Metellus was thus engaged on the mountain, Rutilius, who had been ſent by the conſul to pitch a camp on the banks of the Muthullus, was vigorouſly attacked by Bomilcar, one of the king's generals. But that brave Roman repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter, and having purſued them, took four of their elephants, and killed the reſt to the number of forty; ſo that the conſul gained two victories on one day. Metellus continued his march all night, and arrived before day-break with all his troops at the camp on the Muthullus, which he found finiſhed. There he reſted four days, to refreſh his men and have their wounds dreſſed. In this camp he received intelligence, that the Numidian, being abandoned by his army, had retired to a diſtant place, covered with woods and rocks, and was forming a new one. Deſertion was no crime amongſt the Numidians, who, after the firſt defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleaſed. However, the Roman general did not think it adviſeable to follow the fugitive king, but contented himſelf with ſending out parties to plunder the country. On the other hand, Jugurtha behaved with the addreſs and ability of a great commander. He ſeemed to be in all places, appeared, when leaſt expected, at the head of a flying army, and falling upon the Romans diſperſed about the fields, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and then retired to the mountains and foreſts. In the mean time, news being brought to Rome of the victory gained by Metellus and his lieutenant Rutilius, the temples were opened, and ſupplications made by way of thankſgiving to the gods, for the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the republic in Numidia. The probity, diſintereſtedneſs, valour, and wiſdom of Metellus were in the mouth of every Roman [w].

In the mean time, Rome raiſed Ser. Sulpicius Galba and Q. Hortenſius to the conſulate. But the latter, who was father to Q. Hortenſius, Cicero's rival in eloquence, either declined the burden of the office, or was prevented by death from enjoying that dignity; it being certain, that another was ſoon after choſen in his room, viz. M. Aurelius

[u] Salluſt. bell. Jugurth. & Plut. in Mario. [w] Salluſt. ibid. Flor. l. iii.

lius Scaurus [x]. At the ſame time Metellus was continued general of the Roman army in Numidia, with the title of proconſul. As for the new conſuls, Italy fell by lot to Galba, and Narbonne Gaul to Scaurus, whither he repaired to make war upon the Cimbri, who had reduced almoſt that whole province. But to return to Numidia: Marius, whoſe ambition was awaked by the applauſes Rome had given his general, was now become his rival, narrowly watched all his ſteps, and laid hold of every opportunity that offered to defame him. We are told by Plutarch, that Marius carried his ingratitude ſo far, as to boaſt, that he was not ſo much indebted to Metellus, as to fortune, which had led him into Africa, as to a great ſtage, where he ſhould, in the end, diſplay thoſe talents with which nature had liberally endowed him. And indeed the point he had now in view was, to raiſe himſelf at the expence of his general and benefactor. He was impatient of getting the conſulſhip, that he might put an end to the Numidian war, and be honoured with a triumph. His pretenſions were ſupported by all thoſe qualifications which are requiſite in a great commander. For he was famous for an heroic valour, a great love of diſcipline, a ſtrange aſcendant over the ſoldiers, a temperance carried to the ſevereſt abſtinence, great intrepidity in ſudden dangers, an uncommon coolneſs and preſence of mind in battle, and an extraordinary readineſs at expedients after bad ſucceſs. But as for thoſe virtues and diſpoſitions of mind, which form the character of an honeſt man, Marius was quite deſtitute of them. Honeſty and ingratitude are incompatible. Metellus, who ſaw into the deſigns of his lieutenant, began to be jealous of him, and to fear leaſt he ſhould be ſupplanted by him at the end of the year. He therefore took great care not to give any advantage to his malicious rival by ill conduct. He took care to have his convoys ſtrongly guarded, and always ſent out his whole cavalry together, ordering them not only to pillage the country, but to deſtroy whole towns with fire and ſword. The Numidian, ſeeing his country utterly ruined by this new way of making war, at laſt left his faſtneſſes, and followed the Romans, being always intent both on ſurpriſing and avoiding the enemy. He burnt up the forage, and poiſoned the waters in all places, where the legions were to paſs. He was every moment haraſſing either Metellus or Marius, and as ſoon as he

The ingratitude of Marius to Metellus.

[x] Faſt. Capitol.

he had attacked them vigorouſly in the rear, he immediately regained the mountains. Metellus, finding he could not draw Jugurtha to a battle, reſolved, if poſſible, to force him to it. In order to this, he reſolved to beſiege Zama; but Jugurtha, upon the firſt notice of his deſign, flew thither, got to the place before him, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it of Roman deſerters, on whom he could depend. Then he haſtened to Sicca, whither the proconſul had detached Marius for proviſions. He was very deſirous of entering the liſts with that commander, who had been his intimate friend, and had learnt the military art with him under Scipio, at the famous ſiege of Numantia. He arrived juſt as Marius was marching out of the city with his convoy, and fell upon him with a fury not to be expreſſed. But the Roman repulſed him, and, though ſurpriſed, behaved with ſuch preſence of mind and intrepidity, as made him ever after dread the very name of Marius: When the convoys came up, Metellus inveſted Zama, and made a general aſſault upon the place: but the beſieged repulſed the aggreſſors, and diſcharged ſuch ſhowers of darts, ſtones, and fire-brands upon them, that they were obliged to retire in the utmoſt confuſion. During the heat of the action, Jugurtha appeared on a ſudden, and as moſt of the legionaries, left to guard the Roman camp, were gone out to ſee the attack, he made himſelf maſter of one of the gates. Hereupon ſome of the Romans, who guarded the tents, ran to their arms, others betook themſelves to flight; but a ſmall body of forty men only, poſting themſelves on an eminence within the camp, defended it with ſurpriſing valour, till Marius came to their relief. For Metellus no ſooner heard, that the king had ſurprized his camp, than he detached that brave commander with all the cavalry to drive him out. Marius flew with joy to a ſecond engagement with the Numidian, forced his way into the camp, and obliged the king to fly out of one of the gates, and ſhelter himſelf among the rocks. As for Metellus, after a vain attempt upon the town, he retired to paſs the night in his camp. The next day he renewed the attack, but with no better ſucceſs, the beſieged, who were all Roman deſerters, repulſing the aggreſſors with unparalleled bravery. During the aſſault, Jugurtha appeared anew, but, after a ſharp conflict, was put to flight by the cavalry, which Metellus had poſted with ſome manipulion the road the king had taken the day before. In the mean time, night coming on, the proconſul returned to his camp;

Metellus reſolves to beſiege Zama.

Jugurtha defeated by Marius.

camp; and, as the ſeaſon was far advanced and the garriſon made a reſolute defence, he thought it adviſeable to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters in the Roman province [y].

The ſiege of Zama raiſed.

As Metellus did not doubt, but he ſhould be continued in the command of the army till all Numidia was reduced, he employed his time in making the neceſſary preparations for the next campaign. He found means to have a private interview with Bomilcar, who, as we have related above, had been the chief agent in the murder of Maſſiva. Bomilcar was greatly attached to Jugurtha; but, as he was a Numidian, Metellus did not deſpair of prevailing upon him to betray his maſter. He therefore not only promiſed him impunity, but aſſured him of the protection of the republic, in caſe he ſhould either diſpatch Jugurtha, or deliver him up alive into his hands. The Numidian hearkened to the proconſul's offers, and treacherouſly perſuaded Jugurtha, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſurrender himſelf up to the Romans without reſerve: Prevent, ſaid he, the fatal deſigns which your own ſubjects may have on your life. Have recourſe to the Roman clemency, and depend on the ſincerity of their offers. Metellus has even more honour than bravery. The king, not ſuſpecting any treachery, was eaſily prevailed upon to diſpatch an embaſſy to the proconſul, acquainting him, that he was ready to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him. Upon this Metellus, having aſſembled from all the places, where the army was quartered, ſuch officers as were of ſenatorial families, held a great council of war, in which it was agreed, that the king of Numidia ſhould, by way of preliminary, ſend the Romans two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, with all his elephants, and a certain number of horſes and arms, and deliver up all the deſerters. The king complied with theſe hard conditions, and immediately ordered all the deſerters, to the number of about three thouſand, moſtly Thracians or Ligurians, to be ſeized and ſent to the proconſul, by whoſe orders ſome had their hands cut off, others were ſet in the ground up to their waiſts, and ſhot to death by the Roman archers, and the reſt burnt alive [z]. The other two articles were likewiſe executed with great punctuality; the elephants, horſes, and arms, required by the proconſul,

Jugurtha delivers up his elephants, money, arms, &c.

[y] Salluſt ibid. Plut. in Mario. Oroſ. l. v. c. 3. [z] Oroſ. l. 5. c. 3.

were delivered up, and the money paid down. And now the king, having ſtripped himſelf of his money, his elephants, his horſes, and his deſerters, in whom conſiſted the main ſtrength of his army, the proconſul ordered him to repair in perſon to Tiſidium, a city in Numidia, there to receive further directions. He ſtarted at this laſt ſtep, began to heſitate, and ſpent ſeveral days, without being able to come to any reſolution. The remembrance of his enormous crimes ſtung him with freſh remorſe; he dreaded the ſevere puniſhment, which his guilty conſcience repreſented to him, in a very ſtrong light, as due for ſo many murders; the charms of a crown, and the horror of falling from a throne into ſlavery, made ſo deep an impreſſion upon his mind, that he reſolved, at all adventures, to try once more the fate of war. A ſceptre, ſaid he, is not ſo heavy as chains. To arms! to arms! let us renew the war. It is better to periſh at the head of an army, than to fall at once from empire to ſlavery. And from this time he never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to peace. He was now wholly intent on raiſing a new army, on fortifying the places which continued faithful to him, on providing arms, and endeavouring to ſurpriſe thoſe cities which had ſurrendered to the Romans. Vacca was an important poſt, of which Metellus had made himſelf maſter ſoon after his arrival in Africa, as we have related above, and given the government of it to Turpilius Silanus, a citizen of Collatia, a man of known equity and moderation, and his intimate friend. Turpilius, quite free from all pride and avarice, gained the affections of the inhabitants by the mildneſs of his government; but their averſion to a foreign yoke prevailed over the eſteem they had for their governor. The chief men of the city ſuffered themſelves to be gained over to the intereſt of Jugurtha, and plotted among themſelves the maſſacring of the Roman garriſon. To compaſs their treacherous deſign, they took the opportunity of a public feſtival to invite the officers to feaſt at their houſes; and, when they had eat and drank plentifully, every man, as had been agreed on before-hand, ſtabbed his gueſt. Such as got into the ſtreets, were overwhelmed and killed with ſtones from the tops of the houſes; ſo that Turpilius was the only man who eſcaped the common maſſacre. The proconſul no ſooner heard of the revolution in Vacca, than he ordered the legion, which was quartered r[illegible]im, to arms, and, joining with them a great number o[illegible]oſe Numidians who had ſubmitted to Rome, marched in perſon to avenge

But afterwards reſolves to purſue the war.

The Romans maſſacred in Vacca.

avenge the blood of his Romans. The inhabitants had ſhut their gates for fear of a ſurprize; but when they ſaw from their ramparts a body of Numidian cavalry advancing towards their city, without committing any devaſtations, they concluded, that Jugurtha muſt be at the head of them, and upon this preſumption marched out to meet him. But their miſtake proved fatal to them: the Numidian cavalry fell upon the diſarmed multitude, and cut them in pieces; and, in the mean time, the Roman legion coming up ſeized the gates of the city, retook, and plundered it. Thus the treacherous inhabitants of Vacca, after having enjoyed their liberty but two days, were brought again under ſubjection, and treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. Tho' Metellus was fully convinced, that Turpilius was no-ways guilty, he was obliged, by the clamours of the army, contrary to his own inclination, to have him tried by a council of war. Marius, who was one of his judges, merely out of ſpite to Metellus, became his accuſer. He charged him with having ſold the town and the lives of the Romans under his command, laid great ſtreſs on the diſtinction ſhewn him in having his life alone ſpared, and proſecuted the affair ſo warmly, that he got him condemned to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Soon after the execution of the ſentence, the innocence of Turpilius plainly appeared; and then the other officers made their apologies to the proconſul for the ſentence they had pronounced, and bewailed with him the unfortunate end of a man, whom he had judged worthy of his friendſhip; but Marius publicly rejoiced at the death of the innocent Turpilius, and had even the inſolence to boaſt, that he had found means to torment Metellus with a perpetual remorſe and an avenging fury, which would be continually requiring of him the innocent blood of his friend [a].

Vacca retaken.

Marius's inſolent conduct.

And now, upon the news that the ſenate and people were inclined to continue Metellus in the command of the army, till the war with Jugurtha was ended, Marius's hatred to his general broke out into open attacks upon him. He began with decrying and calumniating him among the ſoldiery; he repreſented him as an ambitious man, who prolonged the war, only to keep himſelf the longer in power and command; he pretended, that the natural ſloth and timorouſneſs of Metellus, which were encreaſed by age, made him incapable of oppoſing an active

He defames his general.

[a] Salluſt. Plut. ibid.

and vigilant enemy; he bragged among the common ſoldiers, with whom he made himſelf very familiar, that, with half the troops Metellus had in his army, he would undertake, in one ſingle campaign, to bring Jugurtha to Rome dead or alive. Whatever Marius ſaid, the ſoldiers wrote to their relations and friends at Rome; and theſe letters, being communicated from houſe to houſe, prejudiced the people againſt Metellus, and at the ſame time raiſed the reputation of his lieutenant, who, not content with adviſing the ſoldiers to ſend bad accounts of their general to Rome, went ſo far as openly to beg the votes of the Roman merchants of Utica, for chuſing him conſul at the next election, in order thereby to enable him to ſupplant his general and benefactor. He alſo prevailed on Gauda the brother of Jugurtha, but by a different mother, whom Metellus had diſobliged (G), to write to the ſenate againſt the proconſul, and much in his favour. Theſe ſolicitations proved very advantageous to Marius, who being informed by his emiſſaries at Rome, of the favourable inclination of the people towards him, publicly deſired leave of the proconſul to return to Rome, to make intereſt for the conſulate. Metellus, tho' a man of great honour and probity, was not quite free from that pride, which

Marius aſks leave to return to Rome.

(G) Metellus had not treated this prince with that honour and reſpect which he expected. When he firſt came to the Roman camp, he deſired two marks of diſtinction, viz. that in all public aſſemblies he ſhould be placed at the general's right-hand; and that a troop of Roman horſe ſhould be aſſigned him for his guard. Metellus refuſed him both; the firſt, becauſe it was a mark of diſtinction, which the Romans ſhewed to thoſe only whom they acknowledged to be kings; and the ſecond, becauſe he thought it an affront to the Roman knights, to make them in a manner Numidian guards. Marius therefore, applying himſelf to the young prince, in the heat of his reſentment, endeavoured to exaſperate him againſt the proud proconſul, whom he repreſented as taking delight in ſeeing the ſons of kings groveling at his feet. He likewiſe aſſured him, that, if he was general, he would treat him with all the reſpect due to his character, and ſoon place him on the throne of his anceſtors, as the next heir to the crown. By theſe diſcourſes Marius eaſily attached Gauda to himſelf; and the Numidian wrote to the republic, in terms of great bitterneſs, againſt the proconſul, and as much to the advantage of the lieutenant (2).

(2) Salluſt. bell. Jugurth.

which is almoſt inſeparable from noble birth. He therefore received this application with haughtineſs, and anſwered Marius with a kind of raillery; It will be ſoon enough for you, Marius, to ſtand for the conſulate, when my ſon ſhall be old enough to be your collegue. Young Metellus was then ſcarce twenty years of age; whereas a man was to be at leaſt forty before he could be choſen conſul. In ſhort, the proconſul told his lieutenant in plain terms, that he would not give him his diſcharge, ſo long as he had any occaſion for his ſervice. At the ſame time he applied again to Bomilcar, putting him in mind of the promiſe he had made of delivering up Jugurtha to him dead or alive; but Bomilcar, who had been ſuſpected by the king ever ſince he adviſed him to ſurrender, applied to Nabdalſa, a Numidian lord of diſtinction, and one of the greateſt favourites the king had. He communicated to him his deſign of ſacrificing the king to the welfare of his country. Nabdalſa, who was one of the moſt wealthy lords of Numidia, readily entered into the plot, which would ſecure his great eſtate, and both his own life and the lives of his children. The two traitors agreed to ſurpriſe their king, and carry him to the proconſul; the time was fixed for the execution of the deſign, and the ambuſh prepared. On the day appointed, Bomilcar came to the place agreed on; and if Nabdalſa had performed his part, an end had been put at once to the Numidian war; but Nabdalſa not appearing, Bomilcar wrote a letter to him, putting him in mind of his promiſe, and repreſenting to him, that the affairs of Jugurtha were deſperate; that he muſt ſoon periſh, either by their hands, or the hands of the Romans; that it was not worth their whiles to ſacrifice their eſtates, their liberty, the lives of their wives and children, for an uſurper and aſſaſſin; that, by delivering him up to the Romans, they would ſave their country from impending ruin, ſecure their lives and eſtates, and gain the favour of the powerful republic, &c. This letter was delivered ſafe into Nabdalſa's hands, while he was lying on a couch, reſting himſelf after a violent exerciſe. After he had read it, he laid it on his pillow, and, muſing upon the contents of it, fell aſleep. In the mean time, his ſecretary coming into the room, and finding a letter open, read it, in order to anſwer it; but, being ſhocked at the propoſals of Bomilcar, he went immediately to acquaint the king with the plot. Nabdalſa ſoon after awaked, miſſed the letter, and finding, upon enquiry, that his ſecretary alone had been in his room,

A conſpiracy againſt Jugurtha.

and

and had ſuddenly diſappeared, he diſpatched without delay ſome of his attendants after him; but, as he had got the ſtart of them, the letter was already in the king's hands. Hereupon Nabdalſa flew to court, and aſſured the king, that he would have diſcovered the plot, if his treacherous ſervant had not prevented him. Jugurtha, for fear of raiſing a ſedition, for Nabdalſa was greatly beloved by the ſoldiery, ſeemed to be ſatisfied with the excuſe; but condemned Bomilcar and moſt of his accomplices to die [b]. The loſs of Bomilcar fruſtrated the hopes of Metellus, who thereupon reſolved to take the field. As he was now quite tired with the importunities of Marius, he gave him at length leave to go to Rome, but only twelve days before the election. Ambition gave Marius wings; for he reached the city in ſix days after his ſetting out, and there made the beſt uſe of the little time he had left to gain the favour of the people. He calumniated the proconſul, accuſed him of timorouſneſs, aſſured the people, that, as he was well acquainted with the country, and, without all doubt, more vigorous and active than Metellus, he would, with half the troops the proconſul commanded, in one campaign, take Jugurtha dead or alive; in ſhort, he omitted nothing, that could either diſcredit his general, or gain himſelf a grea reputation. As the nobility had of late conſtantly choſen two patricians to the conſulate, contrary to the antient law, that one of the conſuls ſhould be a patrician, and the other a plebeian, the people were highly diſpleaſed with the patricians in general, and wholly bent on promoting Marius, who bore an irreconcileable hatred to the nobility. All the mob of Rome crouded to his houſe, the artificers left their ſhops to attend him, and nothing was heard in the comitia, but the praiſes of Marius and invectives againſt Metellus. In ſhort, he was raiſed to the conſulate by a great majority, with L. Caſſius Longinus. His next buſineſs was to ſupplant his benefactor, and get himſelf nominated to ſucceed him in the command of the army in Numidia. The ſenate had already, by a ſpecial decree, appointed Metellus to be proconſul in Numidia for the third year; but Marius applied to the people by their tribune Manilius Mancinus, and at his motion they determined, that Marius alone ſhould carry on the war with Jugurtha. His collegue had Narbonne Gaul for his province, where he fell into an ambuſh laid for him

The conſpiracy diſcovered, and Bomilcar executed.

Marius obtains leave to go to Rome.

Where he is choſen conſul, and appointed to ſucceed Metellus.

[b] Salluſt. Plut. Vel. Paterc. ibid.

him by the Tigurini. L. Calpurnius Piſo, one of his lieutenant-generals, a man of great reſolution, prudence, and courage, endeavoured to reſcue him, but periſhed with his general in the attempt. Then the Roman army was left wholly to the conduct of the other lieutenant-general, by name Popilius, an officer of no valour, and very little merit of any other kind. He, to ſave his life, offered to capitulate, ſhamefully ſurrendered his arms and baggage, and, with his whole army, paſſed under the yoke. As ſoon as he returned to Rome, where his name was become odious, he was accuſed before the people, and proſecuted with uncommon zeal; but he, to ſave his reputation, went into baniſhment of his own accord, before ſentence was pronounced againſt him [c]. Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the ſenate, got himſelf elected conſul in the room of Caſſius, for the remaining part of the year (H).

The Romans are defeated by the Tigurini, and paſs under the yoke.

But to return to Marius; his being obliged to preſide in the comitia for the election of the new conſul, kept him longer in Rome than he deſired. Being now inveſted with the ſupreme magiſtracy, he treated the nobility with the utmoſt contempt, declaring publicly, that it was matter of greater glory and triumph for him to have humbled the conſcript fathers, by obtaining of the people the command of the army in Numidia, which the ſenate had given to Metellus,

[c] Tacit. de German. morib. Cæſ. de bell. Gall. l. i. Cic. l. iii. de legib.

(H) Scaurus had one P. Rutilius for his competitor; but got the better of him by a piece of chicanery. He accuſed Rutilius of bribery in canvaſſing for the conſulſhip; and, in proof of his accuſation, produced a note under his hand, whereby Scaurus pretended, that his competitor had promiſed a citizen money for his vote. The note contained only theſe four letters, A. F. P. R. which Scaurus interpreted thus; Actum fide P. Rutilii, that is, P. Rutilius promiſes to perform the obligation. But C. Cannius, a Roman knight, who was preſent at the trial, gave a very different interpretation to the four letters, making them ſtand for the following ſentence; Æmilius fecit, plectetur Rutilius, that is, Æmilius made the note; but Rutilius will be puniſhed for it; which was accuſing Scaurus of forgery, and at the ſame time ſhewing the folly of laying ſtreſs on the interpretation of initial letters, which are capable of many ſenſes. However, Rutilius was excluded, and Scaurus promoted (3).

(3) Cic. in Bruto.

Marius's inſolent behaviour.

Metellus, than it would be to ſubdue that kingdom, and lead Jugurtha in chains. He inſulted all the patricians he met, and abuſed them in the groſſeſt manner. All his ſpeeches to the people were filled with his own praiſes, and with the moſt bitter invectives againſt the nobility and the ſenate. He was no orator; but every thing was well taken from a man, who was become the idol of the people. This encouraged him to demand with inſolence a greater number of troops than the conſuls had been uſually allowed, and to ſend, of his own authority, to demand auxiliaries of the nations and kings who were in friendſhip with the republic. At Rome, he made his levies with the utmoſt rigor, obliging thoſe who were famed for valour in all parts of Italy to come to Rome, and take the military oaths, tho' they had already ſerved the time required by law; but the people took all the ſeverities of their plebeian conſul in good part, and were ſo zealous to follow him into Africa, that his legions were ſoon completed, and moſtly filled with men of the loweſt claſſes, who were exempted by their poverty from the ſervice. Theſe Marius preferred to any others, as if he had been afraid of having any ſoldiers in his troops, who were of a better condition than himſelf[d].

In the mean time, Metellus, ignorant of what paſſed at Rome, and not doubting, but he ſhould be continued in the command of the army, till the entire reduction of Numidia, took the field; and having, after long and tedious marches, found out at laſt Jugurtha, poſted in places which he thought inacceſſible, he forced him to a battle, in which the Numidians were defeated and diſperſed. The king eſcaped by flight through vaſt deſerts and roads, with which he alone was acquainted, and retired to Thala, a place well fortified, where he had lodged his jewels and treaſures. Metellus followed him croſs the deſert, which was about fifty miles in extent, carrying with him corn enough to ſupport the army fourteen days, and a vaſt number of ſkins and barrels filled with water. The inhabitants of Thala, who thought their city inacceſſible, were ſtruck with terror at the approach of the Roman army. The king, dreading to be ſhut up in the place, immediately abandoned it, and rambled from deſert to deſert, his fear of being betrayed keeping him from fixing any where; but the garriſon, conſiſting moſtly of deſerters from the Roman army, made all the reſiſtance that could be expected from brave men driven

Jugurtha defeated by Metellus.

Thala beſieged by Metellus.

to

[d] Plut. in Mario. Salluſt. ibid.

to deſpair. But when, after forty days ſiege, the Romans had made a large breach in the wall of the city, the garriſon, finding it impoſſible for them to avoid deſtruction, carried all the valuable things they could find to the king's palace, ſet fire to it, and periſhed all to a man in the flames. The proconſul had ſcarce entered the palace, when he was informed, that one Hamilcar, a citizen of Great Leptis, was labouring under-hand to draw over his countrymen to Jugurtha. Hereupon he immediately detached thither four Ligurian cohorts, under the command of Caius Anicius, and by that means kept the neighbouring country in a ſtate of tranquillity. Jugurtha, having now neither troops nor a place of refuge left, determined to go treat in perſon with a people, who had never yet heard of the Roman name. Theſe were the Getuli, a barbarous nation, who inhabited the inner part of Africa, and led their flocks from paſture to paſture, living always in tents, without any fixed habitation. The king having found means to induce them to follow his ſtandards, aſſembled the ſcattered ſhepherds, and taught them to keep their ranks, and obey the officers he ſet over them. From Getulia the Numidian king advanced to the confines of Mauritania, where Bocchus reigned over an African people, ſomewhat leſs barbarous and better diſciplined than the Getuli. As that prince had married one of Jugurtha's daughters, he was eaſily prevailed upon to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with the Numidian. And now the king being joined by the Getuli and all the forces of Bocchus, appeared a-new in the field, and approached Cyrtha, the capital of Numidia, which Metellus had formerly taken, and made a magazine of arms and proviſions for his army. This obliged the proconſul to alter his conduct; he no longer offered battle, or bid defiance to the enemy, but kept cloſe within his entrenchments, and there watched the motions of the two kings, being determined to venture nothing, for fear of loſing all [e].

And taken.

Jugurtha is joined by Bocchus and the Getuli.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Numidia, when news was brought to Metellus of the promotion of Marius to the conſulate, and likewiſe to the command of the army. The proconſul, though a great and wiſe man, was thunder-ſtruck to hear, that a mean plebeian, an ungrateful creature of his own, raiſed by his family from the duſt, had found more favour and credit at Rome, than himſelf, notwithſtanding his nobility and exploits. He was ſo much

[e] Idem ibid.

much affected, that he could not forbear weeping, forgetting in a manner the dignity of his character; and indeed what could be more mortifying, than to have a conqueſt ſo far advanced ſnatched out of his hands, by one of the meaneſt of the people, drawn out of obſcurity by himſelf? But, after all, he was not ſo much grieved, as Salluſt informs us, at the glory he loſt, as at the advancement of Marius, who had decried his conduct, only to raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of his reputation. However, as in great minds the public good prevails over private reſentment, the proconſul ſpared no means to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, tho' this would greatly facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. He ſpent the whole time he remained in Numidia in private negotiations with that prince, who thereupon was leſs preſſing to give him battle, which was partly what the proconſul had in view. At length advice came, that Marius was landed at Utica, with a very numerous body of Romans and allies.

Marius lands in Africa.

Hereupon Metellus, not being able to bear the thoughts of paying his homage to the new conſul, who had ſo treacherouſly and baſely ſupplanted him, inſtantly left the camp, which he had pitched near Cyrtha, and returned to Italy, after having appointed Rutilius, one of his lieutenants, to deliver up the army to his perfidious and ungrateful rival. His preſence at Rome, and the account he gave of the ſucceſs of his arms, of the towns he had taken, of the provinces he had conquered, and of the battles he had fought, ſoon wiped off the calumnies which had been caſt upon him. The eſteem and reſpect, which had been formerly ſhewn for that great man, revived; he was received every where with loud acclamations, and the people, to make him ſome amends for the injuſtice done him, decreed him, with an unanimous conſent, a triumph and the glorious ſurname of Numidicus [f]. Velleius Paterculus obſerves here, that there were, at this time, above twelve perſons of the family of Metellus in Rome, who had been ſucceſſively raiſed either to the conſulate or cenſorſhip, and many of them honoured with triumphs, in leſs than twelve years [g]. But, notwithſtanding his nobility, his exploits, and his great reputation for probity, a tribune of the people had the boldneſs to accuſe him of having plundered the province from which he came; but when he produced his books

Metellus is decreed a triumph.

[f] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 2. [g] Idem ibid.

books in his defence, the Roman knights who were judges in these civil causes, refused to examine his accounts, declaring, that they thought the whole course of his life a stronger proof of his innocence, than the wax, on which he had set down his disbursements and receipts [h].

In the mean time, Marius put himself at the head of the army; but, as the troops he had brought with him were for the most part new levies, he did not care to run the hazard of a general action. He only watched the motions of the new kings, besieged some weak places, and prevented the enemy from making incursions into the countries which had submitted to Rome. Marius, having thus spent the summer, without any considerable exploit, his troops began to despise him, and to look upon Metellus as a much better general than his successor. To remove these prejudices, which began to prevail, he resolved on an enterprize which would be sufficient to raise his reputation, and eclipse the glory of his predecessor. The city of Capsa stood in the middle of the burning sands of Africa, surrounded on all sides by a vast desert, which made it in a manner inaccessible, especially by great armies. This city he resolved to besiege; and having provided corn and water, which he knew he should want in the desert, he set out on his march, without communicating his design even to his own lieutenants. He marched only by night, the rays of the sun being so strongly reflected by the sand, that his men could not bear the heat by day. In this manner he passed that inhospitable country, which was inhabited only by serpents of an enormous size, which heat and hunger made very troublesome. After three nights march, with what danger and fatigue the reader may imagine, the army came within two miles of Capsa before day-break. They then halted among some hills, which covered the city and intercepted the sight of the legions, and there waited, as in an ambush, till the sun appeared; when Marius detached his light-armed infantry to seize the gates, and, appearing at the same time with his whole army before the place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that they offered to surrender, upon condition that they should have their lives spared; but Marius, to fill all Numidia at once with the dread of his name, entered the place sword in hand, levelled it with

Marius takes Capsa.

[h] Val. Max. l. ii. c. 18. Cic. ad Attic. l. i. epist. 16.

with the ground, put all the citizens, who were able to bear arms, to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves. This barbarous inſtance of ſeverity ſpread terror far and near; the people, where-ever he came, ſubmitted to him, and many, without waiting for his preſence, ſent deputies to him, imploring his protection, and offering to ſupply his army with all ſorts of proviſions. He marched to the utmoſt confines of Numidia, and, in that long march, met with one place only which refuſed to ſubmit to him.

Beſieges Mulucha.

This was a caſtle called Mulucha, ſituated on the ſummit of a rock, and perhaps the ſtrongeſt fortreſs then in the world. It was of no larger extent than the top of the rock, which was one entire body of flint, ſtanding quite by itſelf, and naturally ſo very ſmooth, that there was not the leaſt hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to reſt on. The only way up to it was what the inhabitant had cut in the rock, ſo narrow, that two men could not, without difficulty, walk a-breaſt in it. However, Marius undertook the reduction of the place; but the beſieged threw ſuch a quantity of firebrands from the tops of their ramparts, and rolled downthe rock ſuch vaſt ſtones, that the machines were burnt, and thoſe who managed them dangerouſly wounded. The attempt was often renewed, but always proved fruitleſs; beſides, the caſtle was ſo well ſtored with proviſions and ammunition, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that the Roman general could not entertain any thoughts of reducing it by famine: yet he perſiſted; and at length mere chance did more than his utmoſt efforts could have effected. A Ligurian ſoldier, having obſerved ſome ſnails creeping along the rocks, as he was filling his pitcher at a neighbouring fountain, took it in his head to climb up after them. The higher he went, the more ſnails he found in the cracks of the rock, which was moiſter on this ſide than any other. In the mean time, the attack was carrying on on the oppoſite ſide; and this encouraged the Ligurian to mount up to the very top of the rock. When he came to the foot of the wall, he found it quite deſerted on that ſide by the garriſon, who were all engaged in repulſing the aggreſſors on the other. Being therefore under no apprehenſion, his curioſity led him to get up upon the wall, which he did by the help of an old oak that grew cloſe to it. When he had, from the wall, taken a view of the place, he ſlid down the rock, without being diſcovered, and returned to the camp. He did the ſame thing a ſecond time, and particularly examined

mined, whether it were poſſible to introduce a company of active and intrepid men into the place that way. In the mean time, Marius, diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his attempts, was in ſuſpenſe, whether he ſhould give over the enterprize and put an end to the campaign; but when the Ligurian acquainted him with his exploit, he conceived ſome hopes of making himſelf maſter of the place, and immediately ſent experienced officers to view the rock, and report their ſentiments. Of theſe ſome thought the thing impracticable; but others, more bold and enterpriſing, declared, that, in their opinion, the attempt, if well conducted, might ſucceed. As the loſs, at all adventures, could not be great, the opinion of the latter prevailed; and the Ligurian was put at the head of four centuries of choſen men, provided with hooks, cramping-irons, nails, and hammers. Theſe filed off in the night, and lay in ambuſh near the fountain, till the attack was renewed the next day. Then, while the garriſon was engaged on the oppoſite ſide, with the help of their tools they got up, not without great labour, to the foot of the wall, which they eaſily mounted. Marius had ſent a company of trumpets with them, ordering them to ſound the alarm, as ſoon as they had got on the ramparts; which they did accordingly, and with that unexpected noiſe ſo terrified the beſieged, that they abandoned the attack on the other ſide, and by that means gave the legionaries an opportunity of advancing up the narrow path to the gate, which they broke down, and entering the fortreſs, joined their companions. Being thus maſters of the place, they put both the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction, ſeized the king's treaſures, and then went into winter-quarters, loaded with glory and booty [i]. Mulucha taken.

SOON after the reduction of Mulucha, Lucius Cornelius Sylla landed at Utica, with a reinforcement for the conſular army. He was by birth a patrician, and deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome. He had ſomething very engaging in his converſation, was of a graceful aſpect, a noble air, eaſy manners, affable, inſinuating, and ever ready to oblige all, even at the expence of his own fortune, which was but very ſmall; for his branch of the Cornelian family had been long eclipſed. The character of Sylla.

One

[i] Salluſt. ibid. Front. ſtrat. l. iii. c. 9.

One of his anceſtors, by name Publius Cornelius Rufinus, a ſenator of great reputation, having been degraded by the cenſors, for keeping in his houſe, contrary to law, ten pounds weight of ſilver in plate, his diſgrace deſcended to his poſterity, who continued long in obſcurity, and were excluded from honours and public offices, as Plutarch informs us, to the ſixth generation. Sylla, in his youth, fell in with the cuſtoms of the young patricians of his time, and gave himſelf entirely up to pleaſures and debauchery, keeping company only with lewd women, ſtage-players, and buffoons; in ſhort, he was reckoned one of the moſt debauched and effeminate young men in Rome. A young courteſan, named Nicopolis, taken with his graceful perſon, ſupplied him plentifully with money, which was the fruit of her debaucheries; and, as the young Roman proved conſtant to her, ſhe left him great wealth at her death. Soon after his mother-in-law likewiſe died, and left him a plentiful eſtate. From that time, as he was ſatiated with pleaſures, he began to be tired with a private life, and, his wealth rouſing his ambition, he demanded, and obtained the quæſtorſhip, the ſame year that Marius was raiſed to the conſulate. The people, whom he eaſily gained by his gentle and obliging carriage, appointed him to ſerve under Marius, who was then ready to ſet out for Africa; but that general, thinking, that a man of pleaſure could never prove a good ſoldier, or that a body, enervated by vice and debauchery, could bear the fatigues of war, was highly diſpleaſed with the quæſtor allotted him, and therefore left him behind in Italy, under pretence of raiſing a reinforcement of auxiliary troops among the allies, but in reality to get rid of a man, of whoſe conduct in war he had but a very mean opinion. The quæſtor, tho' very ſenſible of the contempt ſhewn him, obeyed, and came not to the army till after the reduction of Mulucha, when the troops were ready to go into winter-quarters. The moment he arrived in Africa, he threw off the man of pleaſure, was always ready to undertake the moſt painful and laborious duties, contented himſelf with the food of the common ſoldiers, and, by affecting to imitate Marius, gained both his eſteem and friendſhip: ſo that nothing now ſeemed wanting to the quæſtor, but an opportunity to give proofs of his valour. It was the quæſtor's province to ſupply the troops with proviſions, and the neceſſary ſums for carrrying on the war; but this office did not exempt him from partaking of the dangers, or prevent

Sylla's change in conduct.

prevent his commanding the troops. In an action the quæſtor performed the office of the firſt lieutenant general of the army, immediately under the chief commander; and in this office Sylla ſignalized himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this war, and carefully improved the opportunities that offered of recovering the time he had loſt [k].

MARIUS, after the taking of Mulucha, retired towards the ſea coaſt, with a deſign to put his troops into winter-quarters in the maritime cities, that by this means they might be the more eaſily ſupplied with proviſions. But in his retreat his army was ſurprized by the united forces of the two kings, who, coming unexpectedly upon them towards the cloſe of day, charged them with great fury. As the Romans were neither upon their guard, nor armed for fighting, nor drawn up in battalia, the legionaries, being hard preſſed by the Mauritanian and Getulian cavalry, began to give ground. But, in the mean time, the Roman cavalry, arriving very ſeaſonably, made head againſt the enemy, and ſuſtained the ſhock of their cavalry, till the legionaries drew up, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Then a tumultuary battle, or rather a great fray, enſued: none of the ſoldiers repaired to their colours; but fought, as they could, horſe and foot mixed together, without any rule or order. Both Marius and his quæſtor diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion in a very eminent manner; the latter fell, like a lion, on a troop of barbarians, who had already ſurrounded one of the manipuli, and cut moſt of them in pieces; the former ſeemed to be in all places at once, and, being attended by a body of choice troops, obliged the enemy to give way where-ever he appeared. When it began to grow dark, Marius retired by degrees to two neighbouring hills, and, having there rallied his troops, fortified in all haſte that which was leaſt ſteep, poſting his men on the declivity of the two hills, and in the valley between them. At the foot of one of the hills was a plentiful ſpring of freſh water, a great refreſhment to troops fatigued with a long march and a warm battle. The two kings ſurrounded the hills, on which the Romans were poſted, with numberleſs multitudes of Numidians, Mauritanians, and Getulians, who all looked on this action only as the beginning of a certain victory, which they ſhould complete at the riſing of the ſun. Jugurtha did not doubt, but he ſhould be able to extinguiſh the Roman

The two kings ſurpriſe Marius.

[k] Salluſt. ibid. Plut. in Syll. & Mar.

man name in Numidia; and the African ſoldiers, looking upon the conſular army as a certain prey, kindled great fires, danced round them with loud ſhouts, and paſſed the beſt part of the night in feaſtings and rejoicings. Marius, who ſaw, from the eminence on which he was encamped, all that paſſed, kept within his entrenchments, till the enemy, tired with dancing and revelling, retired to their tents to refreſh themſelves with ſleep, that they might be able to renew the attack at break of day with more vigor. He then drew out his legions in order of battle; and, placing all the trumpets in the firſt line, advanced in ſilence and good order towards the enemy. When he was within reach of them, the trumpets ſounded the charge, and made ſo terrible a noiſe, that the barbarians, who were moſt of them aſleep, had not in that ſurpriſe the courage to take up their arms, but fled, many of them half naked, in the utmoſt confuſion. The Romans purſued the fugitives, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the diſarmed multitude. We are told, that Jugurtha and Bocchus loſt more men in this ſurpriſe, than in any other action. Four days after this defeat, they again came up with the Roman army, hoping to find them once more off their guard. But Marius, who was ready to receive them, made ſuch a ſlaughter of the barbarians, that he had reaſon to believe the war near ended. The enemy's army, which had been juſt reinforced by a numerous body, under the command of Volux the ſon of Bocchus, and conſiſted of ninety thouſand men, was almoſt entirely cut off. Jugurtha on this occaſion gave uncommon proofs of his valour and conduct. At the head of his cavalry he broke through the firſt line of the Romans, and, ſhewing his bloody ſword to the legionaries, cried out in the Latin tongue, which he had learnt at the ſiege of Numantia, Marius is dead. This ſword is ſtained with his blood. Hereupon the ſecond line of the Romans began to give ground, and the Numidians, animated by the example of their king, renewed the charge with more fury than ever. But, in the mean time, Sylla, having routed the numberleſs forces of Bocchus and Volux, arrived very ſeaſonably at the head of the cavalry, revived the courage of the legionaries, and falling upon the enemy's flank robbed them of a victory which they thought certain. The Numidians, in ſpight of their utmoſt efforts, were forced to fly before Sylla, who, laying hold of all opportunities to efface the prejudice entertained of his effeminacy, performed wonders. The king himſelf, who retired

Who ſurpriſes them in his turn, and puts them to flight.

The confederate kings defeated a ſecond time.

Sylla's bravery.

tired with his Numidians, narrowly escaped falling into his hands. Thus Sylla displayed for the first time his courage and intrepidity greatly to his advantage. Marius had the honour of conducting the whole action with the prudence of a great commander, and Sylla that of executing the orders of his general with uncommon valour [1].

THE labours of the campaign were succeeded by negotiations. Bocchus, who had been long inclined to peace, sent an embassy to the consul, desiring him to dispatch some persons to him, to whom he might safely communicate his thoughts. Hereupon Marius immediately appointed Sylla his quæstor and Manlius one of his lieutenants, to wait upon the king. In their first audience, Sylla endeavoured, not only to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, but to prevail upon him to deliver up the Numidian king alive into the consul's hands. But Bocchus, without taking any notice of what Sylla had said on that head, only begged leave to send an embassy, first to the consul, and then to Rome, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the Roman senate and people. This the quæstor readily granted, and then set out with his collegue Manlius for Cirtha, where Marius then was in winter quarters. They were soon followed by five embassadors, all men of great distinction, from the king of Mauritania; but, Marius being gone from Cirtha to surprise a castle at a great distance, which was said to be full of Roman deserters, the embassadors proceeded to Utica, where Sylla commanded the main body of the army in the consul's absence. Sylla received them with the highest marks of honour; and, upon the return of the consul, who failed in his attempt upon the castle, their proposals were accepted, a truce was agreed on between the Romans and Mauritanians, and two of the embassadors sent back to carry the news to the king, while the other three embarqued for Italy, with the second quæstor Cneius Octavius, who was lately come from Rome, with large sums for the payment of the troops and other expences of the war. When they arrived at Rome, they found C. Attilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio in the consulate. The latter had Narbonne Gaul, and the former Italy, for his province. Marius was continued in the command of the army in Africa in quality of proconsul, and Sylla confirmed in his office with the title of proquæstor. The senate when they heard from the embassadors

Bocchus treats with the Romans.

Sends embassadors to the consul and to Rome.

[1] Sallust. & Plut. ibid.

the requeſt of their maſter, returned them the following anſwer: The ſenate and people of Rome are not eaſily reconciled to thoſe who have dared, without any provocation, to bear arms againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the repentance of Bocchus diſarms us. Let him enjoy the truce with which Marius has favoured him, and the peace which we now grant him. But as to an alliance with Rome, it is incumbent on him firſt to deſerve it by ſome important ſervices. By this Bocchus well knew was meant his delivering up Jugurtha, and being reſolved to comply with the deſire of the ſenate, he entreated Marius to ſend Sylla to him, in order to facilitate the execution of his deſign. Sylla, ready to run all hazards in the negotiating of an affair, which would put an end to the war at once, willingly accepted of the office. Jugurtha, in the mean time, though in want of every thing, ſtill ſupported himſelf by his courage. When he heard of the treaty which the Mauritanian had juſt concluded with Rome, he ſent one Aſpar, a faithful and able miniſter, to Bocchus, not doubting, but he ſhould be able, by well-conducted negotiations and by the mediation of his ſon-in-law, to get himſelf included in the treaty, and ſave both his perſon and part of his dominions. As Aſpar arrived at the Mauritanian court before Sylla, he inſinuated himſelf ſo much into the king's affections, that he had very like to have gained him over entirely to his maſter's intereſt. A Numidian prince, named Dabar, grandſon to Maſiniſſa by a concubine and greatly attached to the Romans, being then at the court of the Mauritanian, employed all his intereſt in favour of the republic, and with much ado kept Bocchus wavering between Rome and Jugurtha.

A peace is granted him by the ſenate.

Sylla ſets out for the Mauritanian court.

SYLLA was already upon the road to Mauritania, with a pretty numerous guard of cavalry, light-armed infantry, archers, ſlingers, and a whole cohort of Peligni. After five days march he was met by Volux, the ſon of Bocchus, at the head of a thouſand choſen men. The proquæſtor received the king's ſon with all the politeneſs and addreſs that was natural to him, and marched with him the firſt day without the leaſt appearance of diſtruſt. When the ſun was down, they encamped together; and then Volux, entering in great haſte the Roman commander's pavilion, told him, that he was informed by his ſcouts, that Jugurtha was near with a body of troops far ſuperior to theirs when joined together. This, with the advice the Mauritanian gave Sylla, made the Roman ſuſpect both

both him and his father of treachery. Let us fly, ſaid the young prince, and leave our camp and men to the mercy of the enemy. I will take upon me to conduct you to a place of ſafety in the dark. The brave pro-quæſtor, ſhocked at this propoſal, replied reſolutely, Shall I fly before an enemy who has been ſo often vanquiſhed? Shall I be coward enough to abandon my men without a leader? I know the valour of my troops; and either they ſhall conquer with me, or I periſh with them. However, Volux prevailed on Sylla to decamp immediately, and purſue his march in ſilence. But Jugurtha, being informed of what had happened, got before them, and poſted himſelf on the road through which the Romans were to paſs. When the Romans, after having marched all night, obſerved early next morning Jugurtha's army encamped about two miles from them, they cried out, We are betrayed; Volux has ſold us to Jugurtha; let us kill the traytor. But Sylla, putting on an air of ſecurity, encouraged his men to behave like Romans; and then taking Volux aſide, I am fully convinced, ſaid he, that you have betrayed us; but that I may not be as wicked as yourſelf, I will ſave your life. Be gone from the camp this minute, and join the army which Jugurtha has brought againſt us. The Mauritanian, aſtoniſhed, in appearance, at theſe words, replied, I cannot think Jugurtha ſo imprudent, as to inſult an embaſſador who is under the protection of the ſon of the only friend he has in the world. His only aim in ſtopping the way into Mauritania is, to make a merit with the republic of giving Sylla a free paſſage through the midſt of his troops. You will ſee him embrace with pleaſure the opportunity that now offers of making his court to you. Let us go together, without any troops; he will let us paſs unmoleſted. Sylla thought this a dangerous experiment; but nevertheleſs reſolved to run the hazard of it; and accordingly, followed only by his attendants as embaſſador, he paſſed through Jugurtha's army without moleſtation. The Numidian, by thus ſuffering Sylla to paſs unmoleſted, hoped to gain his friendſhip, and by that means be included in the peace. But be that as it will, Sylla from this extraordinary piece of good fortune was ever after called The Fortunate. After he had thus happily eſcaped the hands of Jugurtha, he proceeded with Volux to the court of Bocchus, where he was received in the moſt reſpectful manner. The king, who was ſtill wavering between Rome and Numidia, gave audience to Sylla, and Aſpar the king of Numidia's

Is met by Jugurtha.

Jugurtha ſuffers Sylla to paſs through his army.

His negotiations with Bocchus.

agent, at the ſame time. The former delivered his meſſage with all the pride of a Roman, in theſe words; I only come to know whether you will have war or peace. Take your choice, that I may be gone. This ſtopped the mouth of the Numidian embaſſador; and Bocchus made only this ſhort reply; I am not yet determined. I will take ten days to conſider of it, and then declare my reſolution. Bocchus was inclined to favour Jugurtha; but, on the other hand, he dreaded the power of the Romans; and therefore made it his buſineſs to deceive both embaſſadors. However, he ſeemed to pay moſt deference to Sylla, with whom he had, the night following, a private conference in his own apartment; when he declared, that his arms, auxiliaries, money, and in ſhort the whole power of his kingdom were entirely at the diſpoſal of the ſenate and people of Rome. I give up, ſaid he, Jugurtha to your reſentments, and am determined to lend no further aſſiſtance to a prince who has incurred your diſpleaſure. What more can you deſire? Sylla, on the other hand, juſtified the proceedings of Rome againſt Jugurtha, magnified the favour ſhewn to the Mauritanian by the peace, and then, with regard to the moſt material part of his commiſſion, went on thus: The moſt powerful kings cannot obtain an alliance with Rome, but by ſome very extraordinary piece of ſervice. Seize then the opportunity which fortune offers you. It is now in your power to ſeize and deliver up Jugurtha to us. Your ſacrificing that perfidious uſurper will procure you the friendſhip of our republic, and eſtabliſh you on the throne of your anceſtors for ever. Nor is this all: the beſt part of Numidia will be the reward of your bringing to puniſhment a wicked, ungrateful, and treacherous wretch, whoſe hands are yet ſtained with the innocent blood of his brothers. Aſſiſt Rome then in executing the vengeance of the gods: deliver up Jugurtha into my hands before my departure, and depend on the perpetual protection and friendſhip of the Romans. Bocchus, pretending to be ſurpriſed at the propoſal, cried out, What! betray a father-in law, a neighbouring king, a friend, an ally! What will all Africa think of ſuch a black treachery? But Sylla, who was very eloquent, by preſſing and urging in the ſtrongeſt terms, that nothing elſe could procure him the friendſhip of Rome, obtained at length an expreſs promiſe from him to deliver up the king of Numidia into his hands. The expedient they agreed on to enſnare him was, to give him ſome hopes of being included in the treaty of peace

Bocchus promiſes to deliver up Jugurtha to Sylla.

with

with Rome, and by that bait draw him to the court of the Mauritanian king. Accordingly, the next morning Bocchus sent for Aspar, and, with an unusual air of gaiety, told him, that the Roman embassador seemed inclined to include his master in the treaty of peace. Inform him therefore, said he, that the critical time for putting an end to so destructive a war is come, and advise him to hasten hither, and finish the negotiation in person. With this good news Aspar immediately set out for Jugurtha's camp, and in eight days returned to Bocchus's court with this answer; that his master was very desirous of putting an end to so troublesome a war; but that, as the senate often disannulled the treaties concluded with their consuls, no wise man would enter into negotiations with them, unless he had some security for the performance of the articles; that in the present case he saw that nothing could secure to him the peace which Marius was negotiating, except the delivering up of the proconsul's embassador into his hands; that if he were detained, this would be a powerful motive for the senate to confirm a treaty, which they could not break but by sacrificing so illustrious a patrician. The Mauritanian was so struck with this proposal, that he immediately came into it; so that he had now basely engaged to deliver up the Roman to the Numidian, and the Numidian to the Roman. As he had solemnly given his word to both embassadors, they both equally expressed their satisfaction. There was no distrust or jealousy between them; each depended on the promise made him, and looked on his rival as ensnared and sacrificed by the treacherous king. As for Bocchus himself, he still continued wavering; his heart was with Jugurtha; but his interest inclined him to favour Sylla. In short, he did not determine which of the two he should betray to the other, till the very night before the appointed conference between himself, Sylla, and Jugurtha. For the latter, depending upon the promise of his son-in-law, had left his army, and was already encamped with a small body of chosen troops within reach of the court. When Bocchus received advice of the approach of Jugurtha, he fell into greater perplexity than ever; he could not prevail upon himself to betray Jugurtha, his relation, his friend, and his ally; and, on the other hand, he war afraid to seize Sylla, and by that piece of treachery draw upon himself and his posterity the vengeance of the powerful republic. He passed the night in great anxiety, and was observed to walk to and fro in his apartment with

The double treachery of Bocchus.

unusual

unuſual agitations of body, to change colour often, and to fall into deep reflections. After having ſpent ſome hours in private, he at length came to a final determination; and having ſent for Sylla, entered into meaſures with him for drawing Jugurtha into the ſnare. A very high wall was appointed for the place of the conference; and thither Bocchus, by the advice of Sylla, ſent ſome troops before day-break, with orders to conceal themſelves among the neighbouring rocks, and inveſt the hill as ſoon as Jugurtha ſhould appear upon it. This done Bocchus and Sylla, upon advice that the king of Numidia was drawing near, ſet out together to met him. After the firſt civilities, the two kings and the Roman embaſſador proceeded towards the hill. Jugurtha was ſo fully perſuaded, that his father-in-law was going to deliver the illuſtrious Roman into his hands, that he took no other guard with him but ſome few friends. As ſoon as they arrived at the top of the hill, the Mauritanians came out of their ambuſh; but this ſight did not in the leaſt affect the king of Numidia, tho' naturally very ſuſpicious. He believed they were coming to ſeize Sylla, and therefore expreſſed great joy in ſeeing himſelf, as he imagined, at length ſure of his prey. Nor was he undeceived, till the detachment, falling upon his attendants, cut them in pieces, and then ſurrounded and ſeized him. He ſcarce believed his own eyes, till he was delivered into the Roman embaſſador's hands, who loaded him with chains, and ſet out with him, under a ſtrong guard, for Cirtha, which Marius had choſen for the uſual place of his reſidence. When Sylla entered that city with the captive king, the Roman army received him with loud ſhouts, and ſuch demonſtrations of joy and marks of eſteem, as cannot eaſily be deſcribed. They looked upon him as the chief conqueror of Numidia; and this raiſed the envy of his general, who could not help ſhewing his diſpleaſure at the praiſes, which the ſoldiers ſo liberally beſtowed on the pro-quæſtor. He burnt with envy in ſeeing his ſubaltern thus honoured by the ſoldiery, and in a manner preferred to himſelf. And indeed it was but juſt, that Marius ſhould have the mortification of ſeeing the glory of the campaign divided between a ſubaltern and himſelf. He had ſupplanted his predeceſſor Metellus by ſecret artifices and public calumnies; and providence now raiſed up one to avenge his quarrel. From this ſmall beginning the famous wars between Marius and Sylla took their riſe, and did not end, as their mutual jealouſy daily encreaſed, but with the deſtruction

Jugurtha delivered up to Sylla. Year after the Flood, 2898. Before Chriſt, 101. Of Rome, 674.

ſtruction of the republic [m]. Never was there more univerſal joy in Rome, than at the ſight of the illuſtrious captive whom Marius had ſent them from Africa. By the taking of Jugurtha the war in Numidia was at an end, and that great kingdom entirely reduced. As for the captive king, he was kept in cloſe confinement, to grace the triumph of the proconſul, when he ſhould return from Africa.

Cæpio recovers Toulouſe from the Cimbri;

DURING theſe tranſactions in Numidia, the conſul Q. Servilius Cæpio, to whoſe lot Tranſalpine Gaul had fallen, as we have obſerved above, recovered the city of Toloſa, now Toulouſe, the capital of the Tectoſages, from the Cimbri; but ſtained the glory which this conqueſt deſerved, by his avarice and rapines. For he gave the city up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, tho' the inhabitants themſelves had delivered it up into his hands, and robbed the temples of thoſe immenſe ſums which the Tectoſages were ſaid to have brought thither, after having plundered the famous temple of Delphos. Thoſe writers among the antients, who are the moſt modeſt in their computations, make the ſum which Cæpio found in the temple of Apollo in Touloufe, amount to an hundred thouſand pounds weight of gold, and as many of ſilver. Some writers tell us, that the Tectoſages brought from Delphos a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds weight of gold and five millions of pounds weight of ſilver, which they lodged in the temple of Apollo. But Strabo, Pauſanias, and Polybius, aſſure us, that not one of thoſe Gauls, who were concerned in the plundering of the temple of Delphos, returned home, both gods and men having in a manner combined to extirpate that ſacrilegious race. The immenſe treaſures therefore, with which the temples of the Tectoſages were enriched, could not have been brought from Delphos; but were moſt likely, according to Strabo and Pauſanias, dug out of the ſilver and gold mines, with which the country of the Tectoſages formerly abounded. But from what part ſoever theſe treaſures were brought, it is very certain, that they were immenſely great, and that the general and his troops enriched themſelves by the ſacrilege, without ſuffering the republic to reap any advantage by it. The conſul pretended to ſet apart a conſiderable ſhare for the public treaſury, and ſent it away under a ſmall guard to Marſeilles; but at the ſame time he placed a numerous body on the road, who ſeized it, and privately conveyed it to him.

And plunders the temples there.

The avarice of Cæpio.

However,

[m] Salluſt. bell. Jugurth. Plut. in Mario & Sylla.

However, as he had retaken Toulouſe from the Cimbri, he was continued in the government of Narbonne Gaul with the title of proconſul [n]. During the preſent conſulate, two great men were born, who will furniſh us with ample matter for the ſequel of this hiſtory, viz. The great Pompey at Rome, and the celebrated Cicero in the territory of Arpinum, a city of the Volſci.

THE following year, P. Rutilius Rufus and Cn. Mallius Maximus were advanced to the conſulate; the former a patrician of known abilities and unſpotted reputation; the latter a man of no birth or talents. Nevertheleſs it fell to the lot of Mallius to carry on the war with the Cimbri in Tranſalpine Gaul, at the head of a new army, while his collegue continued inactive in Italy. As for Marius, he w. continued proconſul in Numidia, where he divided the dominions of the deprived king in the following manner: That part which lay next to Mauritania, and was known by the name of Maſeſilia, was aſſigned to Bocchus, and from this time took the name of New Mauritania. Numidia, properly ſo called, was divided into three parts; one was given to Hiempſal, another to Mondreſtal, who were, without all doubt, the next heirs to Maſiniſſa; and the third, which lay next to the Roman province, the republic reſerved for herſelf, and ſubjected it to the prætor, whom ſhe annually ſent to govern the African province [o].

The dominions of Jugurtha, how divided.

IN the mean time, the conſul Mallius haſtened into Gaul to aſſiſt the proconſul Cæpio, who was not ſtrong enough to ſtop the inundation of the Gauls, who were marching from all parts to join the Cimbri, with a deſign to croſs the Alps and invade Italy. The Ambrones, the Tigurini, the Tugenes, the Urbigines, and in ſhort all the nations that inhabited the country now known by the name of Suizzerland, were in motion to join the Northern Gauls, who had already made themſelves maſters of almoſt all the country between Narbonne and the Pyrenees. Mallius ſoon after his arrival quarrelled with Cæpio. Perhaps the latter, who was far ſuperior to the conſul with regard to birth and knowledge in military affairs, did not pay him the reſpect which was due to his character. However that be, it is certain, that their diſputes were carried to ſuch a height, that the officers of the two armies, finding they could not by any means agree, adviſed them to ſeparate: A fatal advice,

Cæpio and Mallius quarrel.

[n] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Plut. Aul. Gell. l. xv. & epiſt. ad Attic.
[o] Appian. de bell. civil. Plut. in Mario.

GALLIA NARBONENSIS LUGDUNENSIS ET AQUITAINA

THE BRITISH OCEAN
THE SEA OF AQUITAN
PART of SPAIN
PART OF GERMANY
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GALLICUS SINUS
MARE LIGVSTICVM
Pyrenæan Mountains
Oblauni
Ricluna
Vnelli seu Veneli
Sandino
Arica
Cæsarea
Cosedia
Biducasses
Biducasium
Ingena
Abrincatui
Italiocanus Portus
Vorganium
Aletum
Vxantos Ins.
Gobeum promont.
Osismii
Brivates
Rhedones
Condate
Meduana
Curiosolitæ Cariosuelites
Portg
Viridana
Veneti
Dariorigum
Andes
Condivicnum
Liger Flu.
Ven. Insulæ
Insulæ
Juliobona
Caletes
Rotomagus
Seguana Flu.
Bratuspantium
Cæsaromagus
Velocasses
Bellovaci
Lexouii
Noviomagus sive Lexovium
Eburouices
Mediolanum
Aulerci Durocasses
Lutetia
Parisii
Melodunum
Dialitindum
Autricum Carnutum
Cenomani
Vindunum
Carnutes
Genabum sive Aurelianum
Vellaunodunum
Ulædus Flu.
Sarta Flu.
Turones
Juliomagus Anegavum
Cæsarodunum Turones
Liger Flu.
Bituriges
Cubi
Avarici Bituriges
Vigenna Flu.
Creuca flu.
Pictones
Limonum seu Pictavium
Argantomagus
Portus Santonum
Santone
Carantonius sive Canentelus Flu.
Ratiastum
Lemouices
Augustoritum Lemaricum
Petrocorii
Petro corii
Vesuna que et
Illa flu.
Duranius flu.
Bituriges Vibisci
Burdegala
Aginnum
Oldius flu.
Cosio
Vasates
Garumna flu.
Tarbelli
Lactoratum
Aquæ Tarbellæ
Elusates
Elusa
Auscii
Aturus flu.
Beneharnus
Tarba
Aquæ Onesiæ
Conuenæ
Pompelon
Lugdunum Convenarum
Garumna Flu.
Venerus Fanum
Ruteni
Nitiobriges Flu.
Segedunum
Veronius
Cadurci
Tarnis flu.
Olliga
Eleuthen
Toloſa
Tolosates
Beterra
Atax flu.
Narbo Martius
Bebrices
Salsule
Volcæ Tectosages
Ruscino
Illiberis
Aruerni
Augustonemetum
Gergonia
Boii
Rodumna
Liger flu.
Arar flu.
Matisco
Segusiani
Lugdunum
Vienna
Allobroges
Forum Claudii
Ictodurum
Octodurum
Veragri
Alpes Penninæ
Augusta Prætoria
Duria flu.
Graiæ
Centrones
Segusio
Segalauni
Valentia
Augusta Taurinorum
Padus flu.
Cottiæ
Ebrodunum
Vocontii
Druentia flu.
Vapincum
Lacus Tricorii
Dea
Augusta Tricastinor.
Arausio
Vasio
Cavares
Apta Julia
Cabellio
Druentia flu.
Alpes Maritimæ
Liguria Genua
Vintium
Antipolis
Vocon. Forum Julii
Salyi
Massilia
Tolo Portus
Olbia
Stoechades
Reii Apollinares
Forum Sextiæ
Aquæ Sextiæ
Matisco
Ararim
Lugdunum
Rhodanus Flu.
Genoua
Tedunum
Octodurum
Lemanus
Colonia Equestris
Vindonissa
Aquæ Helvetiæ
Tigurinum
Rauraci
Augusta Rauracorum
Argentuaria
Lingones
Andomedunum Lingonum
Antissiodorum
Mandubii
Alesia
Divionum
Vadicasses
Aedui
Bibracte
Augustodunum
Sequani
Dola
Vesontia
Dubis flu.
Arar flu.
Helvetii
Rhenus Flu.
Rhenus Bri.
Mons Brisacus
Argentoratum
Tribocci
Nemetes
Decem Pagi
Novoiomagus Nemetum
Mediomatrices Divodurum
Vangiones
Borbetomagus Vangionum
Leuci
Fullum
Mosella flu.
Mosa flu.
Virodunum
Remi
Durocortorum
Catalauni
Bibrax
Suessanum
Axona Flu.
Belgium
Meldi
Matrona flu.
Tricasses
Agendicum Senonum
Augustomagus
Senones
Latium
Sequana flu.
Icauna flu.
Liger flu.
Augustobona Tricassium
Vellaunodunum
Genabum sive Aurelianum
Turones
Ligeris flu.
Andes
Juliomagus Anegavum
Condivicnum
Liger Flu.
Ven. Insulæ
Insulæ
Pictones
Limonum seu Pictavium
Portus Santonum
Santone
Lemouices
Augustoritum Lemaricum
Petrocorii
Petro corii
Bituriges Vibisci
Burdegala
Vasates
Tarbelli
Elusates
Elusa
Auscii
Tarba
Conuenæ
Pompelon
Ruteni
Nitiobriges Flu.
Segedunum
Cadurci
Eleuthen
Toloſa
Tolosates
Volcæ Tectosages
Ruscino
Illiberis
Aruerni
Augustonemetum
Gergonia
Boii
Rodumna

vice, which brought the republic into greater danger, than had ever threatened her ſince the foundation of the city. The barbarians no ſooner ſaw the Roman forces divided, than they fell upon a ſtrong detachment of the conſular army, which was commanded by M. Aurelius Scaurus, a lieutenant-general of great diſtinction, who had been conſul three years before, cut them all to a man in pieces, and made Scaurus himſelf priſoner. Mallius, greatly intimidated at this defeat. thought proper to call Cæpio to his aſſiſtance. But the proconſul anſwered in a haughty manner, We have each our province; let the conſul take care of himſelf. However, he afterwards drew nearer the conſular army, fearing the conſul might conquer the Gauls without his aſſiſtance, and by that means have all the glory of the campaign. To prevent this, he encamped in the way where the Cimbri muſt paſs to fall on the conſular army, hoping, that he ſhould be able to withſtand the enemy with his own troops, and thereby deprive his rival of the opportunity of ſharing the honour of the victory. As for the Cimbri, when they ſaw the two generals draw near each other, they concluded, that they had made up their differences, and were in perfect union and friendſhip. They therefore ſent deputies to the conſul to propoſe a peace. As theſe deputies could not help paſſing through Cæpio's army, he ordered them to be brought before him; and finding that they were empowered to treat only with Mallius, he treated them like ſpies, and would have put them to death, had not both the legionaries and officers of his army reſtrained his fury, and even forced him to go to the conſul's camp, and confer with him about the propoſals which the enemy had ſent to the republic. But, as he went to the conſul's tent againſt his will, he oppoſed him in all things, contradicted him with great obſtinacy and rudeneſs, and inſulted him in the groſſeſt manner. This encreaſed the hatred between the two commanders; and the Gauls and Cimbri, being informed by their deputies of the miſunderſtanding between the generals, laid hold of this opportunity to give battle. The Gauls attacked Mallius's camp, and the Cimbri Cæpio's. The ſlaughter they made was exceeding great. Fourſcore thouſand men, Romans and allies, with the two ſons of the conſul, and forty thouſand ſervants and ſuttlers, periſhed on this fatal day. Of the two Roman armies only ten men eſcaped, with the two generals to carry the news of ſo dreadful a defeat to Rome. Among theſe was the famous Sertorius, who, being

Cæpio and Mallius entirely defeated by the Cimbri and Gauls.

ing yet very young, was making his firſt campaign under Cæpio. As he ſerved in the cavalry and was well mounted, he ſaved himſelf by ſwimming croſs the Rhone. The conquerors deſtroyed all the ſpoils they took, purſuant to a vow they had made before the battle. The gold and ſilver they threw into the Rhone, drowned the horſes they had taken, and put to death all the priſoners. Thus they revenged, without avarice, the injuries done to Apollo, whoſe temple the ſacrilegious and covetous Romans had plundered [p].

THE news of this misfortune filled Rome with fear and conſternation. At the ſame time advice came from Spain, that a prætorian army had been cut in pieces there by the Luſitanians. As both theſe melancholy accounts arrived on the eve of the nones of October, the ſenate ordered, that this ſhould for ever be reckoned among the unlucky days. In this general conſternation, all the ſhops in the city were ſhut up, and the citizens, laying aſide the toga, put on the military habit. They ſaw themſelves threatened with a new deluge of Cimbri and Gauls, numerous enough to over-run the whole country. Two conſular armies, which were their chief dependence, were utterly deſtroyed, and Rome in ſo imminent a danger left quite defenceleſs. The people, highly incenſed againſt Cæpio, iſſued a decree, depoſing him, and declaring him incapable of any command in the Roman armies for the future. As no Roman general, how faulty ſoever, had ſuffered ſo great a diſgrace ſince the beginning of the republic, the decree of the people did not paſs without oppoſition. The nobility and ſenate exclaimed againſt it as a novelty, and a blow which affected the whole body of the patricians, and raiſed ſuch diſturbances in the comitia, that C. Junius Norbanus, tribune of the people, was forced to drive the patricians by force out of the aſſembly. In the fray which happened on this occaſion, M. Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the ſenate, was wounded in the head with a ſtone. The nobility being driven out of the aſſembly with two of the tribunes, L. Cotta and C. Didius, who proteſted againſt the law their collegues had propoſed

[p] Plut. in Sertorio. Vaier. Anſtias apud. Liv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxvi.

propoſed, the ſacrilegious Cæpio was depoſed [q]. (I) Upon his depoſition the whole government of the republic for the reſt of the year fell to P. Rutilius Rufus, who being impowered to guard Rome againſt the misfortunes that threatened her, raiſed a new army with incredible expedition, no citizen, who was of age to take arms, being exempted. The conſul would not diſpenſe even with his own ſon, whom, though ſcarce ſeventeen, he obliged to ſerve as a common ſoldier in one of the legions. Rutilius on this occaſion firſt introduced fencing maſters into the Roman camp, whoſe buſineſs it was to teach the young ſoldiers how to handle their arms, attack the enemy, and defend themſelves. By this means the conſul, who was a ſkilful commander, prepared for his ſucceſſor an invincible army [r]. Cæpio depoſed.

In the mean time, the Cimbri and Gauls held a council of war, in which ſome were for paſſing the Alps, deſcending into the plains of Inſubria, and advancing towards Rome. Others thought it more advifable to reduce firſt the new Roman province. But before they came to any reſolution they thought it proper to bring into the council

[q] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Cic. de orat. l. ii. in Brut. & pro Balbo. [r] Liv. & Val. Max. l. ii. c. 3.

(I) Cæpio, according to ſome authors, was condemned to baniſhment; according to others, he died in priſon. His body, if we believe Valerius Maximus (4), was cut to pieces by the public executioner, and expoſed to the view of all the Roman people. He had been honoured with a triumph, with the dignity of pontifex maximus, and the title of Protector of the ſenate. But notwithſtanding his former honours and deſerts, he was treated like a common criminal on account of his having been the chief cauſe of the defeat of the Romans by the Cimbri and Teutones. Some writers even tells us, that his body was dragged to the Scalæ Gemoniæ, and there barbarouſly abuſed by the incenſed multitude. But Cicero ſays in expreſs words (5), that Servilius Cæpio, being baniſhed Rome, retired to Smyrna; whence ſome writers, in order to reconcile the antients, have imagined, that he was by the intereſt of his family and friends recalled from baniſhment; but that the tribunes, having revived the old accuſations againſt him, prevailed on the people to ſentence him to death for having ſacrificed the intereſts of his country to his avarice and ambition.

(4) Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. (5) Cic. in orat. pro Balbo.

council their priſoner Aurelius Scaurus, and aſk his opinion of their deſcent into Italy. The Roman with great conſtancy and intrepidity told them, that they were not to expect from him any advice, which could not be prejudicial to his country, but that he would give them ſuch as might be uſeful for themſelves. He then adviſed them to lay aſide all thoughts of paſſing into Italy, where they would meet with the ſame misfortunes which had formerly befallen Pyrrhus and Hannibal: Enjoy, ſaid he, the glory fortune has given you in your firſt battle. You have gained a victory by the diſagreement of two bad commanders; but when you come to engage the forces of the republic under the conduct of an experienced general, you will find them invincible. Scaurus had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when Bojorix, one of the kings or leaders of the Cimbri, thinking this too inſolent a ſpeech from the mouth of a captive, drew his ſword and ſtabbed him. In the mean time, the republic choſe new conſuls, and raiſed to that dignity C. Fulvius Fimbria and C. Marius a ſecond time. Two laws were urged againſt the promotion of the latter, one forbidding the choice of any abſent perſon, the other enacting, that no one ſhould be raiſed to the conſulate a ſecond time, till ten years after the firſt. But the people made the laws give way to the public good. This news was a very agreeable ſurpriſe to Marius, who was buſy in regulating his conqueſts in Africa, and thought of nothing leſs than his own promotion. He left Numidia without delay, and, returning to Rome about the end of December, on the firſt day of January both entered on his office and triumphed on account of his Numidian conqueſt. His triumphal chariot was preceded by the riches which he had brought from his province, conſiſting of three thouſand ſeven hundred pounds weight of gold in ingots, 5775 pounds weight of ſilver in bars, and 287000 drachmæ, or ſilver denarii, in ſpecie. But nothing ſtruck the ſpectators ſo much as as the ſight of the captive king, who with his two ſons was led in chains before the conqueror's chariot. After he had made a ſhew to the inſulting populace, he was uſed with the utmoſt inſolence by the ſoldiery after the proceſſion. They tore his ears in a barbarous manner in ſnatching away his pendants, with which inſult the unhappy prince was deeply affected. After he had been abuſed in the groſſeſt manner by the rabble, he was thrown into a dungeon, in which he ſoon periſhed. Livy, Eutropius, and Oroſius tell us, that, as ſoon

Aurelius Scaurus murdered by the Cimbri.

Marius a ſecond time conſul.

His triumph.

Death of Jugurtha.

ſoon as the ceremony of the triumph was over, he was carried back to priſon, and there ſtrangled. His two ſons ſurvived him, and ſpent their lives in captivity at Venuſium [s].

As ſoon as the victor came down from his chariot, he went to the ſenate-houſe in his triumphal robes, either by miſtake, or out of affectation. But, as the thing was new and the ſenators expreſſed their reſentments by their looks, he went out immediately, pulled off his triumphal robes, and returned in a prætexta, the uſual dreſs of conſuls. The people had already decreed, that Marius ſhould manage the war beyond the Alps, and that Sylla ſhould ſerve under him as his lieutenant-general. As for Fimbria, he was ordered to continue in Italy, to oppoſe the barbarians, in caſe they ſhould croſs the mountains. All that remained was to divide the two armies now on foot between the conſuls. Marius had his choice, and he readily preferred the new legions, which Rutilius had inſtructed, to the old troops which he had brought from Africa. So many honours heaped on a plebeian were a great mortification to the patricians, and encouraged four of the tribunes to make attempts in favour of the people, and greatly to the diſadvantage of the ſenate and nobility. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the great grandfather of the emperor Nero, Caſſius Longinus, Servilius Glaucia, and Marcius Philippus, all propoſed new laws, tending to the diminution of the power of the ſenate, and the three former ſucceeded. The firſt transferred the power of electing the pontifices from their own college to the people. The ſecond got it enacted, that every citizen, degraded by a plebiſcitum, ſhould for ever be deprived of his ſeat in the ſenate. This took away from the ſenators the power of reinſtating thoſe in their honours, whom the people had diſgraced. The third prevailed on the people to paſs a law, in virtue of which, the allies of Latium, who ſhould accuſe a ſenator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of Roman citizens. As for the tribune Marcius Philippus, he attempted to revive the law of Tiberius Gracchus concerning the diſtribution of the lands; but this was thought a ſeditious attempt, and therefore not ſeconded by the generality of the people [t].

Marius appointed to command againſt the Gauls and Cimbri.

The Domitian, Caſſian, and Servilian laws.

In

[s] Liv. epit. l. lxvii. Front. Strat. l. iv. [t] Suet. in Nerone. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5. Cic. in Verr. act. 3. in Bruto & in Balbo.

In the mean time, Marius ſet out for Tranſalpine Gaul, but finding that the enemy, after the defeat of Cæpio and Mallius, had, inſtead of paſſing the Alps, marched into Spain, being drawn thither by the hopes of booty, he applied himſelf wholly to the perfecting of his troops in diſcipline againſt their return. He taught his troops frugality by his example, and by the ſeverity that appeared in his whole deportment. There was a wildneſs and fierceneſs in his looks not to be deſcribed. The very tone of his voice was ſo rough and harſh, that whenever he gave orders, he made thoſe who received them tremble. This kept his men in exact obedience and ſubjection. In order to inure them to the dangers of battles, he ſent moſt of the young ſoldiers under the command of Sylla to make war on all the enemies of the republic, who were diſperſed from Narbonne to the Pyrenees. Sylla on this occaſion maintained the reputation he had acquired in Numidia, defeated in ſeveral battles the Tectoſages, and took one of their kings, named Copillus, priſoner of war. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, Marius, not thinking the troops he had brought from Italy ſufficient to withſtand the numberleſs multitudes of Cimbri, Teutones, and Gauls, who would fall upon him on their return from Spain, ſent for ſuccours to the moſt remote parts of the eaſt. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to whom, among others, his deputies applied, anſwered, That his dominions were quite exhauſted of men by the vaſt numbers of his ſubjects, who had been carried away and kept in ſlavery by the Roman knights, who farmed the revenues of the republic in the Levant. The ſenate had regard to this juſt complaint, and paſſed a decree, ordering all men of free condition, brought from the country of any ally, to be ſet at liberty. But this decree, however juſt, gave riſe to a new war, of which Marius was the innocent occaſion.

The occaſion of the war with the ſlaves.

Upon the firſt news of this decree, the unhappy ſlaves, without waiting for further orders, broke their chains and ſet themſelves at liberty. The firſt commotion was raiſed at Nuceria, a city of Campania on the banks of the Sarnus; but the tumult was there ſoon ſuppreſſed. A more violent ſtorm was raiſed at Capua by a young Roman knight, named Vettius. After he had ſquandered away his fortune in debauchery, he fell violently in love with a beautiful ſlave, whom he bought upon credit for ſeven Attic talents. But when the time came, that he was either to pay the price agreed on, or return the ſlave to her former

mer maſter, to avoid both, he made an inſurrection among the ſlaves, who cultivated the lands of the public in his diſtrict, making uſe of the decree of the ſenate to ſeduce thoſe unhappy wretches. He ſoon drew together four hundred of them, and his firſt exploit was to murder thoſe who had preſſed him to pay for his miſtreſs. He then led his ſmall company to the neighbouring villages and farms, which he put under contribution, being every-where joined by the ſlaves whom he ſet at liberty. When he had aſſembled about ſeven hundred of them, he poſted himſelf in an advantageous ſituation, got himſelf proclaimed king by his followers, who in a ſhort time amounted to three thouſand five hundred, and fortified himſelf in his poſt, which he made an aſylum for all fugitive ſlaves. The ſenate, upon the firſt news of this inſurrection, diſpatched Lucius Lucullus the prætor againſt him, who, taking four thouſand ſix hundred regular troops with him, attacked Vettius, but was repulſed with great loſs. The prætor, finding he could not prevail by force, had recourſe to artifice, gained over one Apollonius, who was general under Vettius, and by his means made himſelf maſter of the place, which the rebels had fortified. But Vettius, ſeeing himſelf betrayed, eſcaped the puniſhment due to his crime, by laying violent hands on himſelf. But this was only a prelude to a more important war in Sicily, which was at this time governed by a prætor, named Licinius Nerva, a weak and timorous man. He at firſt obeyed the decree of the ſenate, ſet at liberty four hundred of thoſe unfortunate men, and ordered all, who had any remonſtrances to make concerning their ſlavery, to repair to him at Syracuſe. The number of theſe poor wretches was much greater than he imagined. He found, that the publicans had, under various pretences, reduced many thouſand freemen to ſlavery, eſpecially in the eaſt, and ſent them into Sicily to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the public. The prætor, quite ſurpriſed at ſuch villainous proceedings, reſolved to ſet all thoſe at liberty who were of free condition, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate. This alarmed the publicans, who thereupon had recourſe to the prætor, and by rich preſents prevailed upon him to ſuſpend the execution of the decree, and to turn his compaſſion into cruelty. Being corrupted by the Roman knights, he began to look upon this multitude of people, who had been carried away by force from their reſpective countries, only as a troubleſome mob, and ſent them

The ſlaves riſe at Capua.

Vettius their leader betrayed.

back to their masters. But they, instead of returning home, retired to a sacred grove, and there took a resolution of recovering by force the liberty which had been unjustly refused them. They then seized a castle in the neighbourhood, and laid the adjacent country under contribution. The prætor marched against them; but, being too weak to attack them, he prevailed on one of their leaders, named Caius Titinius, to deliver up the castle to him, which he entered in the night. The slaves, though thus surprised, made a vigorous resistance, and perished all to a man, either by the swords of the Romans, or by throwing themselves down from the top of the walls. Licinius having suppressed this first commotion, instead of keeping the field, disbanded his troops, which gave the slaves an opportunity of rising again. They assembled in a few days to the number of six thousand, and, thinking it dangerous for so great a multitude to continue together without a head, they chose one Salvius a flute-player, for their general, and gave him the title of king. Salvius immediately divided his people into three parties, which he sent out under three leaders to pillage the country, and bring all the slaves they could find to his camp. These expeditions succeeded beyond his expectation; for his parties brought him so many men and horses, that he was soon in a condition to form a numerous army, consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. He then laid siege to Morgantia, a strong city on the banks of the Simæthus. But while Salvius's troops were engaged before that place, the prætor Licinius, with an army of ten thousand men, partly Italians and partly Sicilians, surprised their camp, which he found almost deserted, and seized the booty which they had brought from the neighbouring farms and villages. From thence the prætor before day-break advanced to the besieged city, and attacked the enemy in the dark, slew great numbers of them and dispersed the rest. But before sun-rising, the new king, having rallied his troops, returned the surprise upon the Romans, who, thinking themselves victorious, were no ways upon their guard, attacked them with great vigor, and having defeated the prætor in his turn, killed six hundred of his men, and took four thousand of them prisoners[u].

An insurrection among the slaves in Sicily;

Who chose one Salvius for their king;

And defeat the Roman prætor.

THIS victory encouraged Salvius to renew the siege of Morgantia with more vigor than ever. The slaves of the place,

[u] Flor. l. iii. c. 19. Diodor. Sicul. Eclog. l. l. xxxvi.

place, upon their maſters promiſing them their liberty, if they repulſed or tired out the aggreſſors, performed exploits which could hardly be expected from men of their condition; inſomuch, that Salvius was at length obliged to raiſe the ſiege. But the Morgantines, at the inſtigation of the baſe prætor, refuſed to grant the deliverers of their country the liberty they had promiſed them; which ſo incenſed theſe brave men, that they abandoned their maſters, whom they had defended with ſo much gallantry, and went over to the enemy. Thus the evil daily encreaſed, and the contagion ſpread through all parts of Sicily. A ſlave, born in Cilicia, and named Athenio, made a freſh inſurrection among his fellows in the neighbourhood of Egeſta and Lilybæum, and, having killed his maſter, put himſelf at the head of the two hundred ſlaves he had in his ſervice; and, his party being ſoon encreaſed to the number of ten thouſand, he had the confidence to lay ſiege to Lilybæum, at that time by far the ſtrongeſt place in the iſland. After he had ſpent much time in this fruitleſs attempt, he pretended to be adviſed by the gods to abandon the enterpriſe, crying out, as in a ſudden tranſport, Let us, my friends, be gone this inſtant from a place where a melancholy fate is preparing for us. If we perſiſt in this attempt, we ſhall be undone. Let us then make our advantage of the knowledge that is given me from heaven. While his army was decamping, a fleet arrived from Mauritania, ſent by Bocchus to the aſſiſtance of the Romans, under the command of one Gomon, who, entering the port of Lilybæum, landed his troops, and fell upon the rear of Athenio's army. The head of the rebels had, without all doubt, been informed of the approach of this fleet; but his ſoldiers looked upon him ever after as a man highly favoured by the gods. On the other hand, Salvius, finding his army to be thirty thouſand ſtrong, reſolved to make Triocala the capital of his new dominions, and accordingly built a citadel there on the ruins of an old demoliſhed caſtle, raiſed himſelf a fine palace, ſurrounded the place with a wide ditch, and even ſettled a kind of polity in his city, chuſing himſelf a council, conſiſting of his friends and the moſt prudent of his ſubjects. When he had ſettled all things in his new colony, he invited Athenio to come and partake of the pleaſures of the place, and to deliberate about the proper meaſures for promoting their common intereſt. Athenio accepted of the invitation, and came attended with only three thouſand of his men.

A freſh inſurrection raiſed by Athenio.

Salvius fixes his habitation at Triocala.

Seizes Athenio.

But he no ſooner entered Triocala, than Salvius cauſed him to be ſeized, and clapped up in his new caſtle. Such were the beginnings of this war, which coſt the Romans a great deal of blood [x]. But to return to Marius.

WHILE he was waiting for the return of the Cimbri to Narbonne Gaul, he kept an exact diſcipline in his camp, and puniſhed vice with the utmoſt ſeverity. From the following inſtance we may judge of the abhorrence he had for the moſt infamous of all debaucheries, which licentiouſneſs too often introduced into the Roman armies. His nephew Caius Lucius, having made a ſcandalous attempt upon a young ſoldier, by name Trebonius, was killed by him. As he was a military tribune, his death made a great noiſe. But the conſul, though much affected with the death of his nephew, not only acquitted Trebonius, whom ſome vile flatterers warmly accuſed, but rewarded him for his courage, putting with his own hands one of thoſe crowns on his head, which generals only beſtowed on ſoldiers who had ſignalized themſelves by ſome valiant action. The applauſes the army gave Marius on this occaſion ſoon reached Rome, and greatly contributed towards continuing him in the conſulate, and in the command of the army in Tranſalpine Gaul. Though abſent, he was, without oppoſition, proclaimed conſul a third time. Even his moſt inveterate enemies, Craſſus Metellus and Marcus Scaurus, approved of his election, ſacrificing their private reſentments to the public welfare. The collegue the republic gave Marius was L. Aurelius Oreſtes, who continued ſome time at Rome, where he was employed in trying T. Albucius, prætor of Sardinia, whom the people condemned to baniſhment, for vainly decreeing himſelf a triumph in his province, without the conſent either of the ſenate or people, though he had done nothing that deſerved it [y]. During theſe tranſactions at Rome, Marcus Fulvius, the prætor in Spain, gained great reputation by his conduct againſt the Cimbri. Though he had but one legion under his command, he found means to harraſs thoſe barbarians in ſuch a manner, as made them leave Spain and return to Gaul. But, before their arrival, a ſwarm of Marſi appeared there, with a deſign to join the Teutones, and enter Italy with them. The Marſi were natives of Germany, and inhabited the banks of the Luppia, or, as Strabo calls it, the Luppias.

The equity of Marius, in his nephew's cauſe.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [y] Jul. Obſeq. c. 103. Cic. de provinc. conſular.

Luppias. This river riſes at Lipſprink, a village of Weſtphalia, and falls into the Rhine after having watered the dutchy of Cleves. Marius detached Sylla to oppoſe this new inundation of barbarians; and he choſe rather to make uſe of perſuaſion than force; he deſired a conference with their leaders, in which he prevailed on them to change their reſolution, and come over to the Romans. From this time we find no farther mention made of Sylla in the army of Marius, but in that of the collegue the republic gave him the next year. Perhaps Marius was glad to get rid of a ſubaltern, who began to eclipſe the glory of his general. Towards the end of the preſent year, the conſul Aurelius Oreſtes died in his camp, at the foot of the Alps on the ſide of Italy; ſo that the republic was obliged to recal Marius to preſide at the new elections. He left the command of his army to Manius Aquilius, and returned with joy to Rome, where he acted a part very ſuitable to his ambition. The point he had in view was, to get himſelf nominated conſul for the next year. But this was a tender point, and might give offence to the people, it being a thing unheard-of, that the ſame perſon ſhould ſo often be choſen conſul ſucceſſively. He therefore publicly declared, that he would not even ſuffer his name to be entered among thoſe of the candidates. But, at the ſame time, Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, one of the tribunes and his creature, being in the ſecret with him, acted a very different part. He in all his harangues exhorted the people to force Marius to accept of the conſulate. But the more preſſing the people were with him, the more determined he pretended to be not to comply with their requeſt. The tribune in one of his ſpeeches even called him knave and traytor, for reſiſting the will of the people, and refuſing to ſerve his country when threatened with great danger. In ſhort, the game was ſo artfully played, that the people nominated Marius conſul the fourth time, and forced him, much againſt his will, as they imagined, to accept of the dignity. The nobility indeed laughed at his ſham modeſty, and ſaw through the diſguiſe, but thought his aſſiſtance neceſſary, at a time when the ſtate was in the utmoſt danger; and therefore did not oppoſe his election. The collegue given him was Q. Lutatius Catulus (K), a man greatly eſteemed both by the ſenate and people [z].

The Marſi gained over by Sylla.

Marius again conſul.

[z] Plut. in Mario. Cic. in Bruto. & pro Sextio.

(K) Cicero, in different places of his works, gives us the character

ALL Gaul was in motion, and the ſeaſon and approach of the enemy made the conſuls haſten to their poſts. The two conſuls ſet out from Rome at the ſame time, leaving the city in great conſternation, on account of the new troubles both abroad and at home. Abroad, the Thracians had raiſed great diſturbances in Macedon ever ſince the laſt year. The rebellious ſlaves laid waſte Sicily, and reduced Rome to great ſtreights for want of corn. The Cilician pirates infeſted the Mediterranean, and contributed as much to the famine which afflicted Rome, as the devaſtations in Sicily. Againſt the pirates was ſent a man, who ſeemed moſt nearly concerned to deſtroy them, viz. the famous orator M. Antonius, whoſe daughter they had carried into captivity. He ſoon cleared the ſeas of thoſe robbers, and on that account was honoured with a triumph [a]. At home, new diſturbances were raiſed by Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, who endeavoured to promote one Lucius Equitius Firmanus to the tribunate. He was a freed-man, and his parents, nay even his tribe, were utterly unknown. But Apuleius knew him to be a bold, active, and intrigueing man, an inveterate enemy to the nobility, and therefore a proper tool to be employed againſt the

The Cilician pirates deſtroyed by M. Antonius.

[a] Vell. Patercul. l. iii. Flor. l. iii. Liv. epit. l. lviii. Tacit. Annual. 12. Cic. de orat. l. i.

racter of Quintus Lutatius Catulus. His good nature, ſays he, and his polite behaviour prejudiced all men in his favour. His eloquence, his agreeable manner of ſpeaking, and the purity of his expreſſions gained him the hearts of his hearers. He was an orator, an hiſtorian, and a poet. He wrote hiſtorical memoirs of his conſulate after the manner of Xenophon, whom he took for his model. He employed his leiſure hours in poetical performances; but, according to Ovid and Pliny the younger, the levity of his muſe did not become the gravity of his character. Aulus Gellius has preſerved one of his epigrams on a child named Theotimus, which he produces as a maſter-piece of elegance and politeneſs (5). Cicero quotes another wrote by Catulus on young Roſcius (6), whoſe beauty he greatly extols, though the youth ſquinted, as Cicero obſerves. Tho' Catulus was much beloved by the people, and highly eſteemed by all ranks of men, yet he had the mortification to be twice diſappointed of the conſulate, and to ſee men of no merit preferred to him (7).

(5) Vide Aul. Gell. Nect. Atticæ, l. xix. (6) Cic. de nat. deor. l. i. (7) Cic. in Bruto.

the patricians. As the ſeditious tribune was well appriſed, that the birth of Equitius would be the greateſt obſtacle to his advancement, he made him take the name of Gracchus, and preſented him to the people as the ſon of Tiberius Gracchus. But Q. Cæcilius Metellus, ſurnamed Numidicus, being at this time one of the cenſors, diſcovered the cheat, and refuſed even to inroll Equitius among the Roman citizens. His refuſal had like to have coſt him dear; for he very narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned by the populace, at the inſtigation of Apuleius.

Diſturbances raiſed by the tribune Apuleius.

In the mean time, Marius was waiting for the Cimbri in Tranſalpine Gaul. But they appeared there no more, having in a great council of war reſolved to enter Italy by two different ways, the Cimbri over the eaſtern, and the Teutones, Ambrones, and other Gauliſh and Helvetian nations over the weſtern, Alps. Marius therefore marched to oppoſe the latter, and poſted himſelf near the place where the preſent city of Arles ſtands. As the mouth of the Rhone was ſtopped up with heaps of ſand and mud, which the waves continually lodged there, Marius, to ſupply his army with proviſions brought up the river, undertook a great and laborious work, which from him was called Foſſa Mariana. He dug a large canal, into which he turned the waters of the Rhone, and thereby opened a new communication between his camp and the ſea. Through this canal the largeſt tranſports could paſs; by which means he ſupplied his army with plenty of proviſions; and, being encamped between the two arms of the river and the ſea, had no reaſon to fear the attacks of the enemy. Some writers pretend, that the name of Camargue, which the neighbouring diſtrict bears, is a corruption of Caſtra Marii, that is, the camp of Marius. Be that as it will, Marius had ſcarce finiſhed his works, when the barbarians appeared, covering with their innumerable multitudes a vaſt tract of land. They advanced to his trenches, but finding they could not force them, they made frightful ſhouts, and challenged the Romans to come out and fight them, but Marius was not in haſte to venture a battle, there being ſomething inexpreſſibly fierce in the looks of thoſe barbarians, which ſtruck the Romans with terror. The conſul therefore, that their countenances, out-cries, and the clatter of their arms might become the leſs terrible by being familiar to his men, ordered his troops to mount the ramparts, as often as the barbarians appeared. He likewiſe ſent out detachments, under the conduct of brave and experienced officers, to lay

Foſſa Mariana.

waſte

waſte the country, and by that means diſtreſs the numberleſs barbarians for want of proviſions. The more the ſcarcity encreaſed, the more earneſt they were to come to a deciſive battle, inſulting the Romans in their camp. But their inſults only affected the common ſoldiers, whoſe ardor Marius reſtrained, telling them, that all raſhneſs was to be laid aſide, and no hazards to be run upon any account whatſoever. But this ſerved only to make the legionaries more impatient to come to a battle with the barbarians, whom they now began to deſpiſe, obſerving to one another, that ſhouts and outcries do no execution, that ghaſtly looks and a ſavage mein can only frighten cowards, and that well-diſciplined troops will always have the advantage over a diſorderly and ill-conducted multitude. Theſe ſentiments gave the conſul great pleaſure; but, being reſolved to hazard nothing, when all other means failed him, he had recourſe to ſuperſtition to keep his ſoldiers in a more ready obedience. His wife Julia, who was of the family of the Cæſars, had ſent him a woman from Rome, by name Martha, whoſe ſkill in predictions, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had experienced. The conſul received and treated her with the moſt profound reſpect, as if ſhe had been entruſted with the ſecrets of fate. But, in reality, ſhe was rather an interpreter of the will of Marius, than of the gods; he informed her of his deſigns, and the pretended propheteſs never failed to approve of the meaſures which the conſul had before reſolved on. Having conſulted her, whether he ſhould humour his ſoldiers and engage the enemy, Martha anſwered, that in the preſent circumſtances an engagement would prove fatal to the republic. This anſwer quieted the troops, and kept them in an entire ſubjection to their general. As the Teutones were continually hovering about the camp and inſulting the Romans, one of them, a man of gigantic ſize, advancing one day to the foot of the rampart, challenged the conſul himſelf to a ſingle combat. But Marius, without regarding his bravadoes, anſwered, if the German is in haſte to die, let him go and hang himſelf. At length the Teutones, quite tired out with Marius's delays, reſolved to attack the Roman camp, but not ſucceeding in the attempt, they decamped at length, with a deſign to force a paſſage over the Alps ſome other way. We are told, that they were ſix whole days, without intermiſſion, in paſſing by the Roman camp. In their march they cried out to the Romans upon the ramparts, If you have any meſſage to your wives, we will ſoon

Marius reſtrains the ardor of his ſoldiers.

The Teutones decamp.

ſoon deliver them at Rome. Marius, being forced to decamp likewiſe, followed the barbarians into the inner parts of the Roman province, and came up with them near Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix. There the conſul thought it adviſeable to fortify a camp, that, at all events, he might be ſure of a retreat. But while his troops were employed in this work, the ſervants of the army, who were gone in crouds to fetch water from the Cenus, now the Arque, were attacked by a body of Teutones, who guarded that river. As the ſervants made a great outcry, ſome of the legionaries ran to their aſſiſtance. Hereupon the whole army of the enemy took arms, which obliged Marius to draw up his troops in battalia. The legions halted at ſome diſtance from the river, while the Ligurians advanced to begin the action. The Ambrones, to the number of thirty thouſand, faced the Ligurians in good order, and briſkly marched up againſt them, beating time on their bucklers, and crying out Ambrones! Ambrones! probably to encourage each other, or to intimidate the Romans, by a name which the defeat of Cæpio and Mallius had made formidable; for to the Ambrones chiefly was owing the total overthrow of thoſe two generals. The Ligurians were put to the rout at the firſt onſet. But when the legions came to engage, the face of affairs was changed. The undiſciplined multitude of barbarians, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of regular troops, were repulſed in their turn, and driven to the banks of the river, where the Romans made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. The river was ſtained with their blood, and only a ſmall number of them gained the oppoſite bank, whence they fled, being cloſely purſued by the victorious legions, to a kind of fortification, which they had made with their carts. Their wives, who had ſtaid there during the engagement, ſeeing their huſbands flying and the Romans at their heels, armed themſelves with axes, and, gnaſhing their teeth, fell with great ſhrieks on the purſued and purſuers without diſtinction. Without any regard to their own defence, they threw themſelves upon the combatants, ſeized their ſwords, and endeavoured to ſnatch away their bucklers. But when their firſt rage was ſpent, they deſired to capitulate upon this ſingle condition, that their honour ſhould be preſerved. When this condition was denied, thoſe unfortunate women, being reduced to deſpair, firſt killed their children, and then themſelves, not one remaining alive out of ſo great

A battle between the Romans and Ambrones.

The Ambrones defeated.

great a multitude. So remarkable was the love of chaſtity, which remained among thoſe whom the Romans called barbarians, after it was extinguiſhed at Rome [b].

HOWEVER, this victory was far from being complete. The Ambrones indeed were defeated; but the Teutones, who were encamped at ſome diſtance from the river, ſtill remained. They did not ſtir all that night nor the next day; ſo that the Romans had time to fortify themſelves on the eminence which their general had firſt choſen. The third day after the battle, Teutobocchus, or, as others call him, Teutobodus, general of the Teutonic army, drew up his troops in the plain. On the other hand, Marius, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to go down the hill, attack the barbarians briſkly, and by a feigned flight draw them towards the eminence. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The Teutones, impatient to come to an engagement, advanced in good order to the foot of the hill, and, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, attacked the Romans with intrepidity. They ſtood the ſhowers of darts which the enemy diſcharged upon them, and, tho' forced to climb, cloſed with the legionaries in ſpite of all oppoſition, and fell upon them ſword in hand. The Romans, who were poſted on the declivity of the hill, by only puſhing the aggreſſors back with their bucklers, often tumbled them over one another. Beſides the ſun ſhone with great ſtrength, and full in their faces. But, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, they kept the victory doubtful till noon. The night before the battle Marius had detached Claudius Marcellus with a body of infantry, and given him, inſtead of cavalry, the ſervants of the army, mounted, without ſaddles, on all the beaſts of burden he could find. They were ordered to lie in ambuſh in the hollow road behind the enemies camp, and to fall upon them in the heat of the action. Though the detachment was ſmall, yet the great number of ſervants, thus oddly mounted, gave it the appearance of a great army. The Teutones, who had hitherto behaved with great intrepidity, no ſooner ſaw this detachment advancing to attack them in the rear, than, their courage and ſtrength failing them at once, they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. The Romans, who in a manner ſurrounded them, made a dreadful ſtaughter of the fugitives,

The Teutones attack the Romans.

[b] Plut. in Mario. Front. ſtrat. l. iv. c. 7. & l. v. c. 11. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 1. Oroſ. l. v. c. 15.

tives, took their camp and plundered it. Teutobocchus was, according to ſome, made priſoner; according to others, killed in the battle (L). As to the numbers of the ſlain and the priſoners in the two battles, they amounted, according to ſome writers, to two hundred and ninety thouſand; according to the loweſt calculations an hundred thouſand were killed on the ſpot. The dead were ſo numerous, as ſome writers tell us, that the inhabitants made fences for their vineyards with their bones; they add, that the field of battle was ſo enriched by the bodies buried there, that the Marſeilleſe, to whom it belonged, had the next year a much more plentiful crop from it than uſual [c].

The Teutones defeated with great ſlaughter. Year after the Flood, 2902. Before Chriſt, 97. Of Rome 651.

WITH the joyful news of this victory, Marius diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome; where the people were ſo tranſported with it, that, in gratitude, they advanced him to the conſulate the fifth time. While the people of Rome were heaping honours on their deliverer, the ſoldiers in the camp offered him all the booty. But he generouſly reſerved only what might grace his triumph, and dedicated the reſt to the gods. All the combuſtible things were gathered together in one pile, to which the conſul himſelf, with great ſolemnity, ſet fire. In the mean time, meſſengers arrived from Rome, with the congratulations of the people and the news of his fifth election, preſenting him at the ſame time with a decree of the ſenate, which gave him leave to triumph. Marius accepted theſe new honours with gratitude, and without betraying any extraordinary joy, I accept the conſulate, ſaid he, as a new obligation upon me to con-

Marius choſen conſul the fifth time.

quer

[c] Vell. Patercul. Oroſ. Eutrop. Liv. ibid. Flor. l. iii. Auth. de vir illuſtr. Plut. in Mario.

(L) Honorius Bouche in his hiſtory of Provence tells us, that near the village of Tretz was found a ſtone which preſerved the name of Teutobocchus; whence that writer infers, that he was killed in the battle, and buried near the above-mentioned village. M. de Peireſc ſpeaks of a brick ſepulchre diſcovered in 1613 near the conflux of the Rhone and the Iſere. It was thirty foot long, twelve broad, and eight high, with this inſcription on a large ſtone; Teutobocchus Rex. But Florus tells us in expreſs terms, that Teutobocchus was taken priſoner, and by Marius carried to Rome, where he graced the victor's triumph. That author adds, that his head reached above the trophies, which were carried before the triumphal chariot (8).

(8) Flor. l. iii.

quer the Cimbri, as I have the Teutones. As for a triumph, I deſire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete. The pomp of a triumph will be very unſeaſonable, ſo long as there ſhall remain any barbarians in the neighbourhood of Italy. The collegue given Marius was Manius Aquilius, of whom hereafter. As for Catulus, he was continued in the command of the army with the title of proconſul. This new year was begun with acts of religion, which the people thought the more neceſſary, becauſe two enormous crimes were now committed, which had never been heard off ſince the foundation of the city. An unnatural ſon, by name Publicius Malleolus, killed his mother; a crime for which the Roman legiſlators had appointed no puniſhment, not preſuming it poſſible for a man to be guilty of ſo enormous a villainy; a new puniſhment was therefore allotted for this new crime. The parricide was ſewn up in a leathern ſack, and with a thouſand execrations thrown into the Tiber. The other crime was that of mutilation. A ſlave mutilated himſelf in imitation of the prieſts of Cybele. But the ſenate, apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſo dangerous a deluſion, baniſhed the eunuch for ever from Rome [d].

Parricide and mutilation puniſhed at Rome.

The Cimbri enter Italy.

In the mean time, Catulus, not being able to withſtand the numberleſs multitudes of the Cimbri, by the advice of Sylla, who ſerved under him in quality of his lieutenant-general, retired before the barbarians, and pitched two camps on the oppoſite banks of the Atheſis, now the Adige, intending there to make a ſtand againſt them. The Cimbri entered Italy, and advancing to the Atheſis, with a deſign to attack the Romans, attempted firſt to ford that river; but finding it not fordable, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw huge ſtones into it, hoping by that means ſo to fill it up as to make it paſſable. The terrible appearance of the numberleſs multitudes of the barbarians ſtruck the Romans with ſuch a panic, that it was not in the power of Catulus to hinder thoſe in his larger camp from flying ſhamefully before the enemy. Some of the Roman knights rid full ſpeed to Rome, leaving their general and fellow-ſoldiers to the mercy of the enemy. Among theſe was the ſon of Scaurus, prince of the ſenate; but, as ſoon as his father was informed of his cowardly deſertion, he ſent him orders never

And ſtrike the Romans with a panic.

[d] Jul. Obſeq. c. 100. Diodor. Sicul. ecl. l. xxxvi.

never to appear again in his preſence. Hereupon the young Roman, who had been afraid of dying honourably in the field of battle, fell ingloriouſly by his own hand. In the mean time, thoſe in the little camp made a vigorous reſiſtance. One of the Cimbri having challenged to a ſingle combat the braveſt men among them, was ſhamefully overcome by L. Opimius. But the example of this brave man was not ſufficient to encourage all the officers. There was in the camp but one legion, commanded by ſix tribunes, of whom five were for attempting to break through the enemy; but the ſixth, not ſo reſolute as the reſt, oppoſed ſo dangerous an attempt. Whereupon a centurion, named Petreius, ſtabbed the cowardly officer, and being choſen commander by the legion, obtained an honourable capitulation, led his ſmall body to a place of ſafety, and from thence marched to join the main body of the army encamped on the banks of the Po. Had the Cimbri known how to improve their victory, they might have made themſelves maſters of Rome, which was then quite defenceleſs, all orders of men being in the utmoſt conſternation. But they delayed in expectation of the coming up of the Teutones, and thereby gave the Romans time to recall Marius and his troops from Gaul. By order of the ſenate he joined his troops to the proconſul's army on the Po, and upon their union was declared commander in chief, his conſulate and reputation giving him a ſuperiority over Catulus. However, he received here a ſenſible mortification from his old lieutenant Sylla. That brave officer had, by a ſuperior conduct found means to ſupply the camp of Catulus with great plenty of proviſions, while Marius's men wanted even neceſſaries. Sylla therefore went to the conſul's camp, and maliciouſly offered to relieve his troops in their diſtreſs, with the overplus of the proviſions which he had amaſſed in the proconſul's camp. Neceſſity obliged Marius to accept the offer; but never was preſent received with more reluctance[c]. From this time Sylla entered into an open competition with Marius, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority which five conſulates gave him, over a man who had not yet been raiſed to any of the great employments of the republic.

Marius ſent againſt the Cimbri.

In the mean time, the Cimbri, finding the Teutones did not appear, reſolved to come to action without them. But that they might act with ſome appearance of juſtice, they

[c] Plut in Sylla.

they firſt ſent a deputation to the Roman general, deſiring him to aſſign them and their allies the Teutones, lands in the country where they were, and threatening, in caſe of a refuſal, to make the Romans feel the weight of their arms. Marius anſwered ſternly, You aſk lands for your allies the Teutones; I have given them ſome already. Their carcaſſes are now rotting in the fields by the Cenus, and their bones made uſe of for fences to the vineyards. The deputies, exaſperated at this ſevere jeſt, threatened to make him repent of his inſults, as ſoon as the Teutones ſhould paſs the Alps. You need not then delay a moment, anſwered Marius; they have already paſſed the Alps, and you ſhall immediately ſee them. Then ſhewing them the chiefs of the Teutonic army in chains; Pray ſalute your allies, ſaid he, to the deputies with a ſneer, and make yourſelves ready to come and join them. Theſe inſults provoked the Cimbri to ſuch a degree, that Bojorix, one of their kings, came in perſon to Marius's camp, and challenged him to fix the day and place of battle. This the Romans had ſcarce ever done; but Marius pitched upon the plain of Vercellæ, which was not large enough to contain half the enemy's force, As for the day, he named the eve of the calends of Auguſt, the third day from that time. Both generals kept their agreement. The army of Catulus amounted to twenty thouſand three hundred, and that of Marius to thirty-two thouſand. The enemy's cavalry were no more than fifteen thouſand; but their infantry ſeemed innumerable; for we are told, that they covered, when drawn up in a ſquare, thirty furlongs. Marius, as commander in chief, drew up the whole army; and, in order to deprive the proconſul of any ſhare of the glory of the day, he poſted his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, which projected before the main body, and muſt conſequently ſuſtain the efforts of the enemy's army. But his meaſures were diſconcerted by an unforeſeen accident. For, before the action began, the cavalry of the Cimbri made a motion, as if they intended to wheel about and flank the Roman army. Hereupon Marius, at the head of the two wings, advanced againſt them. The Cimbrian horſe at his approach retired, and drew the conſul after them. When he was at ſome diſtance from the main body, the enemy's infantry charged the legions commanded by Catulus and Sylla with incredible fury. The Romans, animated

The Cimbri provoked by Marius.

An engagement between the Romans and the Cimbri.

mated by the example of their leaders, ſtood the ſhock without giving ground, keeping themſelves upon the defenſive till the enemy's firſt fury was ſpent. When they found their ſtrength began to fail them, the legionaries charged them in their turn. As the ſun ſhone with great violence, thoſe northern people, not accuſtomed to the heats of Italy, were ſoon covered with ſweat, and ſcarce able to lift up their arms to ſtrike a blow; ſo that they made but a faint reſiſtance. They were ſoon overcome; but they had put it out of their own power to ſave themſelves from the victorious enemy by flight. That they might keep their ranks the better, they had, like true barbarians, tied themſelves to one another with cords faſtened to their belts; ſo that the Romans made what havock they pleaſed of thoſe helpleſs barbarians. To complete their misfortune, Marius, returning with his troops from the purſuit of the cavalry, fell upon them, when quite exhauſted with fatigue and the heat of the day. All that followed was a dreadful butchery, the whole plain being covered with dead bodies. From the field of battle the Romans marched to the enemy's camp, where they had a new battle to fight with their wives, who were even more fierce than their huſbands. From their carts and waggons, which formed a kind of fortification, they diſcharged ſhowers of darts on their friends and enemies without diſtinction. Then they firſt ſuffocated their children in their arms, and afterwards killed themſelves. The greateſt part hanged themſelves on trees. One was found hanging from a cart with two of her children at her heels. Many of the men, for want of trees and ſtakes, tied ſtrings in running knots about their necks, and faſtened them to the tails of their horſes, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to ſtrangle themſelves that way. Thus thoſe unhappy creatures put an end to their lives by all the methods they could contrive. Two of their kings or leaders ſtabbed each other. Bojorix and Luig, their chief commanders, died in the action ſword in hand. Clodic and Seſorix, two of their generals, were made priſoners with ſixty thouſand of their men, who were all put in chains, and ſold to the beſt bidder: an hundred and twenty thouſand of the barbarians were left dead upon the ſpot; whereas the Romans had ſcarce three hundred miſſing in both armies. Thus was this whole nation almoſt extirpated, whoſe incurſions and robberies were looked upon as a public ſcourge. After the battle,

The Cimbri entirely defeated by Marius and Catulus.

all the ſpoils and enſigns were brought to the camp of Catulus, which was a plain declaration, that the victory was chiefly owing to his men. But hereupon a diſpute ariſing between the ſoldiers of the two camps, the generals agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the embaſſadors of Parma, who happened at that time to be in the army. Theſe being led to the field of battle, found almoſt all the darts, with which the barbarians had been killed, marked with the name of Catulus, who had taken care to imprint it on the arms of his ſoldiers before the battle. Beſides, Marius's men had taken from the enemy only two ſtandards; whereas Sylla brought to the proconſul's camp thirty-one, with the brazen bull, which the Cimbri worſhipped. Upon the whole, the arbitrators gave ſentence in favour of Catulus; ſo that Sylla ſaw with pleaſure the greateſt part of the glory of the action taken from Marius, who had endeavoured to ingroſs it all to himſelf. However, when the news of this ſignal victory was brought to Rome, the people gave all the honour of it to Marius, calling him the third founder of Rome, the deliverer of his country; nay, they even invoked him as a god; and neither time, nor the moſt circumſtantial accounts, could undeceive them, ſo as to bring them to allow any ſhare of the ſucceſs to Catulus. But Marius himſelf had not the confidence to deprive Catulus of the glory which was due to him. Beſides, he was afraid that the army of Catulus would oppoſe his triumph, if he pretended to exclude their general. They were therefore both honoured with a triumph. The ſpoils taken from the enemy were carried before the triumphant victors; but, if we give credit to Florus [f], no part of the ſhew ſtruck the people ſo much as the ſight of king Teutobocchus, who was, according to that writer, of ſuch a gigantic ſtature, that his head appeared above the trophies which were carried in proceſſion. After the triumph, both generals, purſuant to a vow each of them had made, built a temple in memory of their victory: Marius, who had no taſte for arts, in a very plain manner, to virtue and honour; and Catulus, with great elegance and beauty, to the fortune of this day. Marius, on the day his temple was dedicated, entertained the people with games after the Greek manner; but, as wa

The victory chiefly owing to Catulus's men.

The victory aſcribed at Rome to Marius alone.

Both build temples in memory of their victory.

[f] Flor. l. iii. c. 3.

was his element, he was immediately tired with them, and withdrew [g].

THUS was Italy delivered from her fears by the defeat of the Teutones and Cimbri. The only enemy the Romans had now to contend with were the rebellious ſlaves in Sicily. The republic had ſent againſt them, two years before the defeat of the Cimbri, the prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus with an army of fourteen thouſand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, excluſive of the ſuccours that were ſent him from Greece and Lucania. As ſoon as the Roman army landed, Salvius, who had ſhut up Athenio in the citadel of Triocala, as we have related above, delivered him from his confinement, and adviſed with him, as he was a man of ſome experience, about the means of reſiſting the new general. In a council of war, which they held, it was agreed, that Salvius ſhould continue in the city of Triocala to defend it, if attacked, and that Athenio ſhould, at the head of forty thouſand men, march againſt Lucullus, and give him battle. Accordingly Athenio marched with his army into the neighbourhood of Scirtæum, and there came to an engagement with the prætor, in which the victory was warmly diſputed. The ſlaves, who for the moſt part had ſerved in war before they were reduced to ſlavery, fought with a regularity and courage which the Romans did not expect; inſomuch, that the ſucceſs would have been doubtful, if Athenio, advancing into the middle of the enemy's battalions at the head of three hundred horſe, had not been wounded in both his knees. He fell from his horſe through faintneſs, and was covered with an heap of dead bodies. Hereupon his troops, having no commander of reputation to head them, diſperſed and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The Romans purſued the fugitives, and killed above twenty thouſand of them. The news of this defeat no ſooner reached Triocala, than the cowardly Salvius abandoned the place. But, in the mean time, Athenio, having got from under the dead bodies that covered him, gained Triocala with the remains of his army, before the prætor, who ſpent nine days in uſeleſs precautions, inveſted the place. Athenio ſuſtained the ſiege with an intrepidity ſeldom found in men of his rank, and forced Lucullus to raiſe the ſiege, and retire from before the place, amidſt the hiſſes of the ſlaves, who inſulted him and his army from their walls, as they filed off. He withdrew to

War with the ſlaves.

Licinius defeats the ſlaves in Sicily.

But is forced to raiſe the ſiege of Triocala.

[g] Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

Syracuſe, and there ſpent the remainder of the year, wholly intent on enriching himſelf at the expence of his province. His year was therefore no ſooner expired, than he was recalled, and being accuſed before the people of oppreſſion, he was condemned to baniſhment [h]. The prætor C. Servilius was ſent to ſucceed him; but that weak general was even more unfortunate than his predeceſſor, Athenio, who now carried on the rebellion alone, Salvius being dead, attacked the Roman army, gave them a total overthrow, and made himſelf maſter of their camp. After this victory Athenio advanced to Meſſana, and having made a fruitleſs attempt upon that city, beſieged Macella and took it. The progreſs of the rebellion opened at length the eyes of the ſenate, who ſent Manius Aquilius, the colleague of Marius for the preſent year, to ſuppreſs it. Aquilius croſſed over into Sicily with a conſular army, and having made it his whole buſineſs in his conſulſhip to reduce the rebels to great ſtreights for want of proviſions, in the year of his proconſulate he entirely deſtroyed them. He took the field, and brought the enemy to a battle, which both parties maintained with equal vigor, till the two generals met, and determined the victory by a ſingle combat. Aquilius not diſdaining to enter the liſts with Athenio, a ſtop was put to the battle, the Romans on one ſide, and the ſlaves on the other, making way for the two champions. The proconſul, who was a man of great ſtrength and reſolution, laid his adverſary dead on the ground at one blow; and the Romans, taking advantage of his victory, and the enemy's fears, fell upon them with freſh vigor, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the diſheartened rebels, that of their vaſt army ſcarce ten thouſand eſcaped to their camp, where they choſe rather to kill one another than ſurrender. When they were reduced to a thouſand, one Satyrius capitulated with the proconſul, who promiſed him and his companions their lives, but afterwards ſent them to Rome to fight the wild beaſts in the ſhows of the circus. But they choſe rather to fall by each other's hands. And thus ended a rebellion, which laſted four years, and coſt the republic, according to ſome writers, near a million of ſlaves. Aquilius on his return was honoured with an ovation, the republic having more regard to her antient cuſtom of not granting a triumph to the conquerors of rebels,

C. Servilius defeated by the ſlaves.

The conſul Aquilius defeats the ſlaves, and puts an end to the war.

Is honoured with an ovation.

[h] Diodor. Sicul. eclog. 1. l. xxxvi.

bels, especially if they were slaves, than to the merit and services of Aquilius [i].

The republic, after the defeat of the Cimbri and the reduction of the slaves, had scarce any enemies left abroad, but nourished such in her own bosom as proved more mischievous to her, than either the barbarians of Germany, or the slaves of Sicily. Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, stood now for the sixth consulship, with as much eagerness as he had done for the first. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable, caressed the meanest of the people, and ingratiated himself with them by the most servile condescensions. His competitor was the great Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, whose virtues and experience, joined to the wishes of all honest men, loudly called him to the government of the republic. But Marius, by distributing under-hand large sums among the people, got Metellus excluded, himself chosen, and one Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a very weak man, appointed for his collegue. The first step Marius took after his election was, to contract an intimate friendship with L. Apuleius Saturninus and Servilius Glaucia, two daring and factious men, who had all the scum of the indigent and seditious people constantly at their beck. Apuleius had been long devoted to the consul, and had procured him, as we have observed above, his fourth consulate. Glaucia was the prætor, to whom the cognizance of civil causes belonged, and was naturally factious and violent. These three entered into an association with a design to engross all the power to themselves. Apuleius had been once before tribune of the people, and now stood for that post a second time. But he had the misfortune to come in competition with A. Nonnius, a man of an unblemished character, and highly esteemed by the people. Marius used all his interest in behalf of his friend Apuleius; but both his intrigues and sollicitations were ineffectual: all the voices were for Nonnius, who was accordingly declared tribune. Hereupon Apuleius, giving himself wholly up to the dictates of his fury, caused Nonnius to be stabbed at the breaking up of the assembly, and then got himself tumultuously proclaimed tribune by those of his own party, before any considerable part of the people were assembled to give their suffrages. The consul confirmed the election; and the murder of Nonnius was no more mentioned.

The mean practices of Marius.

His sixth consulship.

Apuleius murders his competitor, and assumes the tribunate.

[i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxviii. eclog. 1. Flor. l. iii. c. 29. Cic. de orat. Liv. in epit.

Marius's aſſociation with him and Glaucia.

tioned. And now Marius, Apuleius, and Glaucia, formed a kind of triumvirate, whoſe whole aim was to humble the ſenate, and aſſume all power to themſelves. About this time embaſſadors arrived at Rome from Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, ſent by their maſter to adjuſt ſome ſmall differences between him and the republic. Theſe Apuleius, at the inſtigation of Marius, uſed in a moſt bruti ſh manner. The conſul, in all likelihood, weary of an inactive life, hoped by that means to provoke Mithridates to begin a war. However that be, the embaſſadors laid their complaints before the ſenate, and the conſcript fathers, glad of an opportunity of humbling the inſolent tribune, cited him before their tribunal. But, on the day when ſentence was to be pronounced, the populace ſurrounded the hall where the ſenate met, in ſuch crouds, that they intimidated the judges; ſo that the factious tribune was acquitted by a majority of votes [k].

Apuleius revives the antient quarrel about the diſtribution of lands.

AFTER this victory over the ſenate, Apuleius, a tribune of the people, renewed the antient quarrel about the diviſion of the lands. Marius and Catulus had, by the defeat of the Cimbri, recovered ſome lands in Ciſalpine Gaul, of which thoſe barbarians had taken poſſeſſion; and Apuleius was for unjuſtly taking thoſe lands from the true owners, and giving them to Marius's ſoldiers, who were for the moſt part people without houſe or home, and entirely devoted to their general. In the law which he had prepared together with Marius, whoſe tool he was, for the diſtribution of the lands, there was a clauſe expreſsly providing, That the ſenate ſhould come and ſwear in full aſſembly to confirm whatever ſhould be enacted by the people, and not to oppoſe them in any thing; and that whoever refuſed to take that oath ſhould be degraded, and condemned to a fine of twenty talents. Nothing could be more unreaſonable than ſuch a law, ſince it ſubjected the ſenate to the people. On the day therefore of the comitia, when it was to be admitted or rejected, many men of great weight and authority mounted the roſtra to diſſuade the people from paſſing it. But they were pulled down by the mob of the country tribes, whom Marius and Apuleius had brought in great crouds into the city. Theſe violent proceedings provoked the city tribes, who, finding themſelves the weakeſt, that the aſſembly might be diſſolved, cried out, That they heard it thunder; which, according to the laws, obliged them to ſuſpend for that day

[k] Diodor. Sicul. apud Ful. Urſin.

day all deliberations. But the country tribes, having among them many veterans, moſt of them men of mettle, diſregarding that ſuperſtitious cuſtom, fell upon the city tribes, and, having driven them with ſtones and clubs out of the forum, got the law paſſed. The next day Marius, who was at the bottom of all this and the chief manager of the plot, as conſul, made a report to the ſenate of the law in queſtion, exclaimed againſt the late violences, and declared, for his part that he was determined never to take ſo unreaſonable an oath, and that he did not doubt, but every honeſt man would be of his opinion; for if the law was good in itſelf, there was no neceſſity for ſwearing; and if it was a bad one, they were all obliged in honour not to ſwear. This he ſaid to enſnare Metellus, whom he hated ever ſince their quarrel in Numidia. He hoped that his declaring againſt the oath would draw a like declaration from that great man, and did not doubt, but when he had once made ſuch a public declaration, he would ſtand firm to his reſolution, which would infallibly expoſe him to the hatred of the people. The event anſwered his expectation; Metellus proteſted, that he would not take the oath, and the whole ſenate did the ſame. A few days after, Apuleius ſummoned the ſenate to appear in the comitia in order to take the oath; and then Marius made his appearance among the reſt; and while the eyes of all the ſenators were fixed upon him, he, to their great ſurpriſe, declared, that he had changed his ſentiments: I am not ſo ſtiff and obſtinate, ſaid he, as to be tied down by any declaration I may have made upon an affair of ſo much weight, before I had thoroughly conſidered it; but am ready to ſwear, and having ſwore, will punctually obſerve the law, when it once becomes a law. Theſe laſt words he added, to put a plauſible colour upon his breach of faith. If it was a law, it ought without all doubt, to be obeyed. But this was a mean ſubterfuge and knaviſh pretence. It was no law, being without any of the requiſite conditions; and therefore, inſtead of obeying, he ought to have oppoſed it. The ſenators upon this declaration of Marius, which was applauded by all the country tribes, were afraid to open their mouths. Marius took their ſilence for a tacit conſent, and immediately went to the temple of Saturn, according to the antient cuſtom, and there took the oath, even without the reſtriction he himſelf had propoſed. The ſenators over-awed by the people, followed his example. But Metellus reſolutely perſiſted in his former opinion, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of

Marius's treachery and double dealing.

his friends, who earneſtly entreated him to yield to the times. He told thoſe, who preſſed him to take the oath, that to do a baſe and unworthy action was under all circumſtances ſhameful; that to do well, when no danger attended it, was common; but to do well, in the midſt of dangers, was the property of a truly good and honeſt man. Upon his refuſal, the aſſembly, at the inſtigation of Marius and Apuleius, condemned him to baniſhment. The nobility, the whole body of the patricians and the city tribes, offered to oppoſe this moſt unjuſt decree of the populace. Many, out of affection for ſo good and virtuous a citizen, had brought arms under their robes, being determined to defend him to the laſt extremity. But that wiſe ſenator, who truly loved his country, after having, in a tender manner, returned them thanks for their kindneſs, declared, that he would not ſuffer a ſingle drop of blood to be ſpilt on his account. He then went into baniſhment, which in ſo glorious a cauſe did him more honour than all his victories or triumphs. He left the city with this wiſe reflection; Either the face of affairs will change, and the people repent what they have done; in which caſe I ſhall be recalled and reſtored with honour: or they will remain in the preſent poſture; and then it will be beſt for me to be at a diſtance from Rome. The illuſtrious exile went to reſide, ſome ſay at Rhodes, others at Smyrna, where, in a ſweet tranquillity, he gave himſelf entirely up to the ſtudy of philoſophy, enjoying in his retreat thoſe pleaſures which flow from a good conſcience [1].

Metellus condemned to baniſhment.

MARIUS, Apuleius, and Glaucia congratulated each other on their having at laſt ruined their common enemy. The point Apuleius had in view was, to get himſelf continued in the tribuneſhip, Glaucia aſpired at the conſulate, and Marius was for maintaining himſelf in his poſt another year. To compaſs their ends, they ſcrupled nothing. Apuleius, like a monſter let looſe, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and injuſtice with impunity. Marius, who was the ſoul of the plot, left to the other two the execution of the wicked ſchemes which he adviſed. He pretended to keep the balance even between the people and the ſenate. On one ſide, he raiſed diſturbances underhand, by means of his two confederates, in order to make himſelf neceſſary, and pave the way for his ſeventh conſulſhip. On the

Diſturbances raiſed by Apuleius.

[1] Plut. in Mario. Cic. pro Sextio & Balba. Appian. de bell. civil. Auth. de vir illuſtr.

the other hand, he pretended a great desire to compose them, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the senate. By this artful conduct he would have gained his point, had not his deceit been discovered by an accident. One evening some senators came to wait on the consul, and to implore his assistance against the attempts of the seditious tribune. Marius, who was willing to keep fair with the nobility, received them very graciously, and promised to exert his power against Apuleius. While he was conferring with the senators about the proper measures for preserving the republic, Apuleius came to receive his directions about raising new disturbances, and being let in at a back door unknown to the senators, was carried into another apartment. Then Marius, pretending a looseness, under that colour, was continually running from one apartment to the other, exasperating the senators against the tribune, and the tribune against the senators. But this being soon after known, he became suspected by both parties. Apuleius and Glaucia began to take umbrage at his complaisance for the patricians; and the patricians grew jealous of his great intimacy with those two incendiaries. In the mean time, Apuleius and Glaucia canvassed, independently on the consul, the former for a third tribuneship, and the latter for the consulate; and both resolved to stick at nothing. Nay, Apuleius set up the contemptible Equitius, of whom we have spoke above, for tribune of the people, and, without any regard to common decency, carried matters so far, that Marius himself thought it adviseable to send Equitius to prison, ordering him to be kept there till the election of the tribunes was over. But Apuleius, having spirited up the people to break open the prison, set Equitius at liberty, and prevailed upon the turbulent populace to proclaim him tribune of the people. But the pretended tribune died before he entered upon his office. At the same time Glaucia, who stood for the consulate, carried his furious attempts to such excess, that he was become quite insupportable. When the comitia for the election of consuls came on, Marius was excluded, and the orator Marcus Antonius chosen in the first place; Glaucia expected to be nominated in the second; but finding he had a formidable competitor in Memmius, who was infinitely superior to him in all respects, and highly esteemed on account of his probity, he made no scruple to send one of his attendants to murder him in the open forum. After a murder so public and daring, Glaucia and Apuleius his accomplice, to avoid the punishment they deserved,

The violent proceedings of Apuleius and Glaucia.

Memmius murdered.

ſerved, openly attempted to deſtroy the republic itſelf. They carried a multitude of deſperate men to the houſe of Apuleius, who there exhorted them to an open rebellion. We are told, that they appointed him to be their general, and offered him the title of king, which he is ſaid to have accepted. But be that as it will, it was now an open conſpiracy; the ſenate declared them enemies to their country, and paſſed one of thoſe decrees, which were never made, but in times of the utmoſt difficulty and danger: the two conſuls Marius and Flaccus were ordered to provide for the public welfare in what manner they judged proper; which was impowering them to revenge with the ſword the diſturbances thoſe ſeditious men were raiſing in the republic. Hereupon Marius found himſelf obliged to arm, in order to ſuppreſs a ſedition which he ſecretly favoured, but could protect no longer. No time was to be loſt: Glaucia and Apuleius had already ſeized the capitol. Arms therefore were given to all thoſe who declared for the ſenate; the knights, the ſenators, and all who had the welfare of their country at heart, armed themſelves againſt the two rebels. But Marius affected delays, and plainly ſhewed it was much againſt his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the ſenate. In the mean time, the whole rabble of the country tribes entered the city with a deſign to join their friends in the capitol, but were obliged to fight a battle in the forum before they could reach the citadel. When they were hard preſſed, Apuleius made a ſally, and covered their retreat to the capitol. During the action, the ſeditious tribune hoiſted up a cap on the top of a lance to invite the ſlaves to take arms in his favour in hopes of their liberty. In the mean time, the ſenators and knights, tired with the delays of Marius, who was ever pleading ſome excuſe or other, cauſed the pipes to be cut, which conveyed water into the capitol, which ſoon reduced the rioters to a deſperate condition. In this extremity Suffeius, one of their leaders, was for ſetting fire to the temple of Jupiter, in hopes they ſhould make their eſcape, during the confuſion and tumult which commonly attend ſuch accidents. But Apuleius and Glaucia, depending upon their friendſhip with Marius, ſurrendered to him, after he had promiſed, upon the public faith, to ſave their lives. This promiſe was in itſelf void and unlawful, ſince the ſenate had already declared them rebels, and ordered the conſul to declare them as ſuch. But Marius was reſolved to ſave a body of deſperate men, whoſe fury might be of uſe

Apuleius and Glaucia openly rebel.

And ſeize the capitol.

A battle in the forum.

The rebels in the capitol forced to ſurrender to Marius.

uſe to him on ſome other occaſion. He therefore gave them leave to march out of the capitol unmoleſted. Glaucia retired to the houſe of one Claudius for refuge; but the people ſoon dragged him from thence, and cut off his head. His brother Dolabella and one L. Geganius, who retired to the herb-market, were murdered there. Hereupon Marius ſhut up the reſt, with Apuleius their chief, in the old palace of Tullus Hoſtilius, giving out, that he confined them there in order to bring them to condign puniſhment. But the palace was in reality a place of ſafety for them, rather than a priſon; and the guards, placed at the gates, were not ſo much to prevent their making their eſcape, as to ſecure them againſt the inſults of the people. Of this the ſenators and knights were well appriſed; and therefore having aſſembled the people, they diſperſed the guards, broke open the gates of the palace, and with clubs and ſtones diſpatched Suffeius, Labienus, Equitius, Apuleius himſelf, and all the leading men of his party. The people not ſatisfied with the death of Apuleius, tore his body into a thouſand pieces. And now, the ſtorm being blown over, the comitia aſſembled in tranquillity, and all the acts of the preceding tribunate were declared abſolutely null, for want of liberty in the ſuffrages. After this the tribes met again to chuſe a collegue for Marcus Antonius, who had been elected on the day that Memmius was murdered. The perſon raiſed to that dignity was A. Poſthumius Albinus, a man of excellent parts and a ſincere friend to his country[m].

Who endeavours to ſave them;

But in vain.

THE new conſular year was begun with purifying the city, which had been polluted with ſo much blood in the late troubles. To the ceremonies uſed on this occaſion others ſucceeded for averting evils, foreboded by ſome imaginary prognoſtics. It was not then known, that in the year, when theſe prodigies were ſaid to have happened, a child was born in Rome, who would one day overturn the republic. This was Julius Cæſar, who came into the world on the twelfth day of the month Quintilis, in the ſixth conſulate of Marius, whence the fifth month of the old Roman year was called Julius. The new conſuls had the pleaſure to ſee the games, which P. Claudius Pulcher the ædile gave, celebrated without trouble or confuſion. They were the moſt ſplendid that had

The birth of Julius Cæſar.

[m] Plut. in Mario. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Flor. l. iii. c. 16. Cic pro Sextio, Rabirio, &c. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

had yet been ſeen in Rome. We are told that Claudius was the firſt who cauſed the ſcenes to be painted; which was ſo artfully done, ſays Pliny [n], that the birds atempted to alight on the tops of the houſes, and to perch on the trees, which were painted on the cloth. Thus were the firſt months of this year ſpent in tranquillity. But it was not long, ere the leaven of ſedition, which Marius had ſown among the tribunes, began to ſhew itſelf in Sextius Titius, who attempted to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and raiſe new troubles, by reviving the Gracchian law about the diviſion of lands. But the conſul M. Antonius prevented the miſchief he intended, and brought him into ſuch contempt, that, as ſoon as he was out of his office, he was accuſed of the moſt infamous and unnatural practices, and condemned to baniſhment. And now, after Marius and his adherents were thus fully diſappointed, it was thought a proper ſeaſon to recall the great Metellus. All the Cæcilian family, of which the Metelli were a branch, intereſted themſelves in the cauſe of their relation. The exile's ſon appeared in deep mourning, fell proſtrate before the tribes, and did all for the recalling of his father, which perſons accuſed of capital crimes uſed to do to ſave their own lives. This affectionate conduct towards his father procured him the ſurname of Pius, which he bore the reſt of his life. The whole body of the patricians joined with the ſon, and entreated the people in a public aſſembly to recall ſo worthy a citizen. Marius did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of a patrician, who was the ſupport of the ſenate, a true pattern of the old Roman probity, and the dread of the ſeditious. But, in ſpite of Marius's utmoſt efforts, equity prevailed, and the return of Metellus was carried by a majority of ſuffrages. The meſſenger ſent to acquaint him with the decree of the people, finding him at a public ſhow in the city of Trallis in Lydia, delivered to him the letter, and at the ſame time whiſpered him, that it contained joyful news. But the illuſtrious philoſopher, without the leaſt change of countenance, continued his attention to the ſhow, and did not open the packet till the games were ended. The ſame greatneſs of ſoul which had kept him from dejection in his diſgrace, guarded him againſt immoderate joy in his proſperity. All the perſons of diſtinction in Rome went to receive him at the gate of the

Sextius Titius tribune of the people, baniſhed.

Metellus recalled.

[n] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 7.

the city. He was accompanied from the gate to his own houſe by vaſt crowds of people, who teſtified the ſincerity of their joy by loud acclamations. His houſe was crouded from morning to night with perſons of all ranks, who came to ſee and congratulate him. In ſhort, his return was a real triumph. Marius, to avoid the mortification of ſeeing a triumphant enemy, left Rome and went into Aſia, giving out, that he was going to perform ſome ſacrifices, which he had vowed to Cybele the mother of the gods. But the true motive of his voyage into Aſia was, to kindle a war, and cut out new work for his republic there. He owed his grandeur wholly to arms, and could not maintain it in peaceable times, being deſtitute of thoſe talents which were neceſſary to gain applauſe in a commonwealth, where eloquence bore a great ſway in all public deliberations. In order therefore to have an opportunity of diſplaying anew his talent for war, he went to the court of Mithridates king of Pontus, who ſeemed the moſt diſpoſed to quarrel. The king received him with all the honour due to his reputation, careſſed him in the moſt affectionate manner, and did all that lay in his power to oblige a man of ſo much weight in his republic. But all to no purpoſe; he could draw nothing from the proud Roman, but inſolent treatment. Marius did not doubt, but, if he could provoke that young, powerful, and brave king to take arms againſt Rome, he ſhould have the command of the forces employed in that war; and therefore he treated him with great haughtineſs and contempt. One day he addreſſed himſelf to him very bluntly in theſe terms; You muſt either, O king, endeavour to be more powerful than the Romans, or quietly ſubmit to their will. The king of Pontus, the proudeſt prince of his time, was quite aſtoniſhed at the diſcourſe of the bold commonwealth's man. However, as he was a great politician, he did not think this a proper time to declare his reſentments; and therefore, concealing his diſpleaſure, he diſmiſſed Marius loaded with preſents [a].

Marius retires from Rome.

His inſolent behaviour at the court of Mithridates.

But to return to Metellus, the people ſoon gave him a ſenſible proof of the regard they had for him. Upon his preſenting to the tribes his relation Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the people very readily choſe him conſul, and gave him for his collegue T. Didius, who had been honoured with a triumph fourteen years before, for having defeated

[a] Plut. ibid.

defeated the Scordiſci. The two conſuls drew lots for their provinces, when Italy fell to Metellus, and Spain to Didius, whither he carried a conſular army to make head againſt the Spaniſh rebels, who had taken arms in great numbers, and committed dreadful devaſtations in the Roman province. Under Didius ſerved Sertorius in quality of legionary tribune. He was a native of Nurſia in Sabinia, and had already given many proofs of his valour; but in the preſent war with the revolted Spaniards, he gained more reputation than his general. He reduced the cities of Caſtulo and Gyriſænium, two places of great importance; and it was chiefly owing to his maſterly conduct, that Didius overthrew in a pitched battle the Vaccæi, of whom he cut twenty thouſand in pieces. After the conſul had, by the help of his brave tribune, reduced the rebels, he ſtained his victory by an unheard-of piece of treachery and cruelty. One of the Roman generals had ſettled five years before a colony of Spaniards near the city of Colenda. Theſe, before they were brought to this new ſettlement, had committed robberies in ſeveral parts of Spain. Didius ſuſpecting, without any grounds, that they deſigned to return to their antient way of living, obliged them to quit the lands they were poſſeſſed of, and promiſed them thoſe of Colenda, which city he had juſt reduced after a nine months ſiege. The Spaniards, depending on the general's promiſe, came with their wives and children to the Roman camp, where, under pretence of accommodating them better, they were admitted within the intrenchments. When the cruel conſul had them thus in his power, he cauſed the whole multitude to be divided into three companies, placing the men in one, the women in another, and the children in the third. The poor people ſuſpected no treachery, till they heard the conſul order his legionaries to fall upon them, and put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword. His orders were put in execution with the utmoſt barbarity, not one of thoſe unhappy wretches eſcaping. A moſt deteſtable piece of cruelty! but applauded at Rome. To ſuch a degree were the Romans degenerated from their antient probity! This maſſacre exaſperated the Celtiberians, who, taking arms, faced the conſular army in the open field, and came to a pitched battle with them, in which they fought like men in deſpair, till night parted the two armies. The loſs of the Romans was equal to theirs; but Didius by a ſtratagem made them believe

Sertorius gains great reputation in Spain.

The cruelty of Didius in Spain.

believe they had been worſted. He ordered moſt of the bodies of the Romans, who had been ſlain, to be carried out of the field of battle in the night. The Celtiberians, when they came early next morning, according to their cuſtom, to bury their dead, were ſo terrified at ſeeing ſuch a number of their own men ſlain, and ſo few Romans, that they ſubmitted to Didius upon his own terms. Thus, partly by force and partly by artifice, the Roman general ſettled Hither Spain in peace, and returned five years after his conſulſhip to Rome, where his ſervices were rewarded with a triumph [p]. This ſame year the prætor Cornelius Dolabella gained conſiderable advantages over the revolted Luſitanians in Further Spain. Hiſtorians indeed have not given us any account of his exploits, but in the triumphal tables he is ſaid to have triumphed over the Luſitanians this preſent year.

The Celtiberians ſubmit to Didius.

In the mean time, the conſul Metellus maintained peace at home, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity all ſpeeches that tended to ſedition. C. Plautus Decianus, one of the prætors, was baniſhed for dropping, in a public ſpeech, ſome expreſſions in favour of the furious tribune Apuleius. The tribunes themſelves durſt no longer propoſe ſeditious laws, or attempt to raiſe diſturbances among the populace. The preſence of Metellus and the abſence of Marius equally contributed to the public tranquillity. In Aſia, that is, in the antient kingdom of Pergamus, the excellent proconſul Q. Mucius Scævola puniſhed the iniquity of the Roman knights or publicans in a very exemplary manner. He found them guilty of moſt enormous extortions, in raiſing and managing the revenues of the republic; and therefore, without any regard to the dignity or power of ſo formidable a body, he cauſed many of them to be publicly carried to priſon, and condemned a ſlave to be crucified, who had been the agent of an oppreſſive publican, and an accomplice in his maſter's knavery. He appointed men of integrity, and well verſed in money affairs, to examine the books of the publicans, and by this means reformed his province in leſs than nine months. On his departure the Aſiatics inſtituted a feſtival to perpetuate among them the memory of his virtues. This feſtival, which from him was called Mucia, did him more honour than a triumph. Many of the governors of the provinces followed the example of Mucius, and the ſenate charged the conſuls and prætors.

Mucius Scævola puniſhes the publicans in Aſia.

[p] Plut. in Sertorio. Appian. in Iberic. Front. ſtrat. l. v. c. 11.

prætors to do the ſame in their reſpective provinces; ſo that a ſtop was put for ſome time to the oppreſſions of the publicans, which had rendered the yoke of the republic inſupportable [q].

Marius diſregarded at Rome.

In the ſucceeding conſulate of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Licinius Craſſus, Marius returned from Aſia; and, ſoon after his arrival in Rome, he built himſelf a houſe cloſe by the forum, either to eaſe his clients, as he himſelf gave out, of the trouble of going far, or in hopes of having more numerous levees there, than in a diſtant part of the town. But he found, that his rough behaviour kept people from him where-ever he lived. His haughty manners were not becoming in a free ſtate, where every one thinks himſelf to be upon a level with the beſt, and where the great can gain and maintain friends only by an obliging behaviour and good offices. He met with the fate of moſt warriors, who live to a great age in peace. Their victories are forgot, and they, as Plutarch obſerves, if not recommended by civil virtues, are, like old rufty weapons, laid aſide as quite uſeleſs. But nothing gave Marius ſo great uneaſineſs as to ſee his old rival Sylla aggrandiſe himſelf, as he thought, at his expence. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, after he had been declared an ally of the Roman people, dedicated in the capitol ſeveral trophies of Sylla's victories, and placed near them ſome golden ſtatues, repreſenting in what manner he had delivered Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla. Marius, diſtracted with rage, attempted to pull down a monument, which aſcribed to his rival all the glory of ſo memorable an event. Sylla, on the other hand, oppoſed him with all his credit. Every one took party according to his intereſt and inclination; ſo that the whole city was divided into two factions; but by the vigilance of the conſuls a ſtop was put to the ſedition, when it was juſt upon the point of breaking out. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Caſſius Longinus, the two ſucceeding conſuls, took more care to maintain peace and tranquillity at home, than to ſignaliſe themſelves by feats of arms abroad. During their adminiſtration, Rome enjoyed all the advantages of peace and plenty, and was ſo ſenſible of her happineſs, that ſhe preferred to the many warriors, who deſired to ſucceed them, men brought up in peaceable employments, viz. Licinius Craſſus, the famous orator, and Q. Mucius Scævola, a learned civilian. But

Is jealous of Sylla's glory.

theſe

[q] Diodor. Sicul. Valeſ. Cic. ad Attic. l. vi. & in Verr. act. 7.

theſe pacific conſuls ſowed, without deſign, the ſeeds of one of the moſt bloody wars that had ever broke out in the neighbourhood of Rome. They got a law paſſed, which obliged the allies, who lived in Rome and falſely pretended to the right of Roman citizenſhip, to return to their own homes. By the help of theſe intruders ſome ſeditious tribunes had ſown diſcord among the real citizens; whence it ſeemed but juſt, that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould be ſent home to their reſpective countries. Nevertheleſs this law, how juſt ſoever and equitable in itſelf, was ſo reſented by the people of the Italian provinces, that it afterwards gave birth to the war of the allies. The conſuls, after having paſſed this law and drawn lots for their provinces, ſet out, the one for Tranſalpine, the other for Ciſalpine, Gaul. Scævola, to whom Tranſalpine Gaul had fallen, finding little to do in his province, returned to Rome, and generouſly diſbanded his army before his year expired, thinking it an unneceſſary burden to the republic. C[illegible]us, though he ſought for enemies, and ſearched into all the corners of the Alps for people to fight with, could find none, but a company of ſtrolling robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheleſs, he demanded a triumph on his return; but his collegue, out of pure regard to equity, oppoſed it, declaring, that he would not ſuffer ſo great an honour to be depreciated and thrown awav on ſuch ſlight advantages. The following conſulſhip of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Cœlius Caldus was as peaceable as the former. Cœlius was a new man (M), of no birth or merit,

Origin of the ſocial war.

(M) The diviſion of the Roman people into Nobiles, Novi, and Ignobiles, often occurs in hiſtory, and was taken from the right of expoſing publicly the images or ſtatues of their anceſtors; an honour only allowed to thoſe whoſe anceſtors or themſelves had bore ſome curule office, that is, had been curule ædile, cenſor, prætor, or conſul. He who could expoſe the pictures or ſtatues of his anceſtors was ſtyled Nobilis; he, who could only produce his own, was called Homo Novus; and he, who could neither expoſe his own, nor the pictures of any of his anceſtors, was termed Ignobilis. So that jus imaginis was much the ſame thing among the antient Romans, as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us. For a great while none but the patricians were Nobilis, they alone being raiſed to the curule offices. Hence in many places of Livy, Salluſt, and other antient writers, we find the word Nobilitas uſed for the patrician order. But in after-ages,

rit, and ſurnamed Caldus from his warm temper; but he had no opportunity of raiſing any diſturbances, ſome of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The conſulate of C. Valerius Flaccus and M. Herennius was remarkable for nothing, but the pompous ſhow of lions, with which Sylla entertained the people in the circus, and the unjuſt condemnation of P. Rutilius Rufus a conſular. Bocchus ſent Sylla an hundred lions, and with them ſome Mauritanian hunters, who were uſed to fight them. This was a pleaſing entertainment to the people, and the remembrance of it contributed afterwards as much towards Sylla's promotion to the conſulate, as either his reputation or exploits. P. Rutilius Rufus had attended Mucius Scævola into Aſia, and was thought the author of his ſevere reformation of the publicans. He was unjuſtly, and purely out of revenge, accuſed by that powerful body, and condemned to baniſhment. He retired to Smyrna, where he was ſo well pleaſed with the converſation of the Greek philoſophers, that he refuſed to return to Rome, when the people ſome years after annulled the decree of his baniſhment [r].

A pompous ſhew given by Sylla.

Rutilius Rufus unjuſtly baniſhed.

THE following year, when C. Claudius Pulcher and M. Perperna were conſuls, the ſenate ordered Sylla to carry back Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, to his dominions, whence he had been driven by Tigranes king of Armenia. This Sylla effected, after having defeated Gordius, whom the Armenians had placed on the throne, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of Armenia. On this occaſion Sylla received an embaſſy from Arbaces king of Parthia, deſiring the friendſhip of the Roman people. The Roman general thought this one of the moſt fortunate occurrences of his life, and eſteemed it an happy omen, that he ſhould be the firſt Roman who was known to ſo warlike and powerful a people [s].

Embaſſadors from the king of Parthia to Sylla.

AT Rome, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the cenſors, accuſed his collegue L. Craſſus of exceſſive fondneſs for

[r] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4. Vell. Patercul. l ii. Plut. in Sylla. Cic. in Brut. & pro Muræna. [s] Plut. in Sylla.

ages, when the plebeians were admitted to the curule offices, both they and their poſterity were honoured with the title of Nobiles (9).

(9) Vide Sigon. de jur. civ. Rom. l. ii. c. 20.

for one of his murænæ. The favourite muræna was ſo tame that it would come to Craſſus at his call, and feed out of his hand. The grave cenſor was ſo fond of this fiſh, that he took pleaſure in adorning it with the richeſt jewels he had. When it died, he put himſelf in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When Craſſus, who was for his eloquence, as Cicero tells us, the wonder of his age, came to ſpeak in his own defence, he was very ſatirical on his auſtere accuſer, and uttered his ironical jeſts with ſuch geſtures, as drew upon his collegue the laughter of the whole aſſembly. I have been guilty, ſaid he, of this enormous crime; I have, it is true, wept at the loſs of a favourite fiſh: but you, good Domitius, have bore the loſs of three wives without ſhedding a tear. However, the cenſors, notwithſtanding their quarrels, joined in many uſeful regulations. They drove out of Rome ſeveral maſters, who had opened ſchools, though no ways qualified for that important employment.

A Roman cenſor puts himſelf in mourning upon the death of a fiſh.

The enſuing year, Sext. Julius Cæſar (N) and L. Marcius Philippus were raiſed to the conſulate. During their adminiſtration, M. Livius Druſus, tribune of the people, occaſioned, though undeſignedly, the breaking out of that unfortunate war, at the very gates of Rome, which hiſtorians ſometimes call the ſocial war, or the war of the allies, and ſometimes the Marſian war, becauſe it began in the country of the Marſi. Druſus was deſcended of an illuſtrious family, and had improved the great talents nature had given him, by the ſtudy of eloquence. He was a ſincere friend to his country, and therefore, with a view to the public welfare, he attempted to remedy thoſe diſorders which had been introduced into the adminiſtration. But his very remedies encreaſed them, and rendered the diſtempers of the republic incurable. Tho' there had been of late no open ſedition, he obſerved, that a general diſſatisfaction reigned in the three orders of men who made up the whole body of the commonwealth. The cognizance of civil cauſes had been, by one of C. Gracchus's laws, taken from the ſenate and given to the knights; and this the conſcript fathers could not bear, but inſiſted on their being reinſtated in their antient privileges. On the

The ſocial war breaks out. Year after the flood, 2213. Before Chriſt, 86. Of Rome 662. Druſus, tribune of the people, author of this war.

(N) This Sextius Julius Cæſar was uncle to the famous Julius Cæſar. His ſiſter Julia was wife to Marius according to Plutarch; and Suetonius tells us, that ſhe was aunt to Julius Cæſar, the firſt Roman emperor.

other hand, the knights would by no means part with a prerogative, which had been given them by a law paſſed in the comitia. The people murmured, becauſe the execution of the Gracchian law was neglected, and no care was taken to aſſign them lands; but the nobility refuſed to part with any of the lands they poſſeſſed. The Italian allies were no leſs diſſatisfied than the ſenate and people. They aſpired at the right of ſuffrage, and at the offices in the republic, which they had ſo much aſſiſted in her conqueſts. They remonſtrated, that they paid conſiderable taxes; that in the time of war their countries raiſed double the number of forces that were raiſed in Rome; that the commonwealth owed partly to their valour that prodigious power which ſhe had acquired; and laſtly, that it was but juſt they ſhould ſhare the honours of a ſtate which they had helped to aggrandize, both with their arms and treaſures.

His ſcheme to reconcile all orders of men.

Now Druſus formed a ſcheme to reconcile all orders of men, and put an end to all diſcontents, which, he foreſaw, would in proceſs of time, if not removed, produce a general inſurrection. A glorious deſign! but now impracticable. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the ſenators and knights, thinking he had found out an effectual expedient for gaining ſo important a point. He propoſed to reſtore to the ſenate the cognizance of civil cauſes, which had been conferred on the knights, and to make that ſecond order amends, by admitting three hundred of them into the ſenate. But this ſcheme was no ſooner propoſed, than both the bodies, which he deſigned to reconcile, declared againſt it with great vehemence. The ſe-

Is oppoſed with great warmth.

nators ſcorned to admit into their body ſuch a number of men far inferior to them in birth, which they ſaid, would depreciate the ſenatorial dignity. On the other hand, ſuch of the knights, as had reaſon to fear they ſhould not be in the number of the three hundred deſigned for ſenators, declared, that they would not by any means, or for any equivalent whatſoever, ſuffer their order to be deprived of a juriſdiction, which made them very conſiderable in Rome. Q. Servilius Cæpio put himſelf at the head of the knights, and the conſul Marcius Philippus appeared for the ſenate, to oppoſe the deſigned accommodation. Philippus, who was a man of a warm and fiery temper, had the boldneſs to interrupt the tribune Druſus, while he was one day haranguing the people from the roſtra, and to command him ſilence. Hereupon one of the tribune's officers collaring the conſul, handled him ſo roughly, that the blood guſhed

out

out of his noſe. After this Druſus, who had the people on his ſide, ordered the conſul to be carried to priſon, for attempting to interrupt a tribune in the exerciſe of his authority. The tribune finding his well-meant ſcheme oppoſed, with great warmth, both by the knights and ſenators, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, propoſed a law for diſtributing gratis among the poor what bread they wanted. He repreſented, that there was no danger of the treaſury's being exhauſted by this bounty, ſince immenſe ſums were annually brought into it from the provinces; that there were at that time lodged in the temple of Saturn, where the public treaſures were kept, 1620829 pounds weight of gold; that the public treaſury ought not to be like the ſea, which ſwallows up every thing and returns nothing, &c. The law met with great oppoſition, but at length paſſed to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the indigent citizens. In the next place, Druſus made it his buſineſs to gain the affections of the Italian allies, eſpecially of the Latins. In order to this, he propoſed a law for inveſting them with all the privileges of Roman citizens. But this law was oppoſed with great violence, not only by the ſenators and knights, but even by the people, who could not bear the thoughts of making thoſe their fellow-citizens, whom they looked upon as their ſubjects. In the mean time, the Italian allies flocked to Rome from all parts to ſupport their protector. But, finding they could not by his means gain their point, they entered into a plot, without his knowledge, to extort by force what they deſpaired of getting by intereſt. Some of the leading men among them formed a deſign of aſſaſſinating the conſuls, during the ceremony of the Feriæ Latinæ, which was annually performed on the hill of Alba after the election of the great magiſtrates. But Druſus being informed of the plot, notwithſtanding all the care the conſpirators took to conceal it, he immediately acquainted the conſuls with the wicked deſigns of the allies, and by that means ſaved their lives. But thoſe, whom the well-meaning tribune had ſaved from a conſpiracy, conſpired to deſtroy him. While he was one day returning from the forum, where he had harangued the people in behalf of the allies, a great crowd of people attended him to the door of his houſe, where he was ſtabbed with a knife, which the ruffian left in the wound, and then made his eſcape. When Druſus felt himſelf wounded, he cried out, Ungrateful republic! Wilt thou ever find a man more zealous for thy true intereſt, than I have been?

Druſus commands the conſul Marcius Philippus to be carried to priſon.

The probity of Druſus.

Druſus aſſaſſinated.

And a few hours after expired. It was never diſcovered who had hired the aſſaſſin; but the ſuſpicion of this black attempt fell on the conſul Philippus, on Cæpio, and on Varus, one of his fellow-tribunes, who ſoon after propoſed a law, declaring traytors and enemies to the ſtate all thoſe, who ſhould move for granting to the allies the prerogative of citizenſhip. Druſus was a man of an unſpotted cha-

His character.

racter, and for love to his country was no-ways inferior to the greateſt heroes of Rome. He dedicated all his thoughts, cares, and life itſelf to the ſervice of his republic. But, as the evil was now become incurable, all his attempts, for preſerving the ſtate from impending ruin, were unſucceſsful. Not many years after the ungrateful republic loſt her liberty; and the ſovereign power, which Druſus's meaſures might have prevented, ſoon devolved to his family; for he was the grandfather of Livia, the wife of Auguſtus, and conſequently the great grandfather of the emperor Tiberius [t].

The allies arm.

THE death of Druſus, thus baſely aſſaſſinated for attempting to procure the right of citizenſhip to the Italian allies, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they began to arm with a deſign to do themſelves juſtice. Pompædius Silo, the moſt famous general among the Marſi, put himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and marched towards Rome, which he deſigned to ſurpriſe and plunder. But Cn. Domitius, his old friend, meeting him on the road as he was going to his country-houſe, prevailed upon him to lay aſide his deſign, and return to his own country [u]. As the republic was threatened with a war, two men of diſtinguiſhed merit were promoted to the conſulate, viz. L. Julius Cæſar and P. Rutilius Lupus. In the very beginning of their adminiſtration, the Marſi, Peligni, Samnites, Campanians, and Lucanians, and in ſhort all the provinces from the Liris to the Adriatic, revolted at once. Rome had never engaged more formidable enemies. As they had all ſerved in the armies of the republic, they were as well diſciplined as her legions, and their leaders had learnt the art of war under her moſt famous commanders. It is ſaid of the Marſi in particular, that Rome had never gained a victory, in which they had not a great ſhare. The firſt ſtep they took in their revolt was, to erect

[t] Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. Liv. epit. l. lxxi. c. 20. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 5. Flor. l. iii. c. 17. [u] Diodor. Sicul. apud. Valeſ. Cic. de orat. l. i

erect themſelves into a republic in oppoſition to that of Rome. Corfinium, a great and ſtrong city in the country of the Peligni, was made the capital of their new republic. Thither were carried all the hoſtages given by the cities in the revolt, and prodigious ſtores of arms and proviſions. The city of Aſculum Picenum among the reſt reſolved to ſend her hoſtages to Corfinium, which Q. Servilius, who governed that province in quality of proconſul, no ſooner heard, than he flew to Aſculum, and entering it, threatened the inhabitants with the vengeance of Rome. But they, deſpiſing his menaces, ran to arms, and cut in pieces the proconſul, Fonteius his lieutenant, and all the Romans they found in their territory. War being thus openly declared, Rome made what haſte ſhe could to levy troops, and appoint the conſuls their provinces. Cæſar was ordered into Samnium, and Rutilius into the country of the Marſi. The latter choſe for his lieutenant-generals Cn. Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, C. Marius, Q. Cæpio, C. Perperna, and Valerius Meſſala. Cæſar nominated for his chief officers P. Lentulus, Cornelius Sylla, T. Didius, P. Licinius Craſſus, and M. Marcellus. Thus were all the commanders of note in Rome employed in this new war. Neither were theſe lieutenants to ſerve barely as ſubalterns; every one had a body of troops under his command with the title of proconſul: nor were they confined to particular provinces or diſtricts; every one was ordered to go where-ever he was wanted, and all directed to aſſiſt each other. While Rome was taking theſe wiſe meaſures, the allies choſe alſo their conſuls and prætors, and formed a ſenate conſiſting of five hundred perſons to govern their new ſtate; ſo that Italy was now, for the firſt time, divided into two great and powerful republics. In the mean time, Cn. Pompeius, marching with a detachment from Rome to revenge the death of Servilius on the Aſculani, attempted to take their city by aſſault. But the inhabitants made an unexpected ſally, put the Romans to flight, and purſued them with great ſlaughter. After this the two conſuls took the field; Julius Cæſar entered Samnium, and Rutilius the country of the Marſi. The Latins, who ſtill continued faithful to the republic, furniſhed their contingent of troops as uſual. The Hetrurians likewiſe, the Umbrians, and the eaſtern kings ſent large ſupplies to ſupport Rome in ſo dangerous a war. The faithful Minatius Magius, whom Velleius Paterculus reckons among his anceſtors, though a native of Aſculum, raiſed as many men for

And erect themſelves into a republic.

Cn. Pompeius put to flight by the allies.

the Romans as amounted to the number of a legion. Sertorius, at this time quæſtor in Ciſalpine Gaul, brought a reinforcement of Gauls to the relief of his country, fought the allies with his uſual bravery, and having loſt one of his eyes in this war, he ever after gloried in that honourable deformity [w].

THE country of the Marſi, which had fallen to Rutilius, was defended by two able generals, Preſenteius and Vettius Cato. The former was oppoſed by C. Perperna, who commanded a great body of troops under the conſul. The Roman immediately offered the enemy battle, which Preſenteius did not decline. Both armies fought with unparallelled bravery; but the Romans were at laſt put to the rout, after having loſt about four thouſand men. A few days after this defeat, Vettius Cato, who oppoſed Rutilius, being informed that the conſul deſigned to paſs the river Telonius in the night, lay in ambuſh for the conſular army, attacked them unexpectedly, and drove them back into the river. In this action eight thouſand Romans were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river. The conſul himſelf was killed witn a great many officers of diſtinction. The attack was ſo ſudden, that Marius, who was encamped on the banks of the river at a ſmall diſtance from the conſul, had no notice of it, till the Telonius brought a great number of dead bodies to his camp. The news of this overthrow, and the ſight of the conſul's body, which was brought to Rome, filled the city with terror. For fear of a ſurpriſe guards were placed at all the gates, the number of the centinels on the ramparts was encreaſed, and all the avenues to the city well guarded. Theſe were neceſſary precautions during a war, wherein the ſoldiers of the two oppoſite parties were dreſſed and armed after the ſame manner, ſpoke the ſame language, and were well acquainted with the cuſtoms of each other. The legions, which Rutilius had commanded, were divided between Marius and Cæpio. The latter ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully overreached by Pompædius Silo, commander in chief of the allies. He came as a ſuppliant to the proconſul, accompanied by two young ſlaves richly dreſſed, whom he pretended to be his ſons, each of them carrying in his hand a lump of lead, the one covered with a thin plate of gold, and the other of ſilver, which he ſaid were the preſents his children came to lay at his feet. The proconſul received Pompædius with

Perperna defeated by the allies.

The conſul Rutilius defeated and killed.

[w] Vell. Patercul. l. i. Plut. in Sertorio. Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

with great politeneſs, and admitted him into his confidence; when the crafty Italian, pretending to lead him to a place where he might ſurpriſe the enemy, conducted him into narrow defiles, where the proconſul was ſlain, and the beſt part of his army cut in pieces [x]. Thus fell Q. Cæpio, who, by his warm oppoſition to Druſus's ſcheme, had been the chief author of the preſent war.

Q. Cæpio defeated and killed.

THESE ſucceſſes raiſed the courage of the allies, who under their various leaders gained conſiderable advantages over the Romans. Judacilius, Afranius, and Ventidius, three officers of diſtinction among the confederates, having united their forces, obliged Cn. Pompeius to ſhelter himſelf behind the walls of Firnum in Picenum. Marius Ignatius ſurpriſed the city of Venafrum in Campania, and cut in pieces the Roman garriſon, conſiſting of two cohorts. The city of Nola ſurrendered to Aponius, one of the conſuls of the allies, and delivered up to him the Roman garriſon, to the number of two thouſand men, with the prætor L. Poſthumius, who commanded them. The ſame Aponius ſeized the cities of Stabiæ, Liternum, and Salernum, and overran all Campania. In Lucania, Lamponius drove M. Licinius out of the field, killed eight hundred of his men, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of Grumentum. Judacilius reduced almoſt all Apulia, and brought the cities of Canuſium and Venuſia over to the confederates [y].

The allies gain conſiderable advantages.

IN Samnium, the conſul Julius Cæſar was defeated by Vettius Cato the Samnite, and forced to take ſhelter in a neighbouring city, after having loſt two thouſand men. However, he ſoon left the place of his retreat to relieve Acerræ, which was cloſely beſieged by Aponius. That general, having releaſed Oxyntas the ſon of Jugurtha from his confinement in the city of Venuſia, brought him to his army, and there treated him as king. The Numidians, who ſerved in the conſul's army, no ſooner heard that the ſon of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to deſert by companies; inſomuch, that the conſul was obliged to part with all his Numidian cavalry, and ſend them back into Africa. This diminution of the conſular troops raiſed the courage of Aponius, who came to inſult the Romans at the very gates of their camp. But Cæſar ſallying out unexpectedly, fell ſo briſkly on the enemy, that they were forced to retire after having loſt ſix thouſand

The conſul Julius Cæſar defeated.

The allies repulſed by Cæſar.

[x] Appian. ibid. Oroſ. l. v. c. 18. [y] Appian. & Liv. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 18. Oroſ. l. 5. c. 18.

ſand men. As this was the firſt victory the Romans had gained over the allies, it occaſioned great joy both at Rome and in the army. The ſenate rewarded the brave conſul by confirming the title of Imperator (O) which the ſoldiers had given him on the field of battle. In the mean time, Marius, being attacked in his camp by Herrius Acinius, the chief of the Marrucini, put the enemy to flight, and forced them to take ſhelter in a place which they deemed inacceſſible. But Sylla, whom they did not expect, paſſing accidentally that way with his flying camp, attacked them, made a terrible ſlaughter of their troops, and completed the victory with the death of their general; which was no ſmall mortification to Marius. At the ſame time Servius Sulpicius, having defeated in a pitched battle the Peligni and reduced their whole country, marched to the relief of Cn. Pompeius, who was beſieged in Firmum by Afranius, attacked his camp, killed him in the action, and cut moſt of his troops in pieces. After this victory, Pompeius laid ſiege to Aſculum, whither the remains of the enemy's army had fled for refuge. In the country of the Marſi, Marius, after having continued ſeveral months in a ſtate of inaction, to inure his troops to diſcipline, at length took the field, and gave battle. But he was ſenſible in the action, that he was not now the ſame man. As he was in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and ſubject to various diſtempers, his ſtrength and former vivacity had failed him. His troops, not being animated by his example, as they expected, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock but faintly, and then fled in diſorder to their camp. The bad ſucceſs of this battle was ſuch a mortification to Marius, that, under pretence of his infirmities, he reſigned the command, and returned to Rome [z].

The Marrucini defeated by Marius and Sylla.

Sulpicius overcomes and kills Afranius.

Marius defeated.

THE fame of this victory gained by the Marſi induced the Umbrians and Hetrurians to declare for the confederates. It was therefore neceſſary for Rome to encreaſe the number of her forces, in proportion as the number of her enemies

[z] Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Appian. ibid.

(O) In the times of the republic the title of Imperator was an occaſional mark of honour, which the armies, ſometimes beſtowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the ſenate confirmed in favour of thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by important victories. But under the Cæſars it became a title of ſovereignty.

mies encreaſed; but as the capital alone was not able to furniſh as many as were requiſite to complete the many legions that were to be raiſed, the ſenate, by a ſtep which was never taken but in the utmoſt danger, ordered the freedmen to be enliſted, and formed twelve cohorts of them, which were employed as garriſons in the maritime cities; ſo that Rome could ſend all her legions, under the command of Lucius Porcius and Aulus Plautius, againſt the united forces of the Umbrians and Hetrurians, whom they defeated in a pitched battle, but not without the loſs of many brave legionaries [a].

Freed-men enliſted at Rome.

As the conſular year was near expiring, the conſul Julius Cæſar, deſirous to put an end to the war before he went out of his office, drew up a law, which was confirmed by the ſenate, and enacted, That all the nations in Italy, whoſe alliance with Rome was indiſputable, ſhould enjoy the rights of Roman citizens. This law, which was ever after called the Julian law, much abated the ardor of the enemy, and drew off ſeveral nations from the confederacy; however, the war was ſtill carried on by the Lucanians, Samnites, Marſi, Picentes, &c. The new conſuls therefore, Cn. Pompeius Strabo and L. Porcius Cato, no ſooner entered upon their office, than they took the field. The former, who was the father of Pompey the Great, and called Strabo becauſe he ſquinted, went to carry on the ſiege Aſculum, and deſtroyed a whole army of Marſi, who came to relieve it. Five thouſand of them were killed upon the ſpot, with their general Fuſcus, a man of great bravery and experience in war, and the reſt periſhed with hunger and cold among the Apennines, where they had taken ſhelter. However, Aſculum ſtill held out againſt the conſular army, depending on relief from the brave Judacilius, a native of that place. That intrepid commander ordered his countrymen to make a ſally at a time appointed, promiſing to force his way into the city through the Roman army. Accordingly he made the attempt at the head of eight cohorts, and, though not ſeconded by the Aſculans, bravely performed his promiſe, and entered the place; a glorious action, not inferior to the illuſtrious exploits of the braveſt Romans! Having thus forced his way ſword in hand into the city, he firſt put to death thoſe who had prevented the ſally, and then, finding he could not force the Romans to raiſe the ſiege, he put an end to his life by poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the ruin of his country [b].

The Julian law.

An army of Marſi deſtroyed.

The gallant behaviour of Judacilius.

In

[a] Appian. ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

The prætor Aſellio aſſaſſinated.

In the mean time, Aulus Sempronius Aſellio, the prætor urbanus, having exaſperated the rich by many judgments he gave againſt uſury, was murdered by them, as he was offering a ſacrifice to Caſtor and Pollux in the forum. The ſenate ordered enquiries to be made after the authors of ſo black an attempt; but the money of the uſurers ſtopped the mouths both of the accuſers and witneſſes; ſo that this notorious and ſcandalous iniquity eſcaped unpuniſhed. However, the tribune M. Plautius Sylvanus, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the people, made a law, whereby it was declared a capital crime for any citizen to come into the comitium with arms of any kind, or to diſturb the judges in their courts. The ſame tribune, by another law, deprived the Roman knights of their juriſdiction, which they abuſed in a moſt flagrant manner. The Plautian law enacted, that each tribe ſhould chuſe fifteen men out of their own body, to whom the cognizance of civil cauſes ſhould be committed. By this means men only of known probity, of what rank ſoever they were, had the charge of adminiſtring juſtice, which was done with great impartiality. This zealous tribune, in conjunction with Caius Papirius Carbo, one of his collégues, put the laſt hand to the Julian law, which we have mentioned above, in favour of the allies, and got it confirmed by the people, and publiſhed in the following words: All the citizens of the allied cities, who ſhall be in Italy at the time of the promulgation of this law, ſhall be deemed citizens of Rome, provided they regiſter their names with one of the three prætors within ſixty days. This brought the Italians to Rome in ſuch numbers, that the new citizens ſoon became more numerous than the old; but, leſt this ſhould make ſtrangers maſters of the elections, and conſequently of the republic, the new cenſors, Lucius Cæſar and P. Licinius Craſſus, did not incorporate them in the thirty-five Roman tribes, but formed them into new tribes, who were to vote laſt. By this means all matters were determined by a majority of voices, before the new tribes gave their ſuffrages. The allies were ſenſible of this artifice, but diſſembled their diſſatisfaction, being reſolved, when an opportunity offered, to put themſelves upon a level with the old inhabitants of Rome [c].

The Roman knights deprived of their juriſdiction.

The new citizens formed into tribes.

During

[c] Appian. ibid. Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4. Liv. epit. l. lxxiv. c. 53. Cic. pro Archia. Pædian. in Cic. pro Cornelio.

During these regulations at Rome, the war was pursued with vigour in the provinces which continued in the revolt. The consul Pompeius, having turned the siege of Asculum into a blockade, led his best troops against Vettius Cato, who covered the country of the Vestini with a great army, defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced several cities. He afterwards granted Vettius a friendly conference, at which Cicero, who was making his first campaign under the consul, was present. How this conference ended, we are not told; but all historians agree, that the consul Pompeius put an end to the war with the Vestini [d]. In the country of the Marsi, the consul Porcius Cato, after having gained considerable advantages over that warlike people, resolved to force their camp on the banks of the lake Fucinus; but he was killed in the attempt by a dart discharged at him, as was suspected, not by the enemy, but by young Marius, who had quarrelled with him some days before, for speaking contemptuously of his father. The Marsi took advantage of this accident, put the Romans to the rout, and pursued them with great slaughter. On the other hand, the proconsul Cosconius defeated and killed the famous Marius Egnatius in a pitched battle. Upon his death, Trebatius the Samnite took upon him the command of the army; but he was likewise overcome in a second battle, and forced to take refuge in Canusium, after having lost in the action and the pursuit above fifteen thousand men. Then Cosconius over-ran the countries of the Larinates, Venusians, and Pediculi, and reduced them to obedience. The confederates began now to be in pain for Corfinium, the capital of their new republic, and therefore removed their senate and magazines to Esernia in the country of the Samnites. They also sent an embassy to Mithridates in Asia, who had now declared against Rome, hoping to obtain from him such supplies, as would enable them to recover their affairs; but Sylla, the hero of this campaign, frustrated their expectations. He besieged the city of Stabiæ in Campania, took it by assault, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He then marched against the Roman army, who had just murdered their general Postumius; but, instead of punishing them, he, to their great surprise, treated them with uncommon civility, and added them to his own legions. When his army was thus reinforced, he undertook the siege of Pompeii, a strong city in the

The Vestini under Vettius Cato defeated.

The consul Porcius Cato killed.

Great advantages gained over the allies by Sylla.

[d] Festus in Verranis. Cic. Phil. II. Liv. epit. l. lxxxv. c. 19.

the neighbourhood of Stabiæ. Cluentius, one of the generals of the allies, haſtened to the relief of the beſieged; but was repulſed with great loſs. Cluentius, having not long after received a reinforcement of Gauls, appeared again in the field, and inſulted Sylla within reach of his intrenchments; but a Gauliſh champion, who challenged the braveſt Roman to a ſingle combat at the head of the two armies, being killed by a young Mauritanian, the reſt, ſtruck with a panic, fled, and the troops of Cluentius with them. Sylla purſued them, cut thirty thouſand of the fugitives in pieces, and then returning to the ſiege of Pompeii, reduced that important place. From Pompeii he marched to Nola, whither Cluentius had fled with the remains of his ſhattered army. He attacked him a-new under the walls of that city, killed him in the battle, and with him twenty thouſand Samnites, who had flocked from all parts to join him after his firſt defeat. The victorious general, having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, brought his legions into Hirpinia, which he reduced, after having made himſelf maſter of Aſculana, the metropolis of the country. He then fell upon Samnium, where he was ſurrounded in narrow paſſes by the famous Aponius, and reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. However, he found means to recover this falſe ſtep, and eſcape, when all his men looſed upon themſelves as loſt. He agreed to a truce with Aponius, then ſtole out of his camp in the dark, and taking a compaſs, fell on the enemy's rear, while they were buſy in plundering the deſerted camp, ſo vigorouſly and ſo unexpectedly, that the Samnites, ſeized with terror, fled without making any reſiſtance. Having now no enemy to contend with in the field, he marched to Bovianum, and took it by ſtorm [e].

The city of Aſculum reduced.

In the mean time, the conſul Pompeius, after a long ſiege, reduced the city of Aſculum, and puniſhed the inhabitants, who had murdered a Roman prætor, with the utmoſt ſeverity. He ſaved a ſmall number of their chiefs to grace his triumph, and cauſed all the other perſons of diſtinction in the place to be put to death. To the reſt of the inhabitants he granted life and liberty; but confiſcated their lands, and gave their houſes up to be plundered by his ſoldiers.

Sylla choſen conſul.

When winter approached, the generals returned to Rome, where Sylla, who had eclipſed all the other commanders during this campaign, was rewarded with the conſulate. He had alſo intereſt enough to get Q. Rufus Pompeius,

[e] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. ibid.

peius, whoſe ſon had lately married his daughter Cornelia, choſen for his collegue. The conſul Pompeius, on his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph, which many illuſtrious captives graced, and among the reſt P. Ventidius and his wife, who carried in her arms her young ſon, whom we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory conſul in Rome, and riding himſelf in triumph to the capitol, after having conquered the moſt warlike and formidable enemy Rome ever engaged.

As ſoon as Sylla entered on his new office, he began to uſe all his intereſt, both with the patricians and plebeians, to get the command of the army, which was to be employed againſt Mithridates, conferred upon himſelf; but in this he was oppoſed by Marius, who, tho' worn out with many diſtempers, and inſufficient for that ſervice on account of his age, was ſtill deſirous of appearing at the head of an army. In order to ſupplant his rival Sylla, he contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with P. Sulpicius, tribune of the people, whoſe character Plutarch gives us in the following words: Sulpicius, ſays he, excelled all men in wickedneſs; he was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and all ſorts of crimes, which, how enormous ſoever, he committed with the greateſt confidence and unconcern. He kept three thouſand deſperate men in conſtant pay, and had conſtantly about him a company of young knights, whom he ſtyled his antiſenatorial band. The ſeditious tribune, to ſtrengthen his own and Marius's party, paſſed ſeveral laws in favour of the people, whom by that means he gained over to his intereſt. He then applied himſelf wholly to the ſecuring of the Italian allies; and, in order to this, he propoſed a law, enacting that all the inhabitants of Italy, who had lately obtained the right of citizenſhip, ſhould be blended with the other citizens, incorporated into the thirty-five tribes, and conſequently ſhould have the very ſame right of voting, each in his tribe, as others had, without any diſtinction. This was effectually making himſelf maſter of a majority of voices on all occaſions; for he did not doubt, but all the new citizens would be under his influence, and would vote as he ſhould direct [c].

Marius jealous of Sylla's glory.

The tribune Sulpicius.

Propoſes a law in favour of the allies.

BEFORE the comitia met for the accepting or rejecting of this law, Rome had the ſatisfaction to hear, that her generals againſt the allies were attended with uncommon ſucceſs.

[c] Plut. Appian. ibid.

ſucceſs. Ser. Sulpicius brought the whole country of the Marrucini under ſubjection. The Veſtini and Peligni ſubmitted of their own accord to the old conſul Cn. Pompeius, who was returned, after his triumph, to his camp at Aſculum; nay, they even promiſed to deliver up their leader Vettius: but as they were dragging him along in chains, a faithful ſlave, thinking it his duty to deliver his maſter from the inſults of his haughty enemies, firſt ſtabbed him, and then himſelf. L. Licinius Muræna and Q. Cæcilius Pius obliged the Marſi, among whom the war had begun, to ſue for peace; but the brave Pompædius ſtill ſupported the ſinking cauſe at the head of twenty thouſand ſlaves, whom he had juſt armed. Againſt him marched Cæcilius Pius and Ser. Sulpicius, and gave him battle, in which his army was routed and he himſelf killed. The only place that now held out for the allies was Nola; and Sylla ſet out from Rome to reduce it: but he was ſoon recalled, to reſtrain the inſolence of the tribune Sulpicius, who carried all before him at Rome, not by perſuaſion, but by violence and force. He had already appointed a day for the comitia to meet, in order to accept the law for incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes. Sylla, upon his arrival, joined his collegue Pompeius Rufus, and both agreed to order ſeveral feriæ or holidays to be kept, during which it was not lawful for the people to meet or tranſact any buſineſs. This they did to gain time; but Sulpicius no ſooner heard, that the conſuls had proclaimed feriæ, than he left his houſe, and attended by his guards, whom he ordered to conceal daggers under their robes, marched ſtrait to the temple of Caſtor, where the conſuls had aſſembled the ſenate. The conſcript fathers were ſurpriſed when they ſaw Sulpicius appear, and more ſo, when they heard him inſolently command them to diſannul the conſular decree, which ordered feriæ to be kept. The conſuls oppoſed the repealing of the decree, and ſeveral of the ſenators did the ſame. Hereupon the furious tribune let looſe his antiſenatorial band upon them, who, drawing their daggers, fell upon the defenceleſs ſenators. The conſul Pompeius eſcaped in the crowd; but his ſon, a young ſenator, who had lately married Sylla's daughter, was killed by the aſſaſſins. Sylla, being cloſely purſued by Sulpicius's ruffians, took refuge in Marius's houſe; which they not ſuſpecting, hurried by, ſo that Sylla eſcaped falling

The Marrucini, Veſtini, &c. reduced.

Diſturbances raiſed in Rome by the tribune Sulpicius.

The ſon of the conſul Pompeius killed.

falling into their hands. Marius, tho' naturally cruel and revengeful, did not care to ſtain his hands with the blood of a conſul, who had taken refuge in his houſe. He only forced him to ſwear that he would aboliſh the feriæ, which he had appointed. After exacting this oath, Marius himſelf let Sylla eſcape by a back-door: and Sylla kept his word; for he went directly to the comitium, and in the preſence of the people, repealed the feriæ. By this compliance he ſo far pleaſed Sulpicius, that the tribune did not deprive him of his office; whereas he prevailed upon the people, whoſe ſuffrages he had at his command, to depoſe Pompeius [f].

Sylla retires from Rome.

And now Sylla, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in Rome, where the oppoſite party prevailed, left the city, and repaired in all haſte to his camp near Nola. The feriæ being repealed and both conſuls fled, Sulpicius, now abſolute maſter at Rome, got the law paſſed, incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes, and at the ſame time extorted from the people another in favour of Marius. The ſenate had already inveſted Sylla with the command of the army, which was to be employed againſt Mithridates; but Sulpicius got a law paſſed, enacting, That the conſul ſhould continue in Italy, and that Marius, tho' now only a private man, ſhould command the Roman legions in Aſia. Marius no ſooner received his commiſſion, than he diſpatched two military tribunes, one of whom was Gratedius, a relation of his own, to acquaint the troops under the command of Sylla, that their general was changed, and that they were no longer to obey Sylla, but Marius, whom the Roman people had appointed to carry on the war againſt the king of Pontus; but the ſoldiers, who were greatly attached to Sylla, inſtead of obeying the orders that were brought from Marius, buried the two meſſengers under a heap of ſtones, and cried out with one voice, Let us march to Rome; let us revenge there the injuries done to the conſular dignity; and the oppreſſion of our fellow citizens. On the other hand, Marius, by way of repriſal for the death of the two tribunes, put Sylla's friends in the city to the ſword, and plundered their houſes; which Sylla no ſooner heard, than he determined to march ſtrait to Rome. His army conſiſted of ſix legions, who, being all warmed with his ſpirit, breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder; but ſeveral officers, unwilling to turn

The people appoint Marius to command in Aſia.

Sylla marches to Rome.

[f] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

turn their arms againſt their own country, quitted the ſervice. On the other hand, many who diſliked the violence of Marius and Sulpicius, left Rome, and took refuge in Sylla's camp; ſo that the road from Nola to Rome was crouded with people hurrying to and fro, ſome from the camp to the city, others from the city to the camp. Many retired into the country, to avoid taking either ſide in this civil war. Q. Pompeius, the other conſul, whom Sulpicius had depoſed, haſtened to join his collegue with all the troops he could get together.

MARIUS and Sulpicius being informed, that the two conſuls were advancing at the head of a numerous army, towards the city and having themſelves no troops to oppoſe them, prevailed upon the conſcript fathers to ſend two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to meet Sylla upon the road, and ſtop him in his march. The prætors delivered their meſſage to Sylla in terms a little too haughty; which ſo incenſed the ſoldiery, that they broke their faſces, tore off their purple robes, and would have cut them in pieces with their attendants, had not Sylla reſtrained their fury. When the Romans ſaw the two magiſtrates return without the enſigns and marks of their dignity, and in great diſorder, they concluded, that all reſpect for the laws was laid aſide, and that violence and ſuperior power was thenceforth to determine all things. Marius and Sulpicius, who had only a handful of factious men to oppoſe a powerful and inraged enemy, diſpatched, in the name of the ſenate, meſſenger after meſſenger, to amuſe the conſul with rambling propoſals and retard his march. The conſul, who was well appriſed of their deſign, to elude one artifice with another, pretended to acquieſce in their propoſals, and, in the preſence of the meſſengers, ordered the ground to be marked out for a camp; but, as ſoon as the deputies were gone, he detached a ſtrong party, under the command of L. Baſilius and C. Mummius, with orders to ſecure one of the gates, and marched himſelf at the head of his legions after them with ſuch expedition, that he was in ſight of Rome in a few hours. The party he had ſent before ſeized the Eſquiline gate, and Sylla reinforced that detachment with a whole legion. The conſul Pompeius, at the head of another legion, made himſelf maſter of the gate Collina. A third legion was poſted at the head of the bridge Sublicius, to ſhut up the entrance into the city on the ſide of the river. A fourth legion was ordered to patrol round the walls,

walls, near the gate Cælimontana, and guard the approaches to it. The two other legions were ordered to march into the city ſword in hand. When they came into the ſtreet that faced the Eſquiline gate, Marius and Sulpicius appeared at the head of a company tumultuouſly aſſembled. Hereupon the trumpets of the conſular army ſounded the charge, which rouſed the martial ardor of the citizens, who were all formed to war; but, as they had no arms, they got up to the tops of their houſes, and fearing the town ſhould be plundered by Sylla's armed legions, diſcharged from thence ſuch ſhowers of tiles and ſtones upon them, as made the legionaries firſt halt, and then retire to the very gate. Upon this Sylla flew to the head of his legions, ordered them to advance, and taking a torch in his hand, threatened to ſet fire to the houſes, if the citizens did not immediately deſiſt from all hoſtilities. This terrified the people, who remained now only ſpectators of the battle between the two parties. In vain did Marius and Sulpicius call them to their aſſiſtance; no-body offered to take up arms, not even the ſlaves, tho' they proclaimed liberty by ſound of trumpet to all thoſe who ſhould join them. Marius, not being able, with a handful of ſeditious men, to withſtand the conſul's regular troops, was driven back, from ſtreet to ſtreet, to the temple of the goddeſs Tellus, where he made a ſtand, and charged the legions with great vigor; which obliged Sylla to ſend for ſome legionaries he had left at one of the gates. At the ſight of this reinforcement, Marius, fearing he ſhould be ſurrounded, retired, firſt to the capitol, and from thence to one of the gates of the city, which he was glad to leave, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. And now Sylla, ſeeing himſelf maſter of the city, poſted guards in all the open places, to prevent diſorders. He and his collegue were in motion all night, to reſtrain the ſoldiers, and to prevent their pillaging the houſes of their fellow citizens. He even cauſed ſome of his legions to be ſeverely puniſhed for entering a private houſe, and plundering it. As ſoon as it was day, the two conſuls aſſembled the people in the comitium, and harangued them with as much tranquillity, as if there had been no blood ſhed in Rome. Sylla, who was an excellent orator, after having deplored the calamities of the commonwealth, in terms no leſs moving than lively, propoſed the following laws, which, he ſaid, would reform the many abuſes that had crept into the government; 1ſt, That no law ſhould be brought before the people, till it had been

Sylla enters Rome by force.

Marius eſcapes out of Rome.

Several laws made by Sylla.

ſeen and approved of by the ſenate. 2dly, That the comitia ſhould not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries. 3dly, That no citizen, who had been tribune of the people, ſhould be capable of any other magiſtracy. 4thly, That all the laws of the tribune Sulpicius ſhould be declared void and null. Theſe propoſals coming from a man, who was at the head of ſix legions and maſter of Rome, were readily accepted by the people [g].

Marius and Sulpicius proſcribed.

In the next place, articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt Caius Marius, his ſon, the tribune Sulpicius, ſeveral other tribunes of the people, two ſenators, and a great many of their adherents. They were all proſcribed, declared enemies to Rome, and a reward ſet upon their heads. The decree of the ſenate proſcribing them was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet in Rome, and in all the provinces ſubject to the republic. Every ſubject, friend, or ally of the republic was ordered to ſeize and put them to death, wherever they ſhould be found. At the ſame time Sylla detached troops to all parts. Sulpicius, being betrayed by one of his ſlaves, was immediately ſeized, and his head ſtruck off by one of Sylla's horſemen. His head was brought to Rome, and fixed upon a ſtake over-againſt the roſtra, where he had made ſo many ſeditious ſpeeches. The treacherous ſlave received at once the reward and puniſhment due to his treachery. Sylla ſet him at liberty, ordered the money to be paid him for the diſcovery of Sulpicius; but at the ſame time commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the Tarpeian rock for betraying his maſter.

Sulpicius ſeized, and killed.

The ſenate and people diſpleaſed with Sylla's conduct.

The people could not behold the head of one of their magiſtrates expoſed to public view, without a ſecret indignation. The ſenate likewiſe murmured at the proſcription of Marius, from a natural compaſſion, always ſhewn to heroes, when fallen into diſtreſs. Tho' the fathers were well pleaſed to ſee the people humbled, yet, jealous of the honour and dignity of their body, they could not bear, that their collegues ſhould be proſcribed like villains and thieves. The people in general reproached Sylla with ingratitude, for condemning to death a man, who, not long before, had ſaved his life, when he was at his mercy. If Marius had given way to Sulpicius, who was for diſpatching Sylla, he had, by his death, been maſter of all; but he choſe rather to ſpare his life, for which Sylla, when i cam

[g] Appian. in Plut. ibid.

came to his turn to be uppermoſt, made him a very ungrateful and ungenerous acknowledgment. Theſe reflections alienated the minds of all from Sylla, as he experienced at the next elections; for Nonnius, his ſiſter's ſon, and Servius Sulpicius, who had long ſerved under him, were excluded from the conſulate, tho' earneſtly recommended by him; but he, inſtead of reſenting ſuch treatment, affected to be well pleaſed with it, ſaying, That he ſaw with joy the people by his means reſtored to their full liberty of chuſing whom they pleaſed; nay, to reconcile the minds of the people to him, he ſuffered them to raiſe to the conſulate L. Cornelius Cinna, who was of the contrary faction, after having prevailed upon him in private to renounce, in a moſt ſolemn manner, his former principles and engagements with Marius, and to ſwear an inviolable attachment to the party of the ſenate. This oath Cinna took in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, adding to it the following imprecation; If I do not punctually obſerve the oath in its full extent, may I be thrown out of the city, in the ſame manner, as I throw this ſtone out of my hand; at which words he threw on the ground a ſtone which he held in his hand. Cinna was a man of no principles, of moſt depraved manners, furious and inconſiderate in all his undertakings, wholly addicted to the popular faction, a declared enemy to the nobility, and capable of ſupporting the intereſt of his faction, with a courage and conſtancy worthy of a better citizen. The collegue given him by the tribes was Cn. Octavius, a man of an unblemiſhed character, and whoſe love for his country was the governing principle of his life. And now Sylla was wholly intent on making the beſt uſe of the little time he and his collegue Pompeius were to enjoy the conſulate. Their chief aim was, to rid the republic of the two Marii, father and ſon, for whom, tho' proſcribed, intereſt was ſecretly made in Rome. A great price was ſet upon their heads, and ſquadrons of horſe, ſent out in queſt of them, had been long ſcouring the neighbouring country, with orders to bring them to Rome dead or alive [h].

Cinna choſen conſul.

His character.

The THE ſufferings and dangers of Marius in his flight and exile were very extraordinary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his crimes, and remember only his victories. As ſoon as he was got out of Rome, all thoſe who attended him in his flight, ſeparated and diſperſed;

flight and adventures of Marius.

[h] Plut. ibid.

and night coming on, he retired, with young Marius and Granius, his wife's ſon by a former huſband, to a ſmall houſe he had near Rome. From thence he ſent his ſon for proviſions to a neighbouring farm of his father-in-law Mucius (P); but, in the mean time, being informed, that a party of horſe was ſearching for him in that neighbourhood, he left his houſe, without waiting for his ſon's return, and, attended by Granius alone, haſtened to Oſtia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had provided a ſhip for him againſt all events. He immediately went on board, and weighing anchor, coaſted along the Italian ſhore. He was in no ſmall apprehenſion of one Geminius, a leading man in Terracina and his ſworn enemy. He therefore directed the ſeamen to keep clear of that place, and avoid a ſhore, which might prove fatal to him: which they were willing to do; but the wind ſhifting on a ſudden and blowing hard, the mariners, fearing the ſhip would not be able to weather the ſtorm, and ſeeing Marius indiſpoſed and ſea-ſick, tacked about, and with great difficulty made Circæum. There they landed Marius, who, oppreſſed with hunger, exhauſted with the fatigues of the ſea, and ſurrounded with dangers on all ſides, rambled about the fields, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, it being dangerous for him to meet people, and no leſs ſo to meet none, by reaſon of the extreme want to which he was reduced.

On the other hand, Marius the ſon ran no leſs dangers at the houſe of Mucius, where he made all the haſte he could to provide himſelf with ſuch things as he wanted, and

(P) This Mucius was the famous Quintus Mucius Scævola, one of the moſt virtuous and learned citizens of Rome. When Sylla appeared in Rome after the defeat of Marius, and all things gave way to the will of the conqueror, Scævola alone had courage enough to oppoſe, in Sylla's preſence, the ſentence of condemnation, which the ſenators were going to paſs againſt Marius. When the conqueror threatened him with the ſevereſt vengeance, if he refuſed to ſubſcribe the decree of proſcription. "You attempt "in vain, ſaid he, to intimidate me with your threatenings. You "may let out, if you pleaſe, the little blood that is left in my "veins in my old age. Neither the ſight of the armed ſoldiers "who ſurround me, nor the fear of any puniſhment you can in"flict upon me, ſhall ever force me to declare that hero an ene"my to his country, to whom Rome is indebted for her ſafety "and her moſt glorious conqueſts (10).

(10) Val. Max. l. iii.

and to pack them up; but, day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been diſcovered by a party of Sylla's horſe, who appeared at ſome diſtance riding full ſpeed towards the farm; but the faithful ſlave, who took care of it, found out an expedient to ſave the life of the young Roman. He hid him in a cart loaded with beans, and then putting to his horſes, drove towards the horſemen, as if he were going with his cart to Rome. The ſoldiers paſſed by him, and breaking into the houſe, ſearched every corner of it; but in the mean time the ſlave conveyed young Marius to his wife, who immediately ſupplied him with money and proviſions. As ſoon as it grew dark, he took leave of his wife, and made to ſea-ſide, where he went on board a ſhip, which was bound for Africa, and ready to ſet ſail. He had a good paſſage, and arrived ſafe in a country, where the great Marius was known and revered [i].

In the mean time, the father, wandering about the fields in the neighbourhood of Circæum, towards the evening met with ſome cowherds, of whom he begged a morſel of bread; but they had not wherewithal to relieve him. Some of them knowing Marius, adviſed him to be gone as ſoon as poſſible; for they had ſeen a little beyond the place a party of horſe in ſearch of him. He therefore turned out of the high-road, and, tho' ready to faint for hunger and weakneſs, got with much-ado to a neighbouring wood, where he paſſed the night very uncomfortably. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had left, before it was quite exhauſted, he travelled by the ſea-ſide, amuſing Granius, and the few domeſtics he had with him, with ſeveral ſtories, to leſſen their fatigues and encourage them not to deſert him. He told them, that, when he was a child, an eagle's airy, with ſeven young ones in it, fell into his lap; and that his parents, being much ſurpriſed at the accident, conſulted the augurs about it, who anſwered, that the child would be ſeven times poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power and authority in his country. This was, no doubt, invented by Marius, to keep up the courage of thoſe who were with him. Plutarch tells us, that an eagle never hatches more than two young ones at a time; but, be that as it will, it is certain, that Marius, in his exile and greateſt extremities, uſed often to ſay, that he ſtill entertained hopes of a ſeventh conſulſhip [k].

[i] Plut. ibid. [k] Idem ibid.

WHEN Marius and his company were within twenty furlongs of Minturnæ, they diſcovered a troop of horſe making up to them with all ſpeed, and at the ſame time two ſmall veſſels under ſail near the ſhore. Hereupon they immediately threw themſelves into the ſea, and ſwam towards the ſhips. Granius ſoon reached one of them; but Marius, whoſe body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two ſlaves, and put into the other veſſel. He was ſcarce got on board, when the ſoldiers, who were in queſt of him, came to the ſtrand, and from thence commanded the mariners to ſend the proſcribed aſhore, or to throw them over board. Hereupon the ſailors long deliberated, whether they ſhould deliver up Marius to his enemies, or ſecure his eſcape; and at laſt compaſſion prevailed. The veſſels continued their courſe, and one of them landed Granius in the iſland of Ænaria; but the ſailors who had Marius on board, changing on a ſudden their reſolution, came to an anchor in the mouth of the Liris. There they adviſed him to land and take ſome reſt, till the wind became more favourable. Marius followed their advice; and, lying down in an adjacent field, ſlept very ſoundly. In the mean time, the maſter of the veſſel weighed anchor, and put to ſea with a fair gale, thinking it neither honourable to deliver Marius into the hands of his enemies, nor ſafe to favour his eſcape. When Marius awaked, he found himſelf, to his great ſurprize, entirely deſerted; no ſhip at anchor; no domeſtics about him; all had diſappeared. This melancholy ſolitude encreaſed his fears; he began to ſuſpect his own domeſtics, and every thing ſeemed to threaten him with death. After he had lain ſome time penſive, he recovered his ſpirits, and ſummoning all his courage, he ſtarted up, and, walking croſs the marſhes formed by the overflowing of the Liris, wandered about, often wading through the mire and water up to the waiſt. At length he got to the hut of an old man, who looked after the fens, whom he earneſtly beſought to aſſiſt and preſerve a man, who, if he eſcaped the preſent danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, ſtruck with the venerable aſpect of Marius, whom perhaps he likewiſe knew, told him, that if he wanted only reſt, his cottage was very quiet; but, if he wanted to be concealed, he would lead him to a more private place. Marius deſired him to do ſo; and the old man carried him into the fens, made him lie down in a caye by the river-ſide, and covered him with reeds. He

wa

was ſcarce laid down, when he heard a great noiſe round the cottage. Geminius had ſent ſeveral troops of horſe from Terracina, upon a ſuſpicion that Marius had fled to the marſhes of Minturnæ. Theſe threatened the poor old man with the diſpleaſure of the conſuls and ſenate, and the ſevereſt puniſhments, for harbouring and concealing an enemy to the republic. Marius, who heard all this, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in the place where he lay concealed, to deceive both the old man and the ſoldiers, left the cave, and, pulling off his garments, plunged into the lake of Marcia up to the chin in water, and covered his head with reeds; but the ſoldiers who were in purſuit of him, obſerving the water troubled and muddy about the place where he had thrown himſelf into the lake, after a diligent ſearch, diſcovered him, and, tying a cord about his neck, dragged him out of his new hiding-place, and led him naked to Minturnæ, to be executed there, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, which had been publiſhed in all the cities of Italy.

Marius is diſcovered, and ſeized.

The magiſtrates of Minturnæ, into whoſe hands he was delivered by the ſoldiers, conſidering that his faction was ſtill formidable, and that Sylla's conſulſhip was near expiring, thought it dangerous to prefer either party to the other, and therefore were not in haſte to put the ſentence of the ſenate in execution. They did not even ſhut him up in their priſon; but ſent him, under a ſtrong guard, to the houſe of one Fannia, a rich woman, who was ſuſpected not to be well affected to him on an old account. She had been formerly married to one Tinnius, from whom being afterwards divorced, ſhe demanded her portion, which was very conſiderable. Hereupon her huſband, who had no mind to return it, accuſed her of adultery; and the cauſe was brought before Marius in his ſixth conſulſhip. Upon a full enquiry, it appeared, that Fannia had been guilty of incontinence before matrimony, and that it was not unknown to Tinnius; notwithſtanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her a conſiderable time. Marius therefore, after having heard both parties, ordered Tinnius to return the fortune, and laid a ſmall fine upon Fannia. The Minturnenſes took it for granted, that Fannia would reſent the diſgrace with which Marius had branded her; but ſhe, thinking ſhe had more reaſon to thank Marius for the return of her fortune, than to be offended at him for the eaſy fine he had laid upon her, took great

care

care of him, and did all that lay in her power to comfort and encourage him (Q).

In the mean time, the magiſtrates of Minturnæ, after having conſulted together, determined at laſt to obey the decree of the ſenate, and put Marius to death immediately; but none of their citizens caring to imbrue his hands in the blood of ſo glorious a conqueror, an executioner was choſen out of the troops of the garriſon; ſome ſay he was a Cimber, others that he was a Gaul. However that be, when he went into the room where Marius was lodged with his ſword drawn, the eyes of that great warrior, as the place where he lay was dark, ſeemed to dart out flames; and at the ſame time the ruffian heard, or imagined to hear, a loud voice, ſaying, Stop, wretch! darſt thou kill Caius Marius! This filled him with terror; he dropped his ſword, and ruſhing out into the ſtreet, he uttered theſe words only, I cannot kill Caius Marius! This raiſed the compaſſion of the Minturnenſes, who immediately reverſed their ſentence, and were even angry with themſelves for making ſuch an unjuſt and ungrateful return, to one who had preſerved Italy. They therefore cried out with one voice, Let him go where he pleaſes; let him find his fate ſomewhere elſe; we beg pardon of the gods for thruſting Marius diſtreſſed and naked out of our city. After this, they crouded into his room, removed him from thence, and conducted him towards the ſea-ſide, every one lending a helping hand to forward his flight, and ſtriving to outdo each other in relieving and comforting the diſtreſſed hero. In order to get to the ſea-ſide, they were obliged either to paſs through

But is ſet at liberty.

(Q) When Marius was brought to Fannia's houſe, as ſoon as the door was open, an aſs came running out to drink at a ſpring hard-by; and looking very briſk and lively upon Marius, firſt ſtood before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. This was enough to raiſe the ſpirits of the proſcribed general, who was ſuperſtitious even to childiſhneſs. What was purely accidental often paſſed with him for ſome myſterious event. He now fancied, that the ſea would be more favourable to him than the land, ſince the aſs neglected its dry paſture, and turned from it to the water; and therefore, when the Minturnenſes reſolved to favour his eſcape, he conjured them to conduct him to the ſea-ſide. A man muſt be made up of ſuperſtitious follies to put ſuch an interpretation, as Marius did, on that action; and nevertheleſs, what is pleaſant enough, the event ſeemed to juſtify his conjectures: for at the ſea-ſide he found a veſſel ready equipped, which conveyed him ſafe to Ænaria.

through a grove conſecrated to the nymph Marcia, or to go a vaſt way about, which would have taken up too much of their time. The Minturnenſes had a ſingular veneration for this grove, and never ſuffered any thing to be removed out of it, that was once within it. They therefore ſcrupled to paſs through it, and were in great perplexity, fearing they might be overtaken by one of Sylla's parties, who were ſcouring the country, before they reached the ſea-ſide the other way. While they were deliberating among themſelves which way they ſhould take, an old man among them cried out, There is no place ſo ſacred, but we may paſs through it for the preſervation of Marius. Hereupon Marius firſt entered the grove, and the whole company marched after him, and arrived ſafe at the ſea-ſide, where Marius went on board a ſmall veſſel, which had been provided for him by one Belæus. Marius, when he returned to Rome at the head of an army, cauſed this whole adventure to be repreſented in a large piece of painting, and hung it up in the temple of Marcia, whom ſome take to be the ſame with Circe[1].

HOWEVER, the illuſtrious exile was not yet come to an end of his labours. He ordered his pilot to ſteer for the iſland of Ænaria, where he arrived ſafe, and rejoined Granius, whom he took on board with his other friends, and then ſailed for Africa; but, their water failing them in their paſſage, they were forced to touch at Eryx in Sicily. There the Roman quæſtor, who was appointed to guard the coaſt, and put to death ſuch of the proſcribed as ſhould land there, had like to have ſeized Marius, and actually killed ſixteen of his retinue, who were gone aſhore to fetch water. Hereupon Marius, putting to ſea again with all expedition, made the iſland of Meninx near the Little Syrtis, where he was informed, that his ſon had made his eſcape with Cethegus; and that they were both gone to the Numidian court, to implore the aſſiſtance of king Hiempſal. Being ſomewhat comforted with this news, he ventured to paſs over to the continent of Africa, and landed at the old port of Carthage. He was ſcarce got aſhore, when Sextilius, who then governed the African province in quality of proprætor, was informed of his arrival. As Sextilius was a politic man, and neither cared to diſobey the orders of the ſenate, nor incur the hatred of the Marian faction, by putting this great man to death, he immediately ſent one of his

[1] Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 2. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

his officers to him, adviſing him to ſeek a retreat elſewhere, and threatening to put the decree of the ſenate in execution, if he ſet foot in Africa. At this meſſage the great Marius was ready to ſink under the weight of his calamity. He continued ſome time ſilent, looking ſternly upon the meſſenger; and at length, when the officer aſked what anſwer he ſhould return to the prætor, Go, tell your maſter, ſaid he, that you have ſeen the exiled Marius ſitting on the ruins of Carthage. By this noble anſwer he placed in a proper light the misfortunes of that once celebrated city and his own, as affecting inſtances of the viciſſitude of human affairs. Whether the prætor was moved with this meſſage, is uncertain; but Marius ſeems to have continued ſome time in that neighbourhood [m].

In the mean time, young Marius, who, as we have related above, had ſet ſail for Africa, landing on the coaſt of Numidia, was received in a very gracious manner by king Hiempſal, or, as others will have it, by his ſon Mandreſtal, who had ſucceeded to the crown; but that prince being irreſolute and undetermined what part to act, whenever his noble gueſt talked of departing, found out ſome pretence or other to detain him. Hereupon Marius and Cethegus, who attended him in his misfortunes, began to ſuſpect, that ſome treachery lay concealed under the extraordinary civilities ſhewn them by the Numidian king; and would have made their eſcape, had they not found themſelves carefully watched, and, in ſhort, kept in a kind of honourable captivity. However, they found means at laſt to elude the king's evil deſigns. Their ſafety was owing to a very ſeaſonable adventure. As young Marius was very handſome and well made, one of the king's concubines fell in love with him, and even diſcovered her paſſion to him. The young Roman declined at firſt entering into any correſpondence with her, from an awful regard to the ſacred laws of hoſpitality; but finding at laſt, that by her means alone he could avoid the ſnares that were laid for him, and that there appeared more generoſity than wantonneſs, in the tenders ſhe made him of her affection, he gratified the fair Numidian, who thereupon found means, as her love was not merely the effect of an irregular appetite, to convey him and his companions ſafe out of the king's dominions. The young Roman, being thus delivered, we may ſay, from his captivity, haſtened to the Roman province, where he found

[m] Plut. in Mario. Appian. l. i. de bell. civil.

found his father juſt landed. After they had tenderly ſaluted and embraced each other, they began to conſult together about the preſent ſituation of their affairs. As they were walking by the ſea-ſide, the old hero obſerved two ſcorpions fighting with great fury; and as his head was always filled with ſigns and prognoſtics, he drew ſiniſter interpretations from that combat. Let us fly, ſaid he to his ſon, Let us fly; ſome great danger threatens us here. This ſaid, he and his company went immediately into a fiſher's boat, and made towards Cercina, an iſland not far from the continent. They had ſcarce put off from the ſhore, when they ſaw the coaſt covered with horſemen, whom the king had ſent to bring back young Marius. In the iſland of Cercina, which lay near the Little Syrtis, and is now known by the name of Cereara, they found Albinovanus, who was likewiſe proſcribed; and there they all ſpent the winter together [n].

DURING theſe occurrences, Sylla and his collegue Q. Pompeius Rufus acted in concert at Rome, and made it their whole buſineſs to quiet the minds of the people there. As no body offered to oppoſe their meaſures, and a ſeeming calm reigned among all orders of men, the conſul Pompeius, who had not yet appeared at the head of his legions, reſolved to take the field, and march againſt theſe few allies, who ſtill continued in arms. The Roman army was ſtill in the hands of Pompeius Strabo, who, after his triumph, had returned to his old camp, with the title of proconſul. When he heard that the conſul was coming to ſucceed him, and ſnatch out of his hands the glory of finiſhing the war, in which he had acquired ſo much honour, he artfully applied himſelf to his troops, and worked them up to a reſolution of not parting with a general, under whoſe conduct they had gained ſo many victories. However, the conſul was quietly received in the camp, and took poſſeſſion of the army, the proconſul himſelf inveſting him in his office, and with the ornaments of his new dignity, without betraying the leaſt reluctance; but the next day, when the legions were aſſembled again to aſſiſt, according to cuſtom, at the ſacrifice, which new generals uſed to offer, ſome legionaries all on a ſudden fell upon the conſul, and killed him at the foot of the altar. In this tumult Pompeius Strabo acted his part with great dexterity; he ſhed tears over the body of the dead conſul, broke out into bitter

The conſul Pompeius Rufus aſſaſſinated by his ſoldiers.

[n] Plut. ibid.

ter invectives againſt the aſſaſſins, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic, and threatened to ſacrifice to his manes all thoſe who had any hand in ſo flagitious an attempt, of which there had been yet no inſtance in the republic; but, notwithſtanding theſe declarations, he made no enquiry after the criminals, but, tho' continued in the command of the army, buried the whole in oblivion °.

Sylla, cited to give an account of his conduct, ſets ſail for Aſia.

SYLLA, who had but a few days to continue in his office, being alarmed at the aſſaſſination of his collegue, reſolved to ſet out immediately for Aſia. However, he was forced to continue ſome days at Rome after his conſulſhip was expired, and had the mortification to ſee the firſt furious ſteps of Cinna, whom he believed entirely come off from his mad zeal for the popular faction; for he no ſooner entered upon the conſulſhip, than joining with M. Virginius, tribune of the people, he cited Sylla, to whom he had ſworn an inviolable attachment, to appear on a charge of male adminiſtration. Hereupon that general, not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe in Italy, embarqued his troops, and ſet ſail for the eaſt, leaving Rome at the mercy of Cinna and his faction. Their firſt attempt was, to get a law paſſed in favour of the allies, whom Cinna was for incorporating into the thirty-five tribes, and putting upon a level with the ancient citizens. The conſul Octavius, who was attached to the ſenate, foreſeeing, that, by this important piece of ſervice, Cinna would ſecure the votes of the new citizens, and carry all before him in the aſſemblies of the people, oppoſed the law with all his intereſt. Cinna therefore ordered the new citizens to come to the comitium with daggers under their robes, being reſolved to get the law paſſed by force. Octavius, being informed of theſe unwarrantable proceedings, reſolved to oppoſe force with force; and accordingly went to the forum, attended by a numerous body of old citizens, with arms concealed under their garments. He no ſooner appeared in the forum, than the new citizens, at the inſtigation of Cinna, fell upon him with great fury. Octavius ſtood his ground; whereupon a battle enſued, in which, as the two parties were ſhut up in a narrow compaſs, much blood was ſhed. At length the new citizens were overpowered, and driven from ſtreet to ſtreet, till they abandoned the city, together with the conſul Cinna, and ſix tribunes of his faction. We are told that

Cinna raiſes new diſturbances.

A battle in the forum.

° Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. Val. Max. l. ix.

that ten thouſand of the new citizens were killed in this battle. Cinna, being thus driven from the capital, had recourſe to the neighbouring cities, ſoliciting troops and money to maintain what he called the cauſe of the allies. As ſoon as he was gone the ſenate depoſed him, and choſe L. Cornelius Merula conſul in his room. This new inſult quickened him in his application to the allies, who all concurred with uncommon chearfulneſs to ſupply him with troops, or money to hire them. The great ſums he received enabled him to corrupt a conſiderable body of Roman troops, that lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Capua. They all joined him to a man, and took the military oath, which he adminiſtered to them in his conſular habit, as if he had not been depoſed. When the allies heard, that he was at the head of a Roman army, they flocked to him from all parts of Italy, in ſuch crowds, that in a ſhort time he had no fewer than thirty legions under his banners; a prodigious army! able to make all Italy tremble. And now Cinna reſolved to recall the proſcribed; and accordingly diſpatched an expreſs to Marius, who was ſtill in the little iſland of Cercina, acquainting him, that he might return to Italy, without fear of the ſenate and their decrees. This ſtep alarmed the conſcript fathers, who immediately ordered the two conſuls, Octavius and Merula, to fortify both the city and citadel, by placing all the baliſtæ and catapultæ in the magazines on the walls. They were alſo commiſſioned to raiſe what forces they judged neceſſary, and to take into the ſervice ſuch of the confederates as had not declared for Cinna. At the ſame time, the fathers recalled Pompeius Strabo, who was yet making war with ſome ſmall remains of the revolted Italians on the coaſts of the Adriatic ſea, and was at the head of a very numerous army, the command of which he had kept after the murder of the conſul Pompeius Rufus; but that general, not being yet determined what party to take, affected delays, and carried himſelf ſo artfully, that no-body knew what ſide he favoured. Some writers are of opinion, that his true deſign was to let the two factions waſte each other, and then raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of both [p]. In the mean time, Marius, putting to ſea with all expedition, landed at Telamon, a port in Hetruria, with a body of Mauruſian horſe

Cinna ſolicits ſuccours from the allies.

Marius recalled.

Marius lands in Italy.

[p] Oroſ. l. v. c. 19.

horſe raiſed in Africa. Upon the news of his arrival, great numbers of ſhepherds, ſlaves, and men of deſperate fortunes, flocked to him from all parts; ſo that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army. He then ſent a meſſenger to Cinna, ſignifying to him, that he was ready to acknowledge him for conſul, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power againſt their common enemies. Cinna immediately acquainted Sertorius with the arrival of Marius, and the tenders he made him of his ſervice. Sertorius, having been diſobliged by Sylla, who had employed all his intereſt againſt him when he ſtood for the tribuneſhip, had joined the contrary faction, and at this time, as he was a brave and experienced officer, ſhared the command of the army with Cinna. He was a man of great prudence and moderation; and therefore dreading the rough and revengeful temper of Marius, he adviſed Cinna not to admit him into his army, remonſtrating, that Cinna was powerful enough, without the addition of Marius's undiſciplined troops, to triumph over his enemies; that he could not make Marius his aſſociate, without making him his maſter; that he was inſatiably covetous of glory, and ever ready to envy it in his competitors; that he would aſſume to himſelf all the ſucceſs of the war; and laſtly, that he was a man in whom it was not always ſafe to confide. All this Cinna owned to be true; But how, ſaid he, can I ſend back a man, who, upon my word, has left Africa, and whom I myſelf have invited to join his reſentments with ours againſt our common enemies? Since you yourſelf had invited him to your aſſiſtance, replied Sertorius, there was no need of this conſultation. The only thing we can do now is, to watch his conduct as narrowly as we do the deſigns of our moſt inveterate enemies. After this ſecret conference, Cinna ſent back the meſſenger to Marius, ſtyling him proconſul in his letter, and empowering him to chuſe lictors for his guard; but Marius, putting on the appearance of great humility on this occaſion, refuſed the title, the lictors, and all other marks of the proconſular dignity, as not agreeing with his preſent circumſtances. He affected on the contrary to wear nothing but an old gown; his hair and beard rough; he walked with a ſlow pace, like a man quite oppreſſed with his misfortunes: but through the diſguiſe of that mournful countenance, ſomething ſo fierce appeared in his looks,

Cinna gives Marius the title of proconſul.

looks, that he rather created terror, than moved compaſſion [q].

Rome blocked up by Cinna, Marius and Sertorius.

AND now Cinna, Marius, and Sertorius took each their province in this new war. In a council of war they reſolved to march directly to the capital. Cinna was to block it up on the ſide of the Tiber; Sertorius to inveſt it on the oppoſite ſide; and Marius to ſcour the country, and prevent any proviſions from being conveyed into the city either by land or water. Pompeius Strabo was encamped with his army before the gate Collina, to cover the city on that ſide. This politic general had offered Cinna his ſervice and his army, thinking that his party was moſt likely to prevail; but Cinna, looking upon him as a time-ſerver, in whom it was not ſafe to confide, had rejected his offer with ſcorn; which obliged him to take part with the conſuls Octavius and Merula.

The firſt hoſtilities.

As he was encamped near Sertorius, the firſt act of hoſtility began between theſe two generals; but it was rather a ſkirmiſh than a battle, there being killed only ſix hundred men on both ſides. This rencounter, however, was remarkable for an accident, which ought to have given the Romans a diſtaſte for civil wars: two brothers, who had choſen oppoſite parties, meeting in the heat of the action, the one gave the other a mortal wound without knowing him; but when he heard the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, and finding him at the laſt gaſp, Dear brother, he cried out, tho' different intereſts have divided us, one common pile ſhall unite us. This ſaid, he plunged into his own body the ſword, which was yet ſtained with the blood of his brother, and died by his ſide. This moving accident made ſome impreſſion on the ſoldiery; but paſſion and party-zeal, or rather fury, ſoon hardened all hearts; ſo that all regard to friends and relations was laid aſide by both parties [r].

Rome in the utmoſt confuſion.

As Cinna's forces encreaſed daily, he formed a fourth army which he put under the command of Papirius Carbo. This filled the city with dread and confuſion. The two conſuls who defended it, Octavius and Merula, were men of great probity, and much better qualified to maintain the laws and religion in their purity, than to ſuſtain the attacks

[q] Plut. in Mario & Sertorio. Appian. bell. civil. l. i. [r] Oroſ. l. v. c. 19. Liv. epit. ibid.

attacks of an enemy. Octavius was ſo ſcrupulous an obſerver of the moſt venerable cuſtoms in Rome, that they in vain preſſed him, even in this criſis, to arm the ſlaves in defence of the city. They could only get this anſwer, That he would not make ſlaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away Marius. He was indeed a man of good ſenſe and underſtanding, and ſupported the dignity of his office with a becoming majeſty; but placed too great a confidence in auguries, and was more intent on conſulting divines, than men ſkilled in military affairs. As for Merula, he placed more confidence in the protection of Jupiter, whoſe flamen he was, than in the valour of the many brave men he had under his command. The ſenate therefore had recourſe to Cæcilius Metellus, the ſon of Metellus Numidicus, who was making war upon the revolted Samnites with a conſiderable body of Roman troops. The ſenate, well acquainted with the ability and courage of that general, ſent him orders to put an end to that war upon as honourable conditions as he could, to march his army immediately to the relief of his country, and, if he could not conclude a peace, to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and return himſelf to Rome. Metellus, purſuant to his orders, immediately entered into a treaty with the Samnite generals; but, while the negotiation was carrying on, Marius, by offering the Samnites more advantageous terms than Metellus had done, gained them over to his party; ſo that Metellus, leaving his forces to his lieutenants, returned to the capital, where he no ſooner appeared, than the ſoldiers, diſſatisfied with the indolence of the conſuls, loudly demanded him for their general, declaring, that under the conduct of ſo brave a commander, they did not fear repulſing the enemy, and ſaving Rome; but Metellus, as modeſt as brave, rejected theſe ſeditious applauſes with indignation, upbraided the ſoldiers with want of diſcipline, and openly declared, as he was too ſtrictly obſervant of the old cuſtoms and laws, that he would not aſſume an office, which properly belonged to the conſuls. This made many of the citizens deſpair of being able to defend the city; and they deſerted in companies to Cinna, whoſe generals were not ſo ſcrupulouſly virtuous. Sertorius was the only man among them who had any noble ſentiments; the others had neither honour nor virtue. In the mean time, Marius made himſelf maſter of all

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the maritime places in the neighbourhood of Rome, took Oſtia itſelf by treachery, pillaged it, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and building a bridge over the Tiber, cut off all communication between the city and the ſea. He then marched with his army towards the city, and poſting himſelf on the Janiculum, blocked it up on that ſide [f].

Marius takes Oſtia.

Tho' the capital was greatly weakened by daily deſertions, yet Octavius found means to raiſe a conſiderable army in it, with which he encamped under the walls, as did likewiſe Q. Metellus and Pompeius Strabo, each of them commanding a ſeparate body. Cinna, who ſcrupled no attempt, how villainous ſoever, which could ſerve his cauſe, undertook to get Pompeius Strabo aſſaſſinated in his tent; but his ſon ſaved his life; which was the firſt remarkable action of Pompey the Great. Young Pompey, who was making his firſt campaign under the proconſul his father, had choſen for his companion one Terentius, a patrician of his own age. The treacherous Cinna, by many alluring promiſes, gained over Terentius to his intereſt, and prevailed upon him to undertake the aſſaſſinating of the general and his ſon, and at the ſame time the debauching of his army, and carrying the legions to Sylla's camp; but young Pompey, receiving notice of this wicked deſign a few hours before it was to be put in execution, placed a faithful guard round the prætorium; ſo that none of the conſpirators, who had deſigned to ſet fire to the general's tent, could come near it. He then watched all the motions of the camp, and endeavoured to appeaſe the fury of the legionaries, who hated their general, by ſuch acts of prudence as were worthy the oldeſt commanders. Some of the mutineers had forced open one of the gates of the camp, in order to deſert to Cinna. Hereupon the general's ſon, laying himſelf flat on his back in their way, cried out, That they ſhould not break their oath and deſert their commander, without paſſing over his body. By this means he put a ſtop to their deſertion, and afterwards wrought ſo effectually upon them by his affecting ſpeeches and engaging carriage, that he reconciled them to his father [t].

Pompey ſaves his father's life.

In the mean time, Marius, who was encamped on the Janiculum, uſed his utmoſt efforts to make himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fort built on that hill, and was very near ſucceeding in his attempt by the treachery of one Appius Clau-

Marius makes a fruitleſs attempt on the Janiculum.

[f] Plut. Appian. Liv. ibid. [t] Plut. in Pomp.

Claudius, a military tribune in the place, who, having formerly received ſome favours of Marius, opened one of the gates to him; but the garriſon, tho' ſurpriſed, made a brave reſiſtance, and in the mean time, Octavius and Pompeius Strabo haſtening to their relief, a ſharp engagement enſued, which ended wholly to the advantage of the conſular troops [u].

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, the city was ſoon reduced to a moſt deplorable condition: a plague broke out among the troops of Pompeius with ſuch violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thouſand men. Soon after the general himſelf was killed with lightning, which did a great deal of miſchief in his army. As Pompeius was a very wicked man, capable of the greateſt crimes, and had aſſaſſinated a conſul before the altar, the people, looking upon his death as a puniſhment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it into the Tiber [w]. The command of his army was given to L. Craſſus, who, together with Octavius and Metellus, went and encamped near the hill Alba along the Appian way, with a deſign to open a communication with the country on that ſide; but Cinna, Marius, Sertorius, and Carbo, joining their forces, poſted themſelves above the conſular troops on the ſame Appian way; ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed from the country to the city. And now a famine beginning to be felt in the capital, the people complained loudly of the ſenate, as if they kept up a war for their own private intereſt, which expoſed them, their wives, and children to the danger of being ſtarved. To make the diſorder in Rome ſtill greater, Cinna treated under-hand with the citizens, and, by his emiſſaries, prevailed upon moſt of the ſlaves to ſhake off their maſter's yoke, and take refuge in his camp, where they were declared free. The example of the ſlaves was followed by citizens of all ranks, who, abandoning the defence of the city, deſerted openly and in large companies. The ſame ſpirit of mutiny and deſertion reigned in the conſular army, which viſibly decreaſed; inſomuch, that Metellus, deſpairing of being able to ſave Rome, left the camp, and retired into Liguria, whence he ſoon after paſſed over into Africa. The ſenate, ſeeing their party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general inſur-

Pompeius Strabo killed by lightning.

Rome reduced to great ſtreights.

[u] Plut. in Appian. ibid. [w] Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 21. Jul. Obſeq. c. 116.

inſurrection, thought it time to come to a treaty with Cinna; and accordingly ſent deputies to his camp, with ſome overtures of peace. Cinna, before he would hear them, aſked, whether they were come to treat with him as conſul, or only as a private man? This queſtion, which they did not expect, ſurpriſed them; and, as they had no inſtructions touching ſo nice a point, they deſired leave to return to Rome to conſult the ſenate. The conſcript fathers were greatly perplexed, not knowing what anſwer to give, nor what courſe to take. They thought it inconſiſtent both with honour and juſtice to depoſe Merula, a wiſe magiſtrate, whom they had in a manner compelled to quit the office of high-prieſt of Jupiter, and accept of the conſulſhip. On the other hand, as the city was cloſely blocked up on all ſides, and the famine encreaſed daily, without any hopes of relief, it was to be feared, that the populace would riſe, and let the enemy into the city. In this dilemma, Merula himſelf, preferring, like a good citizen, the welfare of his country to his own honour, freely abdicated, and by his abdication left the ſenate at liberty to acknowledge Cinna for lawful conſul. Accordingly, the conſcript fathers ſent back their deputies to him, with inſtructions to treat with him as conſul, and to invite him to Rome, to exerciſe there the functions of his dignity; however, they were ordered to require of him an oath, that he would ſpare the blood of the citizens, and put no Roman to death but by due form of law. Cinna refuſed to take that oath; but proteſted, that he would never give his conſent to the death of any citizen. He even ſent word to the conſul Octavius, that he would not do amiſs to retire from the city till the ſtorm was blown over. During this conference, Marius, who ſtood by, ſaid nothing; but the ſourneſs of his countenance and the ſternneſs of his looks threatened the city with blood and ſlaughter. As ſoon as the meſſengers were diſmiſſed, Cinna, Marius, Sertorius, and Carbo began their march at the head of their troops, and advanced towards the city, the ſenate having ordered the gates to be opened to them. Cinna entered the city with a ſtrong guard; but Marius halted at the gate, and when he was preſſed to advance, he replied with a ſarcaſtical tone, That he was a baniſhed man, and conſequently debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore, if they had any occaſion for his ſervice, they muſt get that law repealed, which drove him into exile. Hereupon Cinna marched directly to the forum; and having aſſem-

Cinna acknowledged conſul.

Cinna and Marius enter Rome.

bled the people, propoſed to them the diſannulling of the decree which proſcribed Marius and his adherents; but Marius, impatient to ſhed the blood of his enemies, when only two or three tribes had voted, pulled off the maſk, and, without waiting for a lawful repeal, entered the city, ſurrounded by his guards, choſen from among the ſlaves, who had flocked to him, and whom he called his Bardiæans (R).

Marius's cruelty.

The firſt order he gave theſe cruel and inhuman aſſaſſins was, immediately to murder all thoſe, who, coming to him and meeting him in the ſtreets, ſaluted him, and were not anſwered with the like civility. This ſignal was a general dead warrant, and great numbers of the flatterers, who came to make their court to the new tyrant, were cruelly maſſacred before his eyes. Q. Ancharius, a ſenator of great diſtinction, who had been honoured with the prætorſhip, choſe to pay his compliments to Marius when he was offering a ſacrifice in the capitol; but the tyrant caſting a fierce look upon him, he was inſtantly cut in pieces in the very temple of Jupiter. Cinna, for the preſent, exerciſed his cruelty only on his collegue Octavius, who ſtill took upon him to perform the functions of his office, and was therefore, at the inſtigation of Cinna, ſlain in his curule chair by Cenſorinus. But Marius's Bardiæans, or Bardiates, ſet no bounds to their luſt, cruelty, and avarice: they firſt murdered their former maſters, abuſed their children, and inſulted their wives in the groſſeſt manner; then they extended

(R) We are at a loſs to know how Marius came to give his guards this name. Thuanus, as appears from a note in the margin of his Plutarch, thought there was a fault in the text, and that, inſtead of Bardiæans, we ought to read Bardyetes or Bardyates; for the Bardyetes were a moſt barbarous and ſavage nation in Spain, and this might very naturally induce Marius to call his guards by that name, on purpoſe to frighten the people, and make them tremble at the fierceneſs of their nature. There is a good deal of reaſon for this conjecture. However, M. Dacier, in her notes on Plutarch, offers another: Plutarch tells us, ſays ſhe, that the greateſt grievance of the people was the abominable licentiouſneſs and infamous debaucheries of thoſe guards. It may therefore not abſurdly be conceived, that Marius on that account, called them not his Bardiæans, but Bardeans, from the Greek word Βαρδῆν, which, in the Ambracian dialect, ſignifies to raviſh women. But, after all, this may be refining too much on the matter, as the ſame writer obſerves. Perhaps Plutarch wrote not Βαρδιαῖος, but Μαριαῖος, that is, the Marians, or the life-guard of Marius.

tended their cruelty and licentiouſneſs to all ranks of perſons, not ſparing the moſt venerable matrons in the republic; and carried their iniquities to ſuch an exceſs, that Cinna and Sertorius, having conſulted together how to rid Rome of this barbarous crew, reſolved to put them all to death; and accordingly ſent a detachment to ſurpriſe them, one night while they were aſleep in the camp, and cut them all off to a man. Marius was much grieved at the loſs of his favourite guard; and being afraid, as he breathed nothing but blood, that Cinna had already ſatisfied his revenge, he deſired the heads of the faction to meet, in order to deliberate what kind of government they ſhould ſettle, ſince all the power was devolved upon Cinna after the death of his collegue. At his requeſt, Cinna, Carbo and Sertorius came to confer with him; and in this conference Marius is ſaid to have ſpoke like a madman. Sertorius, the only man among them who had any good principles or ſenſe of morality, endeavoured to moderate his fury; but in vain: Cinna and Carbo concurred in his ſentiments, and the reſolution they took, was to murder, without mercy, all the ſenators who had oppoſed the popular faction. Purſuant to this reſolution, C. Attilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, Caius and Lucius Cæſar, C. Numitorius, and M. Bæbius, all ſenators of great note, were murdered in the ſtreets. P. Craſſus, a young ſenator, endeavoured to make his eſcape; but being cloſely purſued by Caius Fulvius Fimbria, one of the moſt furious zealots of Marius's party, his father meeting him, killed him, for fear he ſhould fall into the hands of his enemies, and then preſented himſelf before the bloody Fimbria, by whom he was inhumanly maſſacred. This ſlaughter laſted five days, during which time the beſt part of the ſenators were cut off, their heads were ſtuck upon poles over-againſt the roſtra, and their mangled bodies dragged with hooks into the forum, where they were left to be devoured by the dogs. However, Metella, the wife of Sylla and daughter of Metellus Numidicus, and her children eſcaped this general ſlaughter. Marius indeed cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after them; but they eluded the vigilance and fury of the tyrant, being privately conveyed out of town by ſome of Sylla's friends. Marius, highly exaſperated at their eſcape, cauſed their houſe to be razed, their goods confiſcated, and Sylla himſelf to be declared an enemy to his country. While Marius was thus venting his brutal rage on Sylla's friends in the city, his ſoldiers, the miniſters of his cruelty,

Proſcriptions, murders, &c.

were, like ſo many blood-hounds, diſperſed about the country, in ſearch of thoſe who had fled. The neighbouring towns, villages, and all the high-ways, ſwarmed with aſſaſſins. On this occaſion Plutarch obſerves with great concern, that the moſt ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality are not proof againſt treachery in the days of adverſity; for there were but very few who did not diſcover their friends, who had fled to them for ſhelter. He therefore, with a great deal of reaſon, commends and admires the fidelity of the ſlaves of Cornutus in that general defection. Cornutus had retired to a houſe in the country; and his faithful ſlaves, obſerving a company of ſoldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their maſter in the moſt private part of the houſe; and then taking up the body of one, whom the tyrant's officers had juſt murdered, carried it to the houſe, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and ſhewed it in that condition to the ſoldiers, pretending it was the body of their maſter. They then buried it with great pomp and ſolemnity; and by this innocent artifice, which was perceived by no-body, they ſaved Cornutus, and conveyed him into Gaul. Marcus Antonius, grandfather to the triumvir, and the greateſt orator that had appeared in Rome till his time, was not ſo fortunate. He fled to the houſe of a faithful friend in the country, who endeavoured to ſave his life with great tenderneſs and affection. His friend was in low circumſtances; but, being proud of having under his roof one of the greateſt men in Rome, reſolved to entertain him in the beſt manner he could. Accordingly he ſent his ſervant to a tavern in the neighbourhood for ſome of the beſt wine he could get. The vintner perceiving the ſervant nicer than uſual, taſting of ſeveral ſorts, and not ſatisfied but with the very beſt, aſked him, What made him ſo hard to pleaſe? The ſervant told him in confidence, as his truſty friend and acquaintance, That the wine was for the illuſtrious Marcus Antonius, who made ſo great a figure in the ſenate. My maſter, ſaid he, keeps that great man concealed in his houſe, and is reſolved on this occaſion to ſtretch his purſe, and make as much of him as he can. The ſervant was no ſooner gone, than the villain of a vintner went to Marius, who was then at ſupper, and told him, he could deliver Antonius into his hands. At this news Marius gave a great ſhout, clapped his hands for joy, and was for riſing from table and going to the place himſelf; but, being prevented by his friends, he ſent Anius, one of his wicked agents, attended by a body

The fidelity of Cornutus's ſlaves.

Marcus Antonius betrayed and murdered.

body of ſoldiers, commanding him to bring Antonius's head with all ſpeed. Anius himſelf waited at the door, and ſent in his ſoldiers to diſpatch the orator and bring him his head; but the aſſaſſins, notwithſtanding their natural barbarity, were ſo ſtruck at the ſight of this great man, and moved with the graces and charms of his eloquence, when he began to ſpeak and plead for his life, that tears dropped from their eyes, and none of them would touch him. Anius, impatient at their delays, went into the room, and ſeeing his ſoldiers all weeping, and quite ſoftened by the eloquence of that great orator, checked them ſeverely, and with his own hand cut off his head, and carried it to Marius, who, after he had made it matter of ſport to his gueſts, ordered it to be ſtuck up on a pole with the reſt before the roſtra. Such was the end of the greateſt orator Rome had ever bred. Cicero, who had often heard him, being at this time about twenty years old, calls him the wonder of his age, and adds, that to him it was owing, that Italy equalled Greece itſelf in the art of ſpeaking [w].

And now the rage of the other tyrants, after ſo many murders began to abate. But Marius ſtill thirſted after more Roman blood. He wanted to deſtroy two men, who had been both honoured with the faſces. Theſe were Lutatius Catulus, who had been his collegue in the conſulate, and partner in the triumph over the Cimbri; and the virtuous Cornelius Merula, who had generouſly reſigned the conſular dignity to make room for Cinna. Great intereſt was made for Catulus; but to all thoſe, who interceded for him, Marius returned this cold anſwer, He muſt die. Hereupon Catulus, ſhutting himſelf up in a room, ſmothered or poiſoned himſelf. Merula likewiſe robbed his enemy of the cruel pleaſure of putting him to death. As he was high-prieſt of Jupiter, he went to the temple of that god, laid down his mitre, in which it was not lawful to die, and, then ſeating himſelf in his pontifical chair, ordered his veins to be opened. After he had bled ſome time, he advanced to the altar, ſprinkled it with blood, and uttering many imprecations againſt the tyrants, devoted them to Pluto and the infernal gods.

Catulus and Merula kill themſelves.

The conſulate of Cinna being near expiring, the citizens, who had ſeen the ſtreets for ſome time flowing with blood, and covered with heaps of dead bodies, hoped for

Cinna names himſelf and Marius conſuls.

ſome

[w] Plut. in Mario. Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Cic. in Bruto & alibi paſſim.

ſome reſpite. But Cinna, unwilling to truſt them with chuſing him a ſucceſſor, of his own authority nominated himſelf and Marius conſuls for the next year. Accordingly on the calends of January, they took poſſeſſion, one of his ſecond, the other of his ſeventh conſulſhip. Marius was now ſeventy years of age; but neither his ambition nor his cruelty were yet ſatiated. As he was coming out of his houſe to be inveſted, according to cuſtom, in his office, Sextus Licinius unhappily fell in his way, and was by his orders immediately thrown down from the Tarpeian rock. The ſame day he proſcribed two prætors; and his ſon, no leſs cruel than himſelf, killed the ſame day a tribune of the people with his own hand [x].

Sylla writes to the ſenate.

In the mean time, news came from all parts, that Sylla, having put an end to the war with Mithridates, was returning into Italy at the head of a great army. Soon after the ſenate received a long letter from the victorious general, wherein, with a lively ſtyle, he gave them an account of his victories, and complained of the injuries done him. After enumerating the many ſervices he had done the republic in her wars with the king of Numidia, with the Cimbri, the allies, and laſtly with Mithridates, the moſt powerful king in the eaſt, he concluded thus: For theſe important ſervices you have rewarded me, by ſetting a price upon my head; my friends are murdered without mercy; my wife and children are forced to abandon their native country; my houſe is razed; my goods confiſcated; and all the laws made in my conſulſhip abſolutely diſannulled. You may expect, conſcript fathers, to ſee me in a little time at the gates of Rome with a victorious army. And then I ſhall find means to revenge the perſonal injuries I have received; and to inflict ſignal puniſhments both on the tyrants themſelves, and the miniſters of their tyranny. This letter gave the two conſuls a great deal of uneaſineſs. Marius, now worn out with hardſhips and years, could no longer bear up his ſpirits flagging at the apprehenſion of a new war, which his own experience repreſented to him as very dangerous. He conſidered, that he had not now to do with an Octavius or Merula, at the head of an undiſciplined rabble, but with Sylla, who was approaching with a victorious army, and who had once before driven him out of Rome. At the ſame time he called to mind all his paſt misfortunes, his flight, his baniſhment, the many dangers he

Marius dreads the arrival of Sylla.

[x] Plut. Appian. ibid.

he had undergone, his tedious wanderings, &c. and, dreading to be expoſed a-new to the ſame hazards in ſo advanced an age, he fell into great troubles, nocturnal frights, and broken ſlumbers, fancying every moment that he heard a voice, telling him, that the den, even of an abſent lion, ought to be dreaded. To divert theſe tormenting thoughts, he had recourſe to a remedy ſcarce known in thoſe days, but too common in ours. He gave himſelf up to exceſſive drinking, chuſing rather to loſe his reaſon, than to be continually haunted with melancholy thoughts. This new way of living ſoon bred a diſtemper which led him to his grave. Poſidonius the philoſopher, as quoted by Plutarch, tells us, that, having over-heated his blood by too much drinking, he fell into a pleuriſy. The ſame philoſopher adds, that he went to his houſe, when he was confined to his bed, and diſcourſed with him about ſome affairs relating to his embaſſy at Rome. But Caius Piſo ſeems to inſinuate that he himſelf haſtened his end, though he does not tell us in what manner. He only relates, that Marius, walking one night after ſupper with ſome of his friends, entertained them with a recital of all his adventures, which he concluded with ſaying, that it did not become a man of his years to truſt any longer ſo unconſtant a goddeſs as fortune. Having ended his diſcourſe, he embraced all about him with a tenderneſs very uncommon to him, went home, and took to his bed. He was ſeized with a delirium, during which, fancying himſelf general in the war againſt Mithridates, he uſed ſuch motions and geſtures as if he had been engaged in battle at the head of an army. At length after ſeven days illneſs he died, ſome ſay on the ſeventeenth, others on the thirteenth day of his ſeventh conſulſhip.

He gives himſelf up to exceſſive drinking.

His death.

AND now the diſtreſſed city fondly imagined, that the inteſtine calamities, which had reduced her to the laſt extremity, were buried with Marius. But ſhe ſoon perceived, that ſhe had only changed her tyrant. Cinna, the ſurviving conſul, aſſociated with himſelf in the government, though not in the office of conſul, young Marius, who, as he had inherited the cruelty of his father, put all the ſenators he could find in Rome or its neighbourhood to the ſword. As all the power was lodged in the hands of Cinna and young Marius, they got Valerius Flaccus, a creature of old Marius, named to ſucceed him in the conſular dignity. He no ſooner entered upon his office, than he paſſed a moſt unjuſt law in favour of the people, declaring all debtors free from their debts, upon paying to their creditors

Young Marius ſucceeds his father.

ditors one fourth of what they owed. Having by this law gained the affections of the indigent multitude, the new conſul conſulted with Cinna and Marius, how they ſhould prevent the return of Sylla, who had under his command a victorious and well-diſciplined army. The expedient they agreed on to put it out of the power of that general to give them any uneaſineſs, or to obſtruct their wicked meaſures, was, to nominate a perſon to ſucceed him in the command of the army in the eaſt, under pretence, that his authority was illegal, ſince he had been proſcribed by a decree of the ſenate. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the new conſul Valerius Flaccus was appointed to command the Roman forces in the Levant, and make war with Mithridates. But, as Valerius was no ſoldier, Cinna and Marius gave him for his counſellor and lieutenant C. Fulvius Fimbria, a ſenator, greatly eſteemed by the troops for his valour. Fimbria, though entirely addicted to the Marian faction, both deſpiſed and hated Valerius. However, he prepared to attend him, in compliance with the orders of Cinna and Marius, who were abſolute maſters in Rome. A ſquadron of ſhips was ſent with a conſiderable number of troops on board, with orders to land in one of the ports of Theſſaly, and there wait for Valerius, who was to follow with the reſt of the army. Sylla was at that time buſy in reſettling Greece, after having defeated Archelaus and Taxiles, two of Mithridates's generals. The troops therefore that were to ſerve under Valerius, hearing of Sylla's victories, inſtead of waiting for their unexperienced commander, deſerted all to a man, and joined the victorious proconſul, under whoſe conduct they promiſed themſelves great booty and glory. When news of this deſertion was brought to Rome, it was reſolved there, that Valerius ſhould embarque with two legions, and ſail directly for Aſia to carry on the war there with Mithridates. However, he did not leave Rome before December, towards the end of his conſulſhip, which was no ſooner expired, than Cinna, without ſo much as aſſembling the comitia, declared himſelf conſul the third time, and choſe for his collegue Papirius Carbo, one of the moſt furious zealots in Rome for the Marian faction. The other chief dignities in the republic were all filled with men wholly devoted to the intereſt of the reigning tyrant. In ſhort, the face of the republic was entirely changed, and the antient laws and inſtitutions quite aboliſhed. All the friends of Sylla, whom the tyrants could get into their power, were inhumanly murdered, and their eſtates confiſcated.

The conſul Valerius Flaccus appointed to command the forces of the republic, in the room of Sylla.

Cinna declares himſelf conſul the third time with Papirius Carbo.

cated. Men of any honour or probity were ashamed to live in a city, which was now become a nest of robbers and assassins. They therefore fled in crowds, and retired to Sylla in Greece, imploring his protection against their domestic tyrants. Upon their arrival Sylla hastened to put an end to the war with Mithridates, which we have described at length in our history of Pontus. But, before the articles of peace were agreed on, Valerius Flaccus arrived with his two legions at Byzantium, being sent by Cinna to take upon him the command of the Roman forces in the Levant, and to pursue the war with Mithridates. He was scarce landed, when great differences arose between him and his lieutenant Fimbria about their quarters. The lieutenant, sensible of the want of abilities in his general, despised him, and stirred up the soldiery to mutiny. Hereupon Valerius deposed him, and appointed one Thermus in his room. Fimbria, provoked at this affront, kept no bounds with his general, who, as he was hated by the soldiery for his harsh temper, thought it adviseable to retire for some time from the army; and accordingly crossed the Bosphorus, and took up his quarters in Chalcedon. The audacious Fimbria followed him thither with the greatest part of the army; which Valerius no sooner heard, than suspecting his design, he fled to Nicomedia, shut the gates, and put himself in a condition to sustain a siege against his subaltern. Fimbria pursued him, made himself master of Nicomedia, and finding him concealed in a well, dragged him out, and killed him with his own hand. Cinna and his senate, instead of punishing, rewarded the villainy, by declaring the base assassin general of all the Roman troops in the Levant [y].

Valerius Flaccus arrives at Byzantium.

Is murdered by his lieutenant Fimbria.

And now Fimbria, seeing himself at the head of a consular army, without any regard to the treaty, which was near concluded between the king of Pontus and Sylla, renewed the war with great vigour. He defeated young Mithridates in a pitched battle, and obliged the king himself to take shelter behind the walls of Pitane, a strong city on the confines of Æolis and Troas. Thither Fimbria pursued him, and having invested the place by land, sent messengers to Lucullus, Sylla's quæstor and faithful friend, entreating him to prevent with the fleet, which he commanded, the king's retreat by sea. Had Lucullus complied with his request and shut up the mouth of the harbour, the proud Mithridates

Fimbria makes war upon Mithridates with success.

[y] Appian. bell. civil. & in Mithridatic. Liv. epit. l. lxxxii. c. 64. Plut. in Sylla & Lucullo.

thridates muſt have fallen into the hands of the Romans. But Lucullus, deteſting the very name of Fimbria, ſailed away, and left an open retreat to the king, when he might have eaſily taken him, and by that means prevented the bloody war, which that prince carried on for the ſpace of forty years with the republic. However, Fimbria took Pitane and ſeveral other places, treating the inhabitants with unparallelled inſolence and cruelty, as we have related at length in our hiſtory of Pontus. In the mean time, Sylla, having put the laſt hand to the peace in a conference with the king at Dardanus, marched againſt Fimbria, whom he found encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia. And now two Roman armies ſeemed ready to entertain the Aſiatics with a battle among themſelves in the heart of Aſia. Sylla, advancing within two furlongs of Fimbria's camp, ſent him a ſummons, to ſurrender up his troops to him, deveſt himſelf of the command, and return to Italy. Fimbria proudly anſwered, that he deſpiſed the orders of a proſcribed man, who was declared by the ſenate an enemy to his country. Hereupon the two generals began to prepare for a battle; but Fimbria's men declaring, that they would not take arms againſt their countrymen and friends, and great numbers of them deſerting to Sylla, the treacherous Fimbria reſolved to have his adverſary aſſaſſinated. But the ſlave he employed for that baſe purpoſe betrayed himſelf by the terror that appeared in his looks, and then diſcovered the treachery of his maſter. This barbarous attempt exaſperated Sylla to ſuch a degree, that he immediately led his legions to attack the traytor in his trenches. Fimbria, finding his ſoldiers ready to abandon him, deſired a conference with Sylla. But he, not caring to come near a traytor, who was capable of any deſperate attempt, only ſent Rutilius, one of his officers, to treat with him, and acquaint him, that if he would leave Aſia and deliver up his troops, he would not only ſave his life, but furniſh him with all neceſſaries for returning to Italy. Return to Italy! replied Fimbria; no, I know a more expeditious way. Having uttered theſe words, he retired to his tent, and ſoon after privately withdrew to Pergamus, where he ſtabbed himſelf with his own ſword in the temple of Æſculapius. But, the wound not proving mortal, a faithful ſlave, who attended him, diſpatched him, and then plunged the ſword into his own breaſt [z].

Fimbria's men deſert to Sylla.

Fimbria's treachery.

He kills himſelf.

AND

[z] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat. Liv. epit. l. lxxxiii. c. 32.

And now Sylla, having no more enemies to contend with in Aſia, reſolved to return to Italy, where Cinna and Papirius Carbo had appointed themſelves conſuls for the next year. The former, to eſtabliſh himſelf more firmly in his uſurped authority, married his daughter Cornelia to a young patrician, whoſe extraordinary talents were already admired in Rome. This was the famous Julius Cæſar, who afterwards followed the ſteps of his father-in-law; and being no leſs wicked, and more ſucceſsful, turned at laſt the republic into a monarchy. Sylla, before he left Aſia, wrote a letter to the ſenate of great temper and moderation; but when their deputies came to meet him at Dyrrachium, and entreat him not to carry his reſentment ſo far as to produce a civil war, he ſpoke a very different language, telling them, that he was coming to Rome full of rage and revenge; and that all his enemies, if the Roman people conſented to it, ſhould periſh either by the ſword, or the axes of the common executioners. Hereupon the two conſuls ordered Marius, and the other heads of the party, to raiſe forces and recruit the legions. Several armies were raiſed with incredible expedition, the new citizens and allies readily concurring to ſupport the cauſe of the conſuls, which they looked upon as their own. A fleet was likewiſe brought from Sicily to guard the coaſts of Italy. In a council of war, at which all the leading men of the party aſſiſted, it was reſolved, that one of the conſuls ſhould go and meet Sylla before he entered Italy, and carry the ſeat of war into Dalmatia. This Cinna took upon himſelf, and accordingly cauſed ſome of his forces to be immediately tranſported thither. But the reſt of his ſoldiers refuſed to go on board, and began to mutiny. Cinna aſſembled his troops in order to appeaſe them, when one of the lictors, who ſurrounded the conſul as uſual, ſtruck a ſoldier who drew too near to the general. The ſoldier returned blow for blow, and called his comrades to his aſſiſtance. Upon this the ſtones flew about, and the legionaries who were next to the conſul, fell upon him ſword in hand. Cinna fled, but a centurion overtaking him, buried his ſword in his body [a] (S).

The ſenate ſend deputies to Sylla.

Cinna killed by one of his ſoldiers.

Upon

[a] Liv. Appian. ibid. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

(S) Plutarch relates this matter very differently. He ſays, that Pompey came to Cinna's camp, and that the cold reception he met

UPON the death of Cinna, Carbo continued ſole maſter of the adminiſtration, till the end of the year. His firſt care was to bring back the troops which his collegue had ſent into Dalmatia. He then ordered new levies to be made in all the cities of the allies and in the Roman colonies, to keep Sylla out of Italy by force of arms. We are told, that the troops raiſed for this purpoſe amounted to two hundred thouſand men. They were divided into ſeveral bodies commanded by different generals; viz. L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Junius Norbanus, whom Carbo had got choſen conſuls, Appius Claudius, Sertorius, young Marius, Flavius Fimbria, the brother of that Fimbria who had killed himſelf in Aſia, M. Marius, Albinovanus, and Lucius Brutus Damaſippus. In the mean time, Sylla was preparing to embarque at Dyrrachium, now Durazzo, where he had ordered his fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty ſail, to wait for him. When every thing was ready, he aſſembled his troops, and in the harangue he made to them, gave them by ſeveral hints to underſtand, that he was under ſome apprehenſion, leſt they ſhould diſperſe, and retire to their reſpective homes, as ſoon as they found themſelves on their native ſhore. Hereupon the whole army of their own accord took a new oath, promiſing to ſtand by him to the laſt, and to commit no devaſtations in Italy, which might raiſe the country againſt him. They even offered him all the gold and ſilver they had got in the war with Mithridates. But Sylla, thanking them for their generoſity, declined their offer, and being now well aſſured of their fidelity and affection, he embarqued, and put to ſea, as he himſelf tells us, againſt fifteen generals and four hundred and fifty cohorts. He had a proſperous paſſage, and landed his troops to the number of forty thouſand men at Brunduſium and Tarentum, without meeting with any oppoſition. There the army reſted a few days, to refreſh themſelves met with there giving him reaſon to believe that his life was not ſafe, he privately withdrew. His abſence raiſed great murmurs in the army, the ſoldiers imagining, that Cinna had ſacrificed him to his jealouſy. This report being ſpread among the troops, they firſt demanded young Pompey with loud clamours, and then fell with great fury on the general, whom they charged with his death, and cut him to pieces (11)

Several armies raiſed againſt Sylla.

Sylla lands in Italy.

(11) Plut. in Pomp.

themſelves after the fatigues of the ſea, and then began their march croſs Calabria and Apulia in ſearch of the enemy. On his march he was joined by Metellus Pius, who, during the tyranny of old Marius, had fled into Liguria. Sylla, who had no other title but that of proconſul, received him as his collegue, and both advanced at the head of the army into Campania, keeping their troops under the moſt exact diſcipline. The conſul Norbanus was encamped between Capua and Caſilinum, in order to ſtop Sylla's march; which the proconſul no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched two of his officers to him with offers of a pacification. Whether he was really inclined to concord, or artfully diſſembled the rage he concealed in his heart, is uncertain. However that be, his offers were rejected, and his deputies groſsly inſulted, which ſo incenſed Sylla's troops, that they ran to arms without orders from their general, drew up in battalia, and went out to inſult Norbanus in his camp. Hereupon an action enſued, in which the conſul was defeated, and ſix thouſand of his men killed on the ſpot. The fame of this action drew many of the contrary faction to Sylla's camp, and amongſt the others Cethegus, Verres, and Piſo, all three men of great diſtinction, and hitherto moſt furious zealots of the Marian faction. Verres, who was quæſtor of the proconſul Carbo's army, brought with him his military cheſt, a preſent very acceptable to Sylla. But, in the mean time, the conſul Scipio drawing near, the proconſul's army was in a manner ſurrounded by the innumerable forces of the enemy. In this diſtreſs Sylla had recourſe to his old artifice of pretending to treat of peace; and accordingly ſent deputies to the conſul's camp to propoſe an accomodation, pretending, that he was much grieved at the calamities to which the republic muſt be expoſed by a civil war. Scipio, who was ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, hearkened to the overtures that were made him, and by way of preliminary agreed to a truce, during which, there being a free intercourſe between the two camps, Sylla's men found means to debauch the whole conſular army; inſomuch, that when Sylla detached twenty cohorts, as it were to force the conſul's trenches, the conſular troops, all to a man came out to meet them, and joining them marched back with them to Sylla's camp. The conſul and his ſon, being deſerted by their whole army, which conſiſted of forty cohorts, were ſeized by Sylla's ſoldiers, who delivered them up to

their general. But he, being under no apprehenſions from commanders, who could be ſo eaſily over-reached, ſet them both at liberty, and gave them a guard to conduct them ſafe to the neareſt quarters of their friends. When news of this general deſertion was brought to Carbo, who was then encamped in Ciſalpine Gaul, he cried out in great ſurpriſe, We have both a fox and a lion to deal with; but the fox is more formidable than the lion [b].

Pompey makes his firſt appearance.

The news of the great advantages Sylla was daily gaining, over the generals of the adverſe party, prompted young Pompey to declare for him. He aſſembled troops in Picenum, where his family had a great many friends and clients, and taking upon him, of his own authority, the title of general, though he was then but twenty-three years of age, obliged moſt of the towns of Picenum to declare for Sylla. The ſmall army he commanded encreaſed ſo faſt, that in a ſhort time he had men enough to form three legions; and at the head of theſe, after he had appointed them their tribunes and centurions, he advanced towards Campania to join Sylla. The march of the brave youth, which was ſignalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals, who commanded the armies in that neighbourhood under the conſuls. Carinas, Cœlius, and Brutus agreed to obſtruct his march by attacking him in different places. Brutus oppoſed him the firſt with a conſiderable army, conſiſting chiefly of Gauliſh horſe. But Pompey at the head of his own cavalry defeated that of the Gauls, after having killed with his own hand the Gaul who commanded them. He then fell ſword in hand on Brutus's infantry, cut moſt of them in pieces, and forced the reſt to ſave themſeves by a diſorderly flight. This ſucceſs which was chiefly owing to the young general's perſonal bravery, ſo damped the courage of the two other generals, that they reſolved to quit the field, and leave the country open to the conqueror. However, he had not advanced far before he was met by the conſul Scipio, who ſince the deſertion of his troops had raiſed a new army. But the infantry on both ſides were no ſooner in fight, than the conſul's troops went all over to the young hero; ſo that Scipio deſerted a ſecond time by his army, was forced to retire with ſhame. Pompey's name being now become formidable to the adverſe party, Papirius Carbo, quitting Gaul, haſtened after him, in order

[b] Plut. Appian. ibid.

der to prevent his joining Sylla. His cavalry came up with him at the river Æſis, which divides Picenum and Umbria; but the young general having repulſed them with great vigor, purſued his march, and at laſt reached Sylla's camp, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of eſteem and ſincere friendſhip. Sylla, charmed with the account he gave him of his exploits, honoured him, though he had not yet a ſeat in the ſenate, with the title of Imperator, which the legionaries gave but rarely to their braveſt generals. Rome being greatly alarmed at the encreaſe of Sylla's army, the two conſuls as well as Carbo drew near it, in order to keep up their party there, and defend the city in caſe of an attack. The conſul Norbanus encamped without the walls, on the road to Campania; and Carbo, entering Rome at the head of his army, forced the ſenate to declare Metellus, Pompey, and all the patricians who had joined Sylla, enemies to their country. The reſt of the campaign was employed on both ſides in private negotiations, each party endeavouring to debauch the allies of the other. Sylla, a great maſter in that art, ſent conſiderable ſums into Ciſalpine Gaul, and by that means gained over ſeveral Gauliſh nations to his intereſt. On the other hand, the oppoſite faction ſent Sertorius into Spain, to keep thoſe vaſt provinces in awe, and prevent them from declaring for Sylla. At the ſame time, young Marius prevailed on the Samnites to join him with an army of forty thouſand men, under the command of Pontius Teleſinus, an able commander, who had gained great reputation in the war of the confederates [c].

Papirius Carbo and young Marius conſuls.

AND now, the conſular year being near expired, Carbo, who tyrannized at Rome without controul, forced the tribes to chuſe himſelf and young Marius conſuls for the next year. As the winter, which was very ſevere, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides for ſome months, the conſuls made it their whole buſineſs to raiſe money for the ſupport of the troops, which they had levied in moſt of the provinces of Italy. But, the public treaſury being quite exhauſted, they extorted a decree from the ſenate, empowering them to ſtrip the temples of their ornaments, and turn all the gold and ſilver they found in them into money. The conſuls having now wherewithal to pay their troops, and the rigor of the ſeaſon being abated, their armies took the field, and went in queſt of the enemy. The firſt battle was

[c] Appian. Liv. Plut. ibid.

fought on the banks of the Æſis, between Carinas, one of the conſul's generals, and Metellus Pius, who was immoveably attached to Sylla. The action proved very bloody, and laſted from morning to night. But Metellus at length obliged Carinas to retire, and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of his camp. The news of this defeat exaſperated young Marius to ſuch a degree againſt Sylla and his adherents, that he ſent orders to Junius Brutus, then prætor in Rome, to put all Sylla's friends in the city to death. This order was executed with the utmoſt cruelty; not one of thoſe, whom the inhuman prætor could get into his power, was ſpared. Among the ſlain were Papirius Carbo, the conſul's brother, P. Antiſtius, father-in-law to Pompey, L. Domitius, and the great Mucius Scævola, pontifex maximus. The latter took refuge in the temple of Veſta; but the prætor's agents followed him thither, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. The account Sylla received of theſe cruelties made him reſolve to quit Campania, and draw near to Rome. Accordingly, he advanced to Setia on the banks of the Liris, where he was met by young Marius at the head of eighty-five cohorts. Sylla reſolved, contrary to the advice of all his officers, to venture an engagement, being encouraged by a dream, in which the night before he imagined to ſee old Marius adviſing his ſon to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal conſequence to him. Both armies engaged with great intrepidity, and fought with unparallelled bravery. The ſucceſs was long doubtful; but at length Marius's right wing gave way, and the diſpute was ended by the deſertion of ſeven of his cohorts, who all in a body went over to Sylla. Their example drew many others, which ſtruck the conſular army with ſuch terror, that they all betook themſelves to flight, and diſperſed about the fields. The conqueror purſued them, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the fugitives. The vanquiſhed, ſeeing themſelves cloſely purſued, fled to Præneſte in ſuch numbers, that the inhabitants were forced to ſhut the gates before the conſul arrived; ſo that he was drawn up with a cord, and by that means eſcaped for the preſent the fury of his purſuers. All the reſt, who were left without the walls, periſhed by the ſwords of the enemy. Sylla, as quoted by Plutarch, tells us in his memoirs, that on this occaſion twenty thouſand of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and eight thouſand taken priſoners; whereas he loſt in all but three and twenty men [d].

Carina's defeated by Metellus.

The cruelty of young Marius.

Marius defeated by Sylla.

Marius flies to Præneſte.

SYLLA

[d] Plut. in Sylla.

SYLLA, flattering himſelf that he ſhould put an end to the war by taking Marius, inſtantly inveſted Prænesſte: but, as the place was too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, he reſolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view he ſurrounded it with a broad and deep ditch, placing guards at proper diſtances to prevent the conveying in of any proviſions. He committed the care of the blockade to one Lucretius Oſella, a ſoldier of fortune, whom he had lately gained over from Marius's party. As for himſelf, he marched with a ſtrong detachment towards Rome, which, he was informed, the friends of Marius had abandoned upon the news of his defeat. The citizens, oppreſſed with famine and all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened the gates to him; ſo that he entered the city without oppoſition, and encamped in the Campus Martius. And now, ſeeing himſelf maſter of the capital, he aſſembled the people, complained to them of the injuſtice done him by his enemies, confiſcated the eſtates of all thoſe who adhered to Marius, promoted his friends to the offices he found vacant by the flight of thoſe who had oppoſed him; and then, without ſtaining his firſt coming to the capital with any acts of cruelty, returned to his camp before Prænesſte. In the mean time, Carbo, having raiſed a numerous army in Ciſalpine Gaul and Hetruria, drew near to Prænesſte, with a deſign to throw ſuccours into the place. But Sylla meeting him, a bloody action enſued, which laſted from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſet, without any advantage on either ſide. During the engagement, Marcius Cenſorinus, one of Carbo's generals, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the enemy's trenches in another quarter; but he was repulſed by Pompey and Craſſus. A few days after, theſe two generals were attended with equal ſucceſs againſt C. Albinius Carinas, whom they defeated, after having killed five thouſand of his men. Sylla's other generals gained ſtill greater advantages in ſeveral parts of Italy. The two Servilii beat the conſular troops near Cluſium; Marcus Lucullus defeated another army near Fidentia; and Metellus gained a ſignal victory over the united forces of Carbo and Norbanus in the neighbourhood of Faventia. Ten thouſand of them were cut in pieces, and ſix thouſand went over to Metellus. Upon the news of this defeat, a legion, which lay at ſome diſtance from Metellus's camp under the command of Albinovanus, immediately forſook him, and joined Metellus. Hereupon Albinovanus, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in the party he had embraced, abandoned it in

Prænesſte inveſted.

Sylla enters Rome.

Great advantages gained by Sylla and his generals.

The treachery of Albinovanus.

ſo criminal a manner as has made his name infamous. He invited Norbanus, his general, C. Apuſtius, Flavius Fimbria, and moſt of the chief officers of his party, to an entertainment. Norbanus was prevented, by an unforeſeen accident, from complying with the invitation; and this ſaved him; for the reſt, when they were in the height of their jollity and mirth, were barbarouſly maſſacred by a band of aſſaſſins, whom the traytor had hired for that purpoſe. Such are the effects of party-zeal and domeſtic diſſenſions. Albinovanus, thinking himſelf ſufficiently recommended to Sylla by this black piece of treachery, withdrew to his camp with all the accomplices of his crime.

Norbanus flies to Rhodes, where he kills himſelf.

Norbanus, not knowing any longer whom to truſt, went on board a veſſel, which he found ready to ſet ſail for Rhodes, and arrived ſafe in that iſland. Sylla ſent immediately to demand him of the Rhodians; but, while they were deliberating how to behave in ſo nice an affair, Norbanus prevented their coming to a determination by ſtabbing himſelf in the middle of the market-place [e].

In the mean time, Carbo, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to relieve his collegue Marius cloſely beſieged in Præneſte, retired into Hetruria to reinforce his army there with new levies. But while he was encamped near Cluſium, news was brought him, that M. Lucullus had, with ſixteen cohorts, defeated fifty cohorts of his beſt troops, under the command of Quinctius, in the neighbourhood of Placentia, killed eighteen thouſand of them, and taken their camp. This misfortune ſtruck Carbo with ſuch terror, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs in Italy, he withdrew privately from his army, though thirty thouſand ſtrong, and with a few friends embarqued for Africa, to carry on the war there. Upon the news of his flight, Pompey and the Servilii haſtened to attack the army he had left in the neighbourhood of Cluſium, which, as it was deſtitute of a general, made but a faint reſiſtance; twenty thouſand men were killed upon the ſpot, and the reſt either taken or diſperſed. And now one of the three chief ſupporters of the Marian faction being dead, another fled, and the third ready to periſh with want in an inveſted town without any hopes of eſcaping, Sylla began to think the war at an end. But a new enemy, more brave and reſolute than any Sylla had yet encountered, entering the liſts againſt

Carbo retires to Africa.

[e] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. de bell. civil. l. i. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

againſt the conqueror, had like to have humbled him, and turned the ſcales in favour of the oppoſite party. This was Pontius Teleſinus, a Samnite of noble extraction and great experience in war; who having raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, partly Lucanians and partly Samnites, joined them to thoſe of Carinas, Brutus, and Cenſorinus; and with theſe three chiefs advanced boldly to make a laſt effort, and either relieve Marius in Prænesſte, or periſh in the attempt. Sylla, being informed of their motions, advanced to meet them at the head of his victorious army, and at the ſame time ſent orders to Pompey, who commanded another body, to follow Teleſinus, and fall on his rear, while he attacked him in front. The Samnite, finding himſelf in a manner ſurrounded by two armies, ſo that he could neither advance nor retire, without being attacked by both at the ſame time, decamped ſilently in the night, and overreaching the two generals, inſtead of purſuing his march to Prænesſte, took the rout to Rome, which he knew was not in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege. His march was ſo expeditious, that before break of day he came within ten furlongs of the Collatine gate. His approach threw the city into the utmoſt confuſion. The gates were immediately ſhut; the men ran to arms and appeared on the walls; the women all in tears crouded to the temples to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods. Teleſinus was a ſecond Hannibal at the gates of Rome, and already thought himſelf maſter of it. He then pulled off the maſk, and ſhewing himſelf as much an enemy to Marius as to Sylla, declared to his troops, who were moſtly Samnites and Lucanians, that his deſign was not to aſſiſt one Roman againſt another, but to extirpate, if poſſible, the whole nation, utterly deſtroy the proud city, and bury its inhabitants under the ruins. He walked through all the lines and ranks of his army, encouraging his men to lay hold of the opportunity which offered of humbling the proud republic, and putting her out of a condition of pretending to lord it over the reſt of Italy. Let fire and ſword, ſaid he, deſtroy all; let no quarter be given; mankind can never be free ſo long as one Roman is left alive. His troops, fired by ſuch a ſpeech, advanced with great fury. The Roman youth marched out to oppoſe them under the conduct of Appius Claudius, a young patrician of noble extraction and great hopes. But he was killed, and the reſt forced back into the city with great ſlaughter. In the mean time, Sylla, receiving intelligence of the enemy's march, detached

Teleſinus the Samnite joins the generals of the Marian faction.

Overreaches Sylla and Pompey, and marches to Rome.

He repulſes the Romans.

ſeven hundred horſe under the command of Balbus, with orders to ride full gallop to Rome, and throw themſelves into the city, while he advanced with the utmoſt expedition at the head of all the infantry of his army. The arrival of Balbus raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the citizens, who had given themſelves up for loſt. But the ſudden appearance of Sylla at the head of his army occaſioned ſuch joy among all ranks of men as can hardly be expreſſed. He arrived about noon, and encamped near the temple of Venus. After he had allowed his men a few minutes to refreſh themſelves, he called them again to arms, and drew them up in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus, two of his lieutenants, endeavoured to diſſuade him from expoſing his troops, haraſſed and ſpent as they were, to a deſperate puſh, when all lay at ſtake. They remonſtrated to him, that he had not a Marius or a Carbo to deal with, but an experienced general at the head of the Lucanians and Samnites, two of the moſt warlike nations in Italy, and the moſt inveterate enemies of the Roman name. But Sylla, without hearkening to their remonſtrances, ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge, and began the attack. The fight was the ſharpeſt and moſt bloody that had happened during the whole courſe of the war. The Samnites, animated by the example of the brave Teleſinus, behaved with their uſual valour, and put the left wing of the Romans, where Sylla himſelf commanded, into great confuſion. Several cohorts fled, and entire legions, not able to keep their ground againſt the Samnites, who puſhed them with incredible vigor, began to retire. Sylla did all that lay in his power to rally them, and bring them back to the charge. He even preſented himſelf ſword in hand before the runaways to ſtop their flight. But all in vain; the legionaries, who had behaved ſo gallantly in Aſia, without any regard to the command or danger of their general, thought only of ſaving themſelves by a ſhameful flight, ſome of them haſtening back to their camp, and others ſtriving to get into the city. The Samnites made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and Sylla himſelf narrowly eſcaped death. As he was flying from line to line mounted on a white courſer, two Samnites, knowing him by his equipage, levelled their javelins at him, which one of his attendants perceiving, gave his horſe a laſh, which made him bounce forwards ſo ſeaſonably, that the javelins juſt grazed upon his tail, and fell deep into the ground at ſome diſtance from him. In this imminent danger Sylla took

Sylla haſtens to the relief of the city.

Engages Teleſinus.

Sylla's left wing defeated.

Sylla in great danger.

took out of his boſom a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphos, and conſtantly carried about him in all engagements; and as danger and fear uſually awaken religious ſentiments, he addreſſed himſelf to it in the following words; Great Apollo, the Pythian, thou who haſt granted Cornelius Sylla victory in ſo many engagements, and raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of glory, haſt thou at laſt brought him to the very gates of his native city to fall there ignominiouſly with his fellow-citizens? He then endeavoured anew to rally the fugitives; ſome of them he threatened, others he conjured only to face about, and look on the enemy. But when he found all was to no purpoſe, and that the left wing was entirely broken and put to flight, he had no reſource but in a retreat; and accordingly endeavoured with the reſt to gain the camp, after having loſt a great number of his friends, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable officers of the army. A great many of the citizens likewiſe, whoſe curioſity had led them out to be ſpectators of the engagement, were trod under foot by the enemy's horſe; others were ſhut out and left at the mercy of the victorious Samnites, and ſome, among whom were ſeveral ſenators, ſtifled in the crowd. A great many of the fugitives retired to the camp before Prænefte, which they filled with terror, reporting, that Sylla was certainly killed, his army cut in pieces, and Rome in the hands of the Samnites [e].

Sylla forced to fly to his camp.

In the mean time, M. Craſſus, who commanded the right wing of the Roman army, having put to flight Carinas, who commanded the enemy's left, fell unexpectedly upon the victorious Samnites, charged them with unparallelled bravery, overpowered them, and at length by putting them to flight, ſaved, we may ſay, Rome from undergoing the fate of Carthage and Corinth. Sylla was defeated; Rome was not in a condition to ſtand a ſiege; and the brave Samnite, not knowing the fate of his left wing, was advancing to the gates of the defenceleſs city, crying out to his ſoldiers, as they marched along, Courage, my brave Samnites, courage! we ſhall be ſoon maſters of Rome. There is no ſafety for us, till we have deſtroyed that den of wolves, which watch all opportunities to devour us. And indeed, had it not been for Craſſus, this great metropolis had been buried in its ruins, and liberty reſtored to the reſt of the world. The Samnites, now no more

The Samnite army defeated by Craſſus.

[e] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

more conquerors, but conquered, fled to Antemnæ, whither Craſſus purſued them, and from thence ſent an expreſs to acquaint Sylla with his victory. In this engagement Teleſinus was killed at the head of his troops, after having given ſuch proofs of valour, as intitle him to a place among the greateſt heroes of antiquity. Carinas, Brutus, and Cenſorinus, were all taken priſoners, and ſoon after beheaded by Sylla's orders. That general, upon notice given him by Craſſus of the defeat and flight of the enemy's army, haſtened to Antemnæ, and there, as he had now no enemy to fear, he gave the firſt inſtances of his cruel and barbarous temper. For as he approached the place, three thouſand of thoſe unhappy wretches, who had taken ſhelter there, having ſent deputies to him, entreating him to ſpare their lives, and promiſing him an inviolable fidelity, the cruel general anſwered, that he would ſpare their lives, provided they put ſuch of their comrades to death as refuſed to join them. Upon this they fell upon their fellow-ſoldiers ſword in hand, killed a great number of them, and then preſented themſelves before Sylla without arms, and in the poſture of ſuppliants. He pretended to pardon them, and carried both thoſe who had ſurrendered, and the reſt, to the number of ſix, or, as Appian will have it, eight, thouſand men, to Rome, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people. Upon his arrival he cauſed thoſe unfortunate wretches to be ſhut up in the circus, and then ſummoned the ſenate to meet in the temple of Bellona, which ſtood near the circus. When the fathers were met, he began to harangue them; but while they were hearkening with great attention to his ſpeech, his troops, purſuant to their orders, entered the circus and fell ſword in hand on the unfortunate priſoners confined there. The cries and groans of ſo many men butchered in ſo narrow a place alarmed the ſenators, who were not acquainted with his orders, and filled them with terror. But Sylla, with great unconcern and compoſure in his countenance, addreſſing himſelf to the conſcript fathers, Attend, ſaid he, to what I am ſaying, and don't trouble your heads about what is doing without doors: the noiſe you hear is occaſioned by ſome offenders, whom I have ordered to be chaſtiſed. He then continued his diſcourſe with great calmneſs, telling the fathers, that he deſigned to ſettle the republic upon the ſame foot on which it ſtood in the beſt of times. But when the ſenators were informed of the maſſacre in the circus, they plainly ſaw, that they were ſtill under tyranny, and had only changed their tyrant,

Teleſinus is killed.

Sylla's cruelty.

which

which was to them matter of no leſs ſurpriſe than grief and terror. For in Sylla the nobility had hoped to find a friend, and the people a protector. He had been from his youth inclined to mirth, and was not only of a jovial, but of ſo compaſſionate a temper, that he had been often ſeen to weep upon very ſlight occaſions. But the change of fortune introduced, in a manner, a change of nature, and begot pride, arrogance, inhumanity, and all thoſe vices, which generally ſpeaking, attend an uncontrouled power and authority.

THE inhabitants and garriſon of Prænеſte no ſooner heard of the defeat of Teleſinus, than they delivered up the city to Ofella. Marius endeavoured to make his eſcape through ſome ſubterraneous paſſages; but finding them all guarded, where they opened into the country, by Sylla's ſoldiers, he laid violent hands on himſelf, as ſome writers tell us, to avoid falling into the power of his enemies. Others ſay, that Pontius Teleſinus, brother to him who commanded the Samnite army, and the young conſul engaged in a ſingle combat with a deſign to kill each other, and that Pontius falling firſt, Marius ordered a ſlave to kill him. His head was brought to Sylla, who looking upon it with an air of arrogance and contempt, What did this raſh boy mean, ſaid he, in pretending to govern the rudder, before he had learned to handle the oar? His head was afterwards by Sylla's orders expoſed in the forum to inſpire terror. All the Samnites and Prænеſtines able to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the city was given up to be plundered; ſo that from being one of the moſt populous and rich cities of Italy, it became at once the moſt poor and deſolate. Plutarch tells us, that Sylla upon the news of the ſurrender of Prænеſte haſtened thither, in order to bring the inhabitants and Samnite priſoners to a formal trial, that he might put them to death with ſome ſhew of juſtice. Accordingly, he began with citing each particular perſon before his tribunal, and, after hearing their defence, pronounced ſentence like an impartial judge. But finding this a work of too much time, he ordered them all, to the number of twelve thouſand men, to be cooped up cloſe in one place, and gave a general order for their execution. They were all inhumanly maſſacred in the preſence of the tyrant, who beheld that cruel butchery, and heard the cries and groans of thoſe unfortunate men, with as much calmneſs and unconcern, as if he had been aſſiſting at a public ſhow. He was pleaſed to except one out of the number of the victims,

Prænеſte ſurrenders.

Marius killed.

Sylla's cruelty towards the Prænеſtines.

tims, and offer him his life, becauſe he had formerly entertained him at his houſe. But the generous Prænestine rejected the offer with the utmoſt indignation; I ſcorn, ſaid he, to owe my life to the butcher of my country. This ſaid, he mixed with his fellow-citizens, and periſhed in the general ſlaughter. About the ſame time Norba, a city of Campania, being after a long ſiege reduced to the laſt extremity by Æmilius Lepidus, one of Sylla's generals, the inhabitants, dreading the fate of the Prænestines, ſet fire to their houſes, and periſhed with all their effects in the flames [f].

Norba taken

THE taking of Præneste and Norba put an end to the civil war in Italy. Sylla therefore, having placed in all the Italian provinces ſuch governors, as were entirely at his devotion, and pitched ſeveral little camps in different diſtricts to keep the country in awe, returned to Rome, which he entered at the head of his troops. The ſame day he aſſembled the people in the comitium, and told them with a haughty air, that he had conquered; but that thoſe who had made him take arms againſt his country, ſhould expiate the blood they had made him ſhed, with their own. I will not ſpare one, ſaid he, who has borne arms againſt me. They ſhall all periſh to a man. Theſe words from a man, who was abſolute maſter of their lives and fortunes, made the moſt intrepid tremble. They filled the whole city with dread and horror; and the conſternation was doubled the next day, when they ſaw fixed up in all public places a liſt of proſcribed perſons, containing the names of forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights. If any man gave ſhelter to a perſon proſcribed, though his ſon, his brother, or his father, death was the certain reward of his humanity; whereas the aſſaſſin was recompenced with two talents, tho' a ſlave had murdered his maſter, or a ſon his father. The children and grand-children of thoſe he proſcribed were by an edict declared infamous, and their eſtates confiſcated. The tyrant choſe ſuch agents to execute his decrees, as had even leſs pity than himſelf. The chief of theſe was the infamous Catiline, whoſe ſeditious enterpriſes we ſhall relate hereafter. That profligate wretch, though yet very young, had ſome time before killed his brother; and now, to juſtify his crime, he prevailed upon Sylla to inſert his brother's name among the proſcribed. This favour ſo attached him to the tyrant, that he became the chief inſtrument of

His ſpeech to the people in comitium.

His proſcriptions.

Catiline the miniſter of his cruelties.

[f] Plut. Appian. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Vell. Paterc. l. i.

of all his cruelties. At the head of a band of aſſaſſins, he ſcoured the ſtreets, and killed many knights and ſenators before they knew they were proſcribed. The perſons named in the liſt were ſought for in their own houſes, in the porticos, and even in the temples, whence they were dragged to Sylla, and cruelly butchered in his preſence. Nor was the maſſacre confined to thoſe named in the liſt. Sylla extended his revenge to all who had borne arms againſt him, of what rank ſoever or condition. Nay, his cruel agents took this opportunity to gratify their private revenge and avarice, confounding the moſt innocent and peaceable with the moſt guilty, out of ſome private grudge, or purely for the ſake of their wealth and rich furniture. In ſhort the ſlaughter was ſo dreadful, that Sylla was reproached with it even by his beſt friends. Among others a young ſenator, named Caius Metellus, ventured one day to aſk him in full ſenate, when he deſigned to put a ſtop to the calamities of his fellow-citizens? We do not, ſaid he, interceede for ſuch as you have reſolved to deſtroy; but only deſire you to free thoſe from their uneaſineſs whom you have determined to ſave. Sylla, without ſeeming to take this bold ſpeech amiſs, anſwered cooly, that he knew not yet whom he ſhould ſave. Name to us then, replied Metellus, thoſe you have determined to deſtroy. That I will do, anſwered Sylla very ſmartly, and immediately cauſed a new liſt to be fixed up of eighty citizens whom he proſcribed, moſt of them ſenators and perſons of great diſtinction. The next day he proſcribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the third. Among theſe were Carbo, Scipio, Sertorius, and Marcus Marius; the three former were out of the tyrant's reach; but the latter, who was nearly related to the great Marius, and highly favoured by the people, was ſeized by Catiline and put to death, after having ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torments tyranny could invent. He was whipped through all the ſtreets of Rome, and after this ignominious puniſhment carried beyond the Tiber, where by Sylla's barbarous agents his eyes were put out, his hands and ears cut off, his tongue tore out, all his joints diſlocated, and his bones broken. Valerius Maximus tells us, that one Marcus Plætorius, being moved at ſuch an affecting ſight, could not help pitying the unfortunate young man; which ſo offended Sylla, that he ordered him to be killed upon the ſpot. Even that natural compaſſion for the unhappy, which no man of any humanity can prevent,

Rome turned into a ſhambles.

Metellus's courage.

M. Marius put to a cruel death.

vent, was judged criminal and worthy of death (T). And now, after nine thouſand ſenators, knights, and citizens had been inhumanly murdered by Sylla's agents, he aſſembled the people, and told them, that he had proſcribed as many as he could think of at preſent; and as for thoſe he had forgot, they ſhould be proſcribed too, as ſoon as he could call them to his memory [g].

FROM Rome, Sylla extended his cruelties to the neighbouring cities that had declared againſt him, and uſed them without mercy. Some were diſmantled, others oppreſſed with heavy taxes, and immenſe ſums raiſed upon the inhabitants. All the effects of the inhabitants of Florentia, Spoletum, Interamna, and Sulmona, were confiſcated and ſold to the beſt bidder. Some cities were entirely demoliſhed, and the citizens all to a man proſcribed. The allies as well as the Romans ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the tyrannical yoke. Cato alone, known afterwards by the name of Cato Uticenſis, or Cato of Utica, though at this time but fourteen years of age, diſcovered ſome remains of the old Roman ſpirit. As Sylla ſhewed a great regard for him on account of his antient friendſhip with his father, his governor

[g] Plut. Appian. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 21. Seneca de ira. Plin. l. xxxiv. Oroſ. l. viii.

(T) Marius was ſcarce expired in his torments, when Catiline cut off his head, and carrying it as a trophy into the forum, preſented it to Sylla, while he was haranguing the people. The tyrant received the ſhocking preſent, and beheld it without ſhewing the leaſt concern. As for Catiline, his hands being daubed with the blood he had ſhed, he went and waſhed them in the holy or luſtral water, placed at the gate of Apollo's temple (12). For the heathens had veſſels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water, which they called luſtral or holy. In this water ſuch as intended to go into the temple waſhed their hands by way of purification. They likewiſe ſprinkled it on the aſſembly to cleanſe them from their impurities. An excluſion from the uſe and benefit of this luſtral water was looked upon by the Greeks as a kind of excommunication. For this reaſon OEdipus, in the firſt ſcene of the ſecond act in Sophocles, forbids thoſe who had been guilty of the death of Laius the uſe of the luſtral water. But here the profligate Catiline, after the murder he had committed, waſhes his hands in that water intending by ſuch an impious action to affront and defy religion.

(12) Plut. in Sylla.

vernor Sarpedo brought him frequently to the tyrant's houſe, which looked like a priſon, great numbers of citizens being confined there, and many daily executed. One day the young Roman ſeeing a great many heads preſented to the tyrant, which were ſaid to be of great men, he aſked his governor how it was poſſible that the author of ſo many murders could eſcape being murdered himſelf? Becauſe he is more feared, replied Sarpedo, by the diſheartened citizens, than hated. Give me a ſword then, anſwered the intrepid youth, and I will with one blow deliver my country from the tyrannical yoke. Sarpedo was ſurpriſed at the courage of his pupil, but ever after kept a watchful eye over him, leſt he ſhould by ſome raſh attempt expoſe himſelf and his family to utter deſtruction [h].

The noble ſpirit of young Cato.

While Italy was thus groaning under the oppreſſion of the tyrant, Pompey was employed againſt his enemies in Sicily, which was governed by Perperna, Carbo's friend, a man greatly attached to the Marian faction. But, upon Pompey's landing, he abandoned the iſland and retired to Carbo then in Africa. The Sicilians no ſooner heard of his flight, than they came in crowds from all parts of the iſland to make their ſubmiſſions to Pompey. Catanea was the only city that ſeemed determined not to ſubmit. But Pompey having begged of the inhabitants as a favour to admit into their city his ſick men, and they complying with his requeſt, he ſent the flower of his troops, and by that means made himſelf maſter of the place. In the mean time, Carbo not thinking himſelf ſafe in Africa, retired to the iſland of Coſſura between Sicily and Africa, with a deſign to paſs from thence into Egypt. But Pompey, being acquainted with his deſign, ſent a ſquadron of galleys to inveſt the iſland, ordering his officers to ſeize Carbo and all the outlaws who attended him, and bring them to Sicily. Carbo, finding he could not eſcape, came and ſurrendered himſelf to the commander of the ſquadron. He had formerly ſaved Pompey's eſtate, which the tribunes were for confiſcating, on his father's being convicted of having embezzled the public money. He could not therefore believe, that party-zeal had effaced all ſenſe of gratitude in the heart of a friend. But he found, to his great ſurpriſe, a man, whom he had highly obliged and ſaved from beggary, become, through his attachment to Sylla, his implacable enemy.

Sicily ſubmits to Pompey.

Carbo taken and put to death by Pompey.

The

[h] Plut. in Cat.

The young general ordered the old magiſtrate, who had been dignified with three conſulates, to be brought before him loaded with chains; ſuffered him to fall proſtrate at his feet, and received his ſubmiſſions with ſuch an air of pride as was ſhocking even to his friends. After he had reproached him with his cruelties, and the diſturbances he had raiſed in the republic, he pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, which was immediately put in execution. However, he ſuffered moſt of thoſe Romans who were taken with Carbo, to make their eſcape; which with his prudent and mild conduct towards the Sicilians, gained him the affections of the people. Upon his threatening to puniſh the inhabitants of Himera with great ſeverity, for having been more ſanguine than the reſt of the Sicilians in the cauſe of Marius and Carbo, Sthenis, their chief magiſtrate, told him, that he was the man who had ſtirred up his fellow-citizens againſt Sylla, and that therefore he alone ought to be puniſhed. Pompey was ſo taken with this generous freedom, that he not only pardoned him, and for his ſake the city, but received him into his friendſhip. As his ſoldiers, accuſtomed to ſlaughter, put many of the Sicilians to death without his orders, he cauſed their ſwords to be ſealed up in their ſcabbards, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe whoſe ſeals were found broken. By theſe acts of clemency towards the Sicilians, he wiped off the reproach of inhumanity and ingratitude, which he had brought on himſelf by the death of Carbo. Nay, it was generally thought, that his behaviour towards the chief ſupporter of the Marian faction was much againſt his inclination and the bent of his good-nature. At leaſt it is certain, that he made no enquiries after his friends in Sicily, and that he not only connived at the eſcape of many who were ſeized, but conveyed them away privately himſelf [i].

Pompey by his clemency gains the hearts of the Sicilians.

And now Sylla, being abſolute maſter of Rome and all the countries ſubject to the republic, except Spain, reſolved to leave the ſenate and people a ſhadow at leaſt of their former liberty. To this end he retired into the country for ſome days, deſiring the conſcript fathers to chuſe one of their own body in his abſence to govern the commonwealth, which, ſince the death of the conſuls, had

[i] Plut. in Pomp. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. Liv. epit.

had no legal magiſtrate. The fathers, out of complaiſance to Sylla, created L. Valerius Flaccus inter-rex: he was preſident of the ſenate, and wholly devoted to Sylla's intereſt; and this gave him an opportunity of bringing the ſenate to execute the ſcheme he had formed. He wrote to Valerius, deſiring him to declare to the ſenate and people, that, ſince affairs were yet unſettled, he was of opinion, that a dictator ſhould be created, not for any limited time, but till all evils and grievances were redreſſed. In his letter he intimated, that at the requeſt of the conſcript fathers he would accept of the employment. This propoſal, which tended to the eſtabliſhing of regal authority in Rome, ſurpriſed the ſenators. But the remembrance of ſo much bloodſhed, of ſo many proſcriptions and aſſaſſinations, chilled every heart; and, the law paſſing without oppoſition, Sylla was declared dictator without any limitation in point of time. Thus the Romans, after many ages, fell again under the abſolute power of one man; which proved a fatal blow to the republican government, and paved the way to abſolute monarchy. As flattery is the uſual conſequence of ſlavery, the people formerly ſo jealous of their liberty, worſhipped the idol they had ſet up, erecting to their tyrant an equeſtrian ſtatue of braſs in that very comitium, where they had ſeen the heads of ſo many illuſtrious citizens expoſed to public view.

Sylla perpetual dictator. Year after the flood, 2922. Before Chriſt, 77. Of Rome 671.

CHAP. X.

The hiſtory of Rome, *from the perpetual dictatorſhip of* Sylla *to the triumvirate of* Cæſar, Pompey, *and* Craſſus.

SYLLA, now perpetual dictator, or, to ſpeak more properly, king and abſolute ſovereign of Rome, undertook the reformation of the government, being ſeconded therein by L. Valerius Flaccus, whom he appointed his general of the horſe. The firſt law he enacted related to the election of the chief magiſtrates, and imported, that no man ſhould ſtand for the prætorſhip till he had been quæſtor, nor be elected conſul till he had been prætor, which was only

only the revival of an antient cuſtom. Notwithſtanding this law, Lucretius Oſella, who had carried on the ſiege of Prænesſte, preſuming on that merit, appeared among the candidates for the conſulate, though he had not yet bore any office in the republic. Sylla put him in mind of the law he had juſt enacted; but the bold candidate, preſuming too much on his paſt ſervices and the favour of the people, continued to ſolicit their ſuffrages; which ſo provoked the dictator, who ſaw him from his tribunal, that he diſpatched a centurion with orders to cut off his head. This execution raiſed the indignation of the aſſembly; but Sylla made them thoroughly ſenſible, that they were no longer a free people, by a low, but expreſſive, fable; A ploughman, ſaid he, being tormented with vermin, pulled of his cloaths, and cleaned them. While he was buſy at his work, they began to moleſt him anew, and the ploughman killed a far greater number of thoſe troubleſome inſects the ſecond time, than he had done the firſt. They returned to diſturb him a third time; and then the poor labourer, out of all patience, threw his cloaths into the fire; and got rid of them all at once. This fable you may apply to yourſelves. Your ſeditions have hitherto coſt you but little blood. Take care that the caſe of the vermin be not one day your own [k]. This fable, coming from a man inveſted with an abſolute power, made the whole aſſembly tremble; the tumult was immediately appeaſed, and the election of the conſuls made agreeable to the dictator's will. The perſons choſen were M. Tullius Decula and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, two of the chief officers of Sylla's army. They both ſet out for the provinces allotted them, the former for Gaul, and the latter for Macedon, leaving Sylla to reign alone in the capital, where he made ſeveral laws, which were all, except that relating to proſcriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. That law ordained, that thoſe, who eſcaped death after their proſcription, ſhould be killed where-ever they were found; that thoſe, who concealed them, ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment; that their effects ſhould be ſold to the beſt bidder; and that their children ſhould be incapable of holding any of the great employments of the republic. By another law he greatly weakened the authority of the tribunes of the people; for it enacted,

The dictator orders Oſella to be put to death.

Sylla makes ſeveral good laws.

[k] Appian. bell. civil. l. i.

ed, that for the future no tribune ſhould be allowed to ſpeak in the aſſembly of the people for or againſt any law in agitation; that only ſenators ſhould be choſen tribunes; and that thoſe who had bore this office ſhould be for ever excluded from the ſuperior offices. This made the ambitious diſdain ſeats in a college, beyond which they could not riſe. But the tribunes ſoon recovered their old power, and held it till the time of the emperors, who left them only the name and ſhadow of magiſtrates. The pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs appointed to keep and explain the Sibylline books, were by another law reinſtated in their former honours, and empowered to fill up the vacancies in their reſpective bodies; a prerogative as old as their inſtitution, but which had been transferred from them to the people, in the times that the plebeian faction prevailed. To each of theſe colleges he added five new members, ſo that they were no longer called decemvirs, but quindecemvirs, their number being encreaſed from ten to fifteen. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus having been burnt two years before, and the Sibylline books, which were lodged there, deſtroyed in the flames, Sylla charged the quindecemvirs to repair that loſs, by ſearching for copies, or at leaſt fragments of them, in the cities of Erythræa, Samos, Ilium, &c. Out of this collection they formed a new book, which was indeed larger, but not ſo authentic, as the originals that had been kept at Rome, ever ſince the time of Tarquin the Proud [l] (U). Sylla had the mortification to

[l] Appian. ibid. Pomponius de orig. juriſ. Tacit. annal. l. xi. Cic. de legib. l. iii. Ulpian. digeſt.

(U) There is a great diſagreement among the antients as to the number of the Sibyls. Suidas ſays there were fourteen; Ælian reckons but four; Solinus only three; and Martianus Capella reduces them to two. But moſt authors follow Varro, who tells us in expreſs terms that they were ten. Some modern writers indeed, without any regard to the authority of Varro, or the other antients, are for uniting all the Sibyls in one. So that, according to them, different names were given to one and the ſame Sibyl, from the different places where ſhe uttered her oracles. She had, ſay they, no fixed abode, but being led by the ſpirit that inſpired her, ſhe firſt publiſhed her predictions in the city of Erythræa, the place of her nativity, then rambled about the world, and at length ended her rambles and her life at Cumæ in Italy. But be that as it will, it is certain that the Sibyls were held in great veneration

ſee ſome of his laws abrogated before he died ; but the greateſt part of them continued in force, and are parts of the Roman law to this day.

AND

at Rome and among the eaſtern nations. A collection was made of the oracles they uttered. and copies of them multiplied in moſt cities of Greece, Italy, and Aſia. The pagans looked on theſe prophetic rhapſodies as a myſterious book containing the decrees of fate. They were the uſual reſource of people in times of calamity, and in important affairs, whereof the ſucceſs was doubtful. St. Jerom was of opinion, that God gave them this wonderful gift as a reward for their chaſtity ; others pretend, that the devil diſcovered future things to them ; and ſome aſcribe the enthuſiaſm, with which they were ſeized, to a melancholy diſpoſition. They were in all likelihood fanatical women, who gave themſelves the air of propheteſſes, in order to impoſe on the credulity of the ſimple. The pagan authors themſelves own the terms, in which their prophecies were couched, to have been very obſcure and ambiguous ; ſo that they were capable of the different interpretations which each perſon thought fit to give them. Cicero does not diſſemble, that the different rhapſodies of the Sibylline books were wrote and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to be eaſily accommodated to all ſorts of events. Callide enim, qui illa compoſuit, ſays that writer (13), perfecit, ut, quodcunque accidiſſet, prædictum videretur. The ſame judgment ought to be made of the collection, which, by Sylla's orders, was ſubſtituted in the room of the old books after the burning of the capitol. The different fragments, out of which the quindecemvirs compoſed this volume, contained the dregs of ſuperſtition, and were, we may ſay, a jumble of all the dreams of paganiſm. Afterwards, ſome men, who pretended to inſpiration, enlarged this volume as they thought fit, which obliged the emperor Tiberius to put a ſtop to this enormous abuſe by a very ſevere decree. As to the eight books, which now bear the name of the Sibyls, critics agree that they are the work, at leaſt in part, of ſome chriſtian of the ſecond century. Some of the fathers, not aware of the impoſition, often quoted the books of the Sibyls in favour of the chriſtian religion ; and hence Celſus ſtiles the chriſtians Sibyliſts. But Origin and St. Auſtin did not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed on, and therefore ſpeak of thoſe books with contempt. In the reign of the emperor Honorius, the famous Stilico, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory, cauſed thoſe fragments of the Sibylline books, which had been collected by Sylla's orders, to be all burnt, the greateſt part of the Roman ſenate having then embraced the chriſtian

(13) Cic. de divinat. l. ii.

And now Sylla, ruling in Rome without controul, under pretence of ſupplying the places of the many Roman citizens, who had periſhed in the civil wars, gave liberty and the right of Roman citizenſhip to ten thouſand ſlaves, whom from his own name he called Cornelians. Theſe were bound in gratitude to fight and vote for him on all occaſions. In the next place he rewarded his old legionaries, who had ſerved under him in the Levant and in Italy, beſtowing upon them the lands of the municipia and colonies, which had declared againſt him. Thus, ſurrounded by a guard of freed-men in Rome, and ſupported by his old legionaries in the country, he had nothing to fear, either from revolts in the city, or inſurrections among the allies. As all was quiet in the capital, Sylla thought this a proper time to decree himſelf a triumph for his conqueſts in Aſia, Greece, and Pontus. Rome had not for a long time ſeen one ſo magnificent. It laſted two days, on the firſt of which were carried before the triumphant victor fifteen thouſand pounds weight of gold and an hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, which he had brought from Greece and Aſia; and on the ſecond thirteen thouſand pounds weight of gold and ſeven thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, which young Marius had ſaved out of the fire of the capitol, and Sylla had recovered at Præneſte after his death. As ſoon as the proceſſion was over, Sylla's triumph.

the chriſtian religion. However, Stilico was on this account ſeverely cenſured by the noble poet Rutilius in his itinerary (14). Dr. Hyde, ſhocked at the contradictions and fabulous adventures with which the pagans filled the hiſtory of the Sibyls, found out a new way of accounting for them. He obſerves in the conſtellation called the virgin a bright ſtar, which the Perſians called Sambula; and remarks, that the Perſians, who were fond of judiciary aſtrology, looked on the ſign of the Virgin, as having a greater power, than all the other celeſtial bodies, to diſcover future things. The Greeks, having learnt the ſciences of the eaſtern nations, ſoon adopted theſe trifling opinions, and, agreeable to their genius, embelliſhed them with their fictions. Their poets ſoon invented a Sibyl virgin in alluſion to the term Sambula; carried her into ſeveral countries; and made her act the part of a prop eteſs (15). So that, according to this eminent writer, whatever has been ſaid both by the antients and moderns of the Sibyls, and their prophecies, is entirely fabulous.

(14) Vide Dempſter. ad Roſin. l. iii. c. 24. & Polyb. hiſtor. c. 8. (15) Vide Hyde de reiig. Perſarum.

the conqueror, mounting the roſtra, according to cuſtom, gave the people a pompous detail of his exploits. As he aſcribed all his ſucceſſes to fortune, he ordered, that no other title ſhould be given him than that of the fortunate, a title in which he gloried, as much as other heroes had done in appellations taken from the countries which they had ſubdued [m] (W). His triumph was ſucceeded by the moſt pompous games that had ever been ſeen in Rome. We are told, that in the Olympic games, which were celebrated this year, only the races could be performed, the moſt ſkilful actors of Greece having left their own country, to diſplay their art in the capital of the world [n].

Pompey's ſucceſsful expedition in Africa.

In the mean time, the Marian faction began to revive in Africa. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, nephew to the great Marius, had raiſed there twenty thouſand men, and prevailed on Hiarbas, one of the kings of Numidia, to join him. Hereupon Sylla ordered Pompey to leave Sicily, which he had ſettled in tranquillity, and paſs over with all poſſible expedition into Africa. Pompey, purſuant to his orders, immediately embarqued five legions, and, landing in the African province, marched without loſs of time againſt the enemy. When the two armies were in ſight of each other, and drawn up in battalia, a dreadful ſtorm aroſe; upon which Domitius, believing that Pompey would not attack him that day, ſounded a retreat. But, while his troops were retiring in ſome diſorder to their camp, the young general, laying hold of that opportunity, fell upon them, and after an obſtinate diſpute, which laſted the greater part of the day, gained a complete victory. Of twenty thouſand men Domitius left ſeventeen dead upon the ſpot, and not without much difficulty regained his camp with the poor remains of his ſhattered army. Thither Pompey purſued him, forced his camp, killed Domitius, and took Hiarbas priſoner. In conſequence of this ſucceſs, he recovered all the cities of Africa, which had been drawn off from

[m] Appian. ibid. [n] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

(W) Plutarch tells us, that his wife having brought him twins, he named the male Fauſtus, and the female Fauſta, which words ſignify fortunate or lucky. However, in his letters to the Greeks, he ſtyled himſelf Epaphroditus, that is, The Beloved of Venus; and his trophies, which were ſtill extant in Plutarch's time, bore this inſcription, Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus (16).

(16) Plut. in Sylla.

from Sylla's party, entered Numidia, and having reduced that part of it, which belonged to Hiarbas his priſoner, gave it to Hiempſal, who had always oppoſed the Marian faction. As this glorious expedition was completed in forty days, ſo rapid a progreſs by a general of twenty-four years of age alarmed the dictator himſelf, who ordered the young hero to diſband his troops and return to Rome. Both Pompey and his troops were ſenſibly affected with this order, which would have produced another civil war, had not Pompey conducted himſelf with great temper. For when his legionaries began to mutiny, he reſolutely proteſted, that he would rather die by his own hand, than involve Rome in new troubles. Having thus appeaſed his troops and diſbanded three of his legions, he returned to Rome, where he was received with uncommon marks of friendſhip by the dictator, who went out to meet him, embraced him with great tenderneſs, and honoured him with the ſurname of The Great, ordering all, who were preſent, to give him that glorious title °.

Sylla jealous of Pompey.

When the time came for electing new conſuls, Sylla, though dictator, ſtood for that office, and accordingly was elected with Q. Cæcilius Metellus, ſurnamed Pius, who had joined him upon his firſt landing in Italy. Never was any conſular year more peaceable. All men trembled at the very name of Sylla, and the Romans, once ſo fond of liberty, were at length brought to ſubmit tamely to the yoke of an imperious maſter. However, the dictator, to gain the affections of the multitude, gave them ſuch entertainments as now ſeem to ſurpaſs all credit. He conſecrated the tenths of his whole ſubſtance to Hercules, and on that occaſion made a general feaſt for all the people of Rome; where there was ſuch an abundance, or rather profuſion, of all the delicacies the ſea, rivers, foreſts, or fields could afford, that immenſe quantities of proviſions were every day (for the feaſt laſted ſeveral days) thrown into the Tiber. Plutarch tells us, that the wine, with which he regaled the people, was forty years old and upwards. But the joy of this magnificent entertainment was ſomewhat abated by the death of his wife Metella, whom he had always reſpected, notwithſtanding her irregularities. However, the dictator's grief did not laſt long. A few months after, he entertained the people with a ſhow of gladiators; and, as in thoſe days men and women ſat promiſcuouſly

Feaſts the whole Roman people.

° Plut. in Pomp.

miſcuouſly together, a young lady, of extraordinary beauty and of the firſt quality, placed herſelf near Sylla. She was the daughter of Meſſala, and ſiſter to the famous orator Hortenſius; her name was Valeria, and ſhe had been a few days before divorced from her huſband. As ſhe was gay and lively, though virtuous and of an unblemiſhed reputation, ſhe came behind Sylla, and reſting her hand gently upon his ſhoulder, took a little of the nap from off his robe, and then returned to her ſeat. The dictator turned ſuddenly about, and ſeemed to be much ſurpriſed with the familiarity, when Valeria addreſſed him thus: It is not out of any want of reſpect that I have done this; but becauſe I was deſirous to partake of your good fortune (X). Sylla, greatly pleaſed with this anſwer and taken with the charms of Valeria, ſent privately to enquire who ſhe was, and to learn her name, family, circumſtances, and character. From that time they did nothing but ogle each other in all public places, receive and return amorous glances and wanton ſmiles. In ſhort, the old warrior, captivated with a few affected glances and coquetiſh airs, like an amorous youth, without experience or diſcretion, was continually dangling after the beautiful Valeria, till at length he gave way to his paſſion, and married her [P].

Falls in love with Valeria.

And marries her.

In the mean time, Pompey was ſoliciting the ſenate and people for a triumph, which his late victories ſeemed indeed well to deſerve, and the ſenate was willing to grant. But Sylla, probably jealous of the glory of the young hero, oppoſed his pretenſions, alledging a law, which enacted that none but prætors and conſuls ſhould triumph, and that for battles gained under their own auſpices; whereas Pompey was but a private Roman knight, and had gained his victories under the auſpices of the dictator. But this did not diſcourage the young conqueror, who continued to make intereſt with the ſenate and people for the gaining of his point. Sylla told him plainly, that he would employ all his credit with the people againſt him; not doubting, but that declaration, as he was maſter of the ſuffrages of the people, would make him deſpair of obtaining the honour he ſo ardently deſired. But Pompey, not in the leaſt diſcouraged, anſwered the dictator frankly, that his

Pompey's bold anſwer to Sylla.

[P] Plut. ibid.

(X) This paſſage is very remarkable; for it ſhews us, that the ſuperſtition is of a very antient date, by which men were perſuaded, that commerce with, or touch of, a lucky perſon, was a means of making them partakers of his good fortune.

his oppoſition mattered not, ſince more people adored the riſing than the ſetting ſun. Theſe words the dictator did not well underſtand; but obſerving no ſmall ſurprize in the coutenances of thoſe who ſtood by, he aſked what the young man had ſaid. When it was told him, he wondered at his boldneſs, and then cried out twice, Let him then triumph in the name of the gods. Pompey, taking advantage of this anſwer, immediately ordered every thing to be got ready for his triumph; and to give more uneaſineſs to thoſe who envied him, he ordered his triumphal chariot to be drawn by four elephants; for he had taken ſeveral of thoſe warlike animals from the princes he had ſubdued in Africa. But the gate of the city being too narrow for four elephants to paſs abreaſt under it, he was forced to be ſatisfied with horſes as uſual. Thus a Roman knight was diſtinguiſhed with the higheſt military honours, before he had attained to the age requiſite for having a ſeat in the ſenate. But the evil fate of Rome was raiſing up againſt him a formidable rival in the perſon of Julius Cæſar, who in this very year made his firſt campaign in the eaſt. He had married, as we have obſerved above, the daughter of Cornelius Cinna, and obtained at the age of ſeventeen, if we may believe Suetonius [q], the office of high-prieſt of Jupiter, being ſupported by the Marian faction, which then prevailed. Plutarch indeed contradicts Suetonius, and tells us, that when Sylla gave law in Rome, Cæſar ſtood for the prieſthood of Jupiter, but was excluded from that dignity by the dictator. Not long after Sylla endeavoured to prevail upon him to divorce his wife Cornelia, who had already brought him his firſt daughter Julia. But the bold youth had courage enough to reſiſt this formidable maſter of Rome to his face, though he had juſt before forced Piſo to put away his wife Annia, whom he tenderly loved, and obliged Pompey to part with his wife Antiſtia, and marry Æmilia, daughter-in-law to Sylla by his wife Metella, who had been married to Æmilius Scaurus. The dictator, highly provoked againſt Cæſar for daring to contradict his ſovereign will, reſolved to proſcribe him; and it was not without infinite difficulties that the friends of the Julian family got the decree of proſcription ſuſpended. When they entreated him to excuſe the ſallies of a warm and preſumptuous youth, from whom he could have nothing to fear, Sylla anſwered, that he diſcovered in him, young as he

Pompey triumphs.

Julius Cæſar reſiſts Sylla.

[q] Suet. in Julio.

He leaves Rome, and retires into Bithynia.

he was, ſeveral Mariuſes. When Cæſar heard this, he ſtole out of Rome, and wandered ſome time in the country of the Sabines, where he had the misfortune to be one day ſurprized by a party of Sylla's ſoldiers. But Cornelius, who commanded them, conſented to let him eſcape upon his paying two talents. And now thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in Italy, he withdrew to the court of Nicomedes king of Bithynia, where his reſidence is ſaid to have proved fatal to his modeſty, the private hours he ſpent with that prince raiſing ſuſpicions no-ways to his honour [r]. In this account we have followed Plutarch; for Suetonius ſays nothing of Cæſar's flight; but on the contrary affirms, that Sylla granted him his pardon at the requeſt of the veſtals, of M. Æmilius, and Aurelius Cotta [s].

His firſt campaign.

After he had reſided ſome time at the court of the Bithynian king, he went to ſerve under Marcus Minucius Thermus, at that time prætor of Aſia. Suetonius ſays, that this general ſent him into Bithynia, and gave him the command of the fleet, which Nicomedes fitted out to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Mitylene, the only city in Aſia, which refuſed to ſubmit to the Romans, after the treaty of peace concluded between Mithridates and Sylla. Cæſar diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the taking of this city, and merited ſeveral civic crowns, which were given to thoſe who had ſaved the life of a Roman citizen [t].

But to return to Sylla; he reduced this year Nola in Campania and Volaterræ in Hetruria, the only two cities that held out againſt him. And now all Italy being in perfect tranquillity, he declined the conſulate for the next year, and recommended to the tribes P. Servilius Vatia, a man of merit and his old friend, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who were accordingly choſen in the field of Mars.

Cicero pleads in public.

This year Cicero firſt pleaded in public in favour of Roſcius, whoſe father had been proſcribed and killed by Sylla's orders. As he was not very cautious in his reflections on a government which made Rome tremble, he thought it adviſeable to leave his country, after he had given a public proof of his great genius. He retired to Athens, where he perfected his talents for oratory, and improved his taſte for philoſophy.

And now Sylla after having deſtroyed above an hundred thouſand Roman citizens, taken away the lives of ninety ſenators, proſcribed or cauſed to be murdered near two thouſand

[r] Plut. in Cæſar. [s] Suet. ibid. [t] Suet. in Julio.

thouſand ſix hundred knights, and buried numberleſs multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities, reſolved to lay down the power he had uſurped, and put himſelf upon a level with the reſt of the people. Had he conſulted ambition or policy, he would never have taken ſuch a reſolution. The Roman people had ſet no limits to his power in point of time. There were no domeſtic troubles to create him any uneaſineſs, Rome being now accuſtomed to bear the yoke. His friends, who were as much intereſted as himſelf in his preſervation, were a ſufficient ſecurity to him againſt the attempts of his enemies. On the other hand, ſo many dangers ſurrounded him in a private life, that he could not reaſonably expect to be ſafe. But none of theſe conſiderations had weight with him; he reſolved to lay down his power, and reſtore the republic to her antient liberty, which muſt have proceeded from a greatneſs of mind, to which none of the antient hiſtorians have done juſtice. When he had taken this final reſolution, he aſſembled the people, mounted the roſtra, and ſurpriſed Rome with ſo unexpected a determination. He repreſented in a ſhort ſpeech the miſerable condition in which he had found the city at his return from Aſia; and added, that, the republic being in great danger, he had been forced to uſe violent remedies; that the loſs of a little blood would only have encreaſed the diſtemper inſtead of curing it; that he had therefore thought it neceſſary to take a great deal of blood from a body ſo robuſt and diſeaſed, in order to reſtore it to perfect health, &c. He concluded his ſpeech with theſe words, which filled the heart of every true Roman with joy: And now, Romans, I leave you to yourſelves, I reſign my office, deveſt myſelf of the unlimited power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to give an account of my whole adminiſtration, and anſwer in a private capacity, all the accuſations that ſhall be brought againſt me. This ſaid, he diſmiſſed his lictors, came down from the roſtra, and walked a great while in the forum, diſcourſing familiarly with ſome of his friends before the multitude, who, ſtruck with admiration, looked upon ſo unexpected a change as a prodigy. Though the city was then full of the children and friends of proſcribed perſons, yet none offered to inſult him, except one young man, who followed him to his houſe, abuſing him in a moſt ſcurrilous manner. Sylla did not deign to give him any anſwer; but turning to the few friends he had about him, This uſage, ſaid he, will

Sylla abdicates the dictatorſhip.

for

for the future deter any man from laying down the ſovereign power, as I have done, if once he gets it into his hands. A few days after he retired to his fine country houſe near Cumæ, ſpent there ſome days in more tranquillity than he could have done at Rome, and then returned to the city, leſt his enemies ſhould think that fear had confined him to the country. In Rome he maintained the rank of a man of the firſt diſtinction, but intermeddled no farther in public affairs, than became a private perſon, whoſe great employments and powerful friends gave him more weight than a common citizen. At the very firſt election after his reſignation, he had the mortification to ſee Pompey, his pupil, or rather his creature, aſſume an aſcendant over him in the aſſembly of the people. Pompey uſed all his intereſt to get his friend M. Æmilius Lepidus firſt nominated conſul; Sylla on the other hand ſolicited for Q. Lutatius Catulus. The former was a man of a violent temper, and a declared enemy to Sylla; whereas the latter was his intimate friend, and generally looked upon as a perſon of great probity, wiſdom, and experience.

Pompey reſiſts Sylla at the election of conſuls.

The emulation was greater between the chiefs of the two parties, than between the candidates themſelves: but Pompey, who was extremely favoured by the people, prevailed. His friend Lepidus was firſt nominated conſul, not by any merit or intereſt of his own, but by the power and ſollicitation of Pompey (Y). When Pompey was coming out of the aſſembly, overjoyed with his ſucceſs, Sylla took him aſide, and told him, that he had got the worſt of men named conſul before the moſt virtuous man in Rome; but that he had no reaſon to triumph in his victory, becauſe he would find, when it was too late, that he had been nouriſhing a ſnake in his boſom. What Sylla foretold proved too true, as we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. In the mean time, the two conſuls entered upon their office, and the miſunderſtanding, which aroſe

(Y) There was no primacy or diſtinction between the two conſuls. They were both equal in dignity and authority. But it was an honour to be named firſt; for the people gave ſtronger evidences of their zeal and affection for him, than they did for the other, who was named in the ſecond place. The advantage of the conſul firſt named was ſo inconſiderable, that he could not ſo much as aſſume the faſces firſt, unleſs he was older than his colleague, or had a greater number of children, or was entering upon his ſecond conſulate.

aroſe between them, threatening the city with a new ſtorm, Sylla withdrew again to his country-houſe, and there gave himſelf up to the moſt infamous debaucheries, though full ſixty years of age. The charms of his wife Valeria could not keep him from a ſcandalous commerce with actors and actreſſes. His chief favourites were Roſcius the comedian, Sorex the chief mimic, and Metrobius, who acted womens parts on the ſtage. With theſe he ſpent whole days and nights in drinking and revelling, which brought a diſtemper upon him, that ſoon put an end to his life. His blood was corrupted, and bred an impoſthume in his bowels. This he was not aware of till the corruption infected his fleſh, and his whole body ſwarmed with vermin. Many ſlaves were employed night and day in deſtroying them, but they multiplied ſo faſt, that his cloaths, baths, rooms, and his very food, was covered with them. He went often every day into the waters to cleanſe his body; but being at laſt ſenſible, that his diſtemper was paſt curing, he applied himſelf to the finiſhing of his memoirs; in the twenty-ſecond book of which he declared, that the Chaldeans had foretold him, that, after he had acquired great power and glory, he ſhould conclude the laſt act of his life in full proſperity. Ten days before his death he interpoſed in ſome diſputes, which the inhabitants of Puteoli had among themſelves, reconciled the contending parties, and preſcribed them a form of government, which they adopted. The day before he died he was informed, that Granius, the chief magiſtrate of Puteoli, delayed paying the immenſe ſums due from him to the public, in hopes of being freed from that obligation by Sylla's death. Hereupon Sylla ſent for him into his bed-chamber, and there ordered his ſlaves to ſtrangle him in his preſence; but ſtraining his voice in the heat of his paſſion, he broke the impoſthume, and voided a great deal of blood. This diſcharge weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he paſſed the night in great agony, and died the day following, leaving behind him two children very young by his wife Metella. Valeria was afterwards delivered of a daughter named Poſthuma, for ſo the Romans called thoſe who were born after the death of their fathers[s]. He was, without all doubt, one of the greateſt commanders Rome ever bred, and as able a ſtateſman. But moſt of the antients ſeem to have drawn a veil over all his good qualities, and to have diſplayed only his cruelties

Sylla's debauched life in the country.

Sylla dies. Year after the Flood, 2926. Before Chriſt, 73. Of Rome 678.

[s] Plut. in Sylla. Liv. epit. l. clx. c. 4. Appian. bell. civil. l. 1.

cruelties and proſcriptions, which, we own, betrayed a moſt cruel and inhuman temper. But after all, we ought not to forget that greatneſs of mind truly heroic, which appeared in his unexpected and ſurpriſing abdication. What could a man of the moſt refined virtue have done more, than reſtore his country to its antient liberty, reform the republic with excellent laws, revive and enforce the old inſtitutions, and lay down his power as ſoon as it was no longer neceſſary for the public good? Could the warmeſt patriot have ſhewn a more generous regard for his country? His funeral occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the conſuls. Lepidus was for having him carried to the burial-place of his anceſtors, without any mark of diſtinction. But Catulus made uſe of all the authority his office gave him, and Pompey of his intereſt with the people, to have the funeral honours paid to the deceaſed, which were due

His funeral. to his merit. And indeed never was a more magnificent funeral ſeen in Rome. His corſe, being placed on a rich bier, was carried on the ſhoulders of four ſenators, and attended by the pontifices, the veſtals, the ſenate in a body, all the curule magiſtrates, the whole body of Roman knights, and a numerous train of officers, who had ſerved under him in Africa, Greece, Aſia, and Italy. The veſtals and pontifices ſung hymns in praiſe of the deceaſed, which were repeated by the ſenate, the knights, and the whole multitude. The body was burnt with great ſolemnity in the field of Mars, where no funeral pile had been raiſed ever ſince the time of the firſt kings. Many ſtatues were erected to his memory, and a moſt magnificent monument in the field of Mars, with an epitaph of his own compoſing, the ſubſtance of which was, that no friend had ever done

And epitaph. him ſo much good, nor enemy ſo much hurt, but he had returned both with uſury [t]. Of all his friends, who were almoſt numberleſs, Pompey alone, whoſe ingratitude gave him no ſmall offence, was left out of his will.

New diſturbances raiſed by Lepidus. SYLLA was no ſooner dead, than new diſturbances ſprung up in the republic. M. Æmilius Lepidus the conſul did all that lay in his power to revive the old quarrels between the nobility and the people, hoping by that means to make himſelf as abſolute maſter of the government as Sylla had been. He began with attempting to annul Sylla's acts, which would have deprived the republic of the many wiſe laws the dictator had made. But he was therein reſolutely oppoſed

[t] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

oppoſed by his collegue Catulus; and the miſunderſtanding between the two chief magiſtrates was carried ſo far, that the ſenate, dreading the conſequences of their quarrel, forced them to ſwear, that they would not take up arms againſt each other. Care was alſo taken to ſeparate the two rivals, and to make the turbulent Lepidus ſet out without delay for Tranſalpine Gaul, which had fallen to him by lot. The incendiary indeed left Rome, at the head of a conſular army; but, inſtead of paſſing the Alps, continued in Hetruria, till his conſulate was near expiring. He then drew near Rome with his army, which he had taken care to ſtrengthen with new levies in Hetruria, and openly declared, that his deſign was to procure himſelf a ſecond conſulate by force, if he could not obtain it otherwiſe. He expected to have entered Rome without oppoſition; but to his great ſurpriſe he found both his collegue and Pompey under arms, the one poſted at the entrance of the bridge Milvius, the other at the foot of the Janiculus. As he was too far advanced to go back, he attempted to force his way into the city; but was repulſed by Catulus and Pompey, and obliged to ſave himſelf by a ſhameful flight into Hetruria. The capital being delivered from all danger by the defeat of the ſeditious conſul, Pompey was ordered to march againſt M. Junius Brutus, the father of the famous Brutus, who had declared for Lepidus, and commanded a great detachment in Ciſalpine Gaul. Brutus, at the approach of Pompey, ſhut himſelf up in Mutina, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length forced to ſurrender up himſelf and his whole army at diſcretion. Pompey treated his troops with great humanity, but ordered Brutus himſelf to be beheaded, without regarding the hatred which ſo odious an execution might bring upon him [u].

Lepidus defeated by Catulus and Pompey.

In the mean time, Lepidus, having aſſembled his diſperſed forces, and made new levies in Hetruria and in the countries of the allies, appeared once more before Rome. But, finding Catulus ready to receive him, and being at the ſame time informed of the defeat of Brutus and reduction of Mutina, he retired a ſecond time into Hetruria. Upon his retreat, the great elections were made with the uſual tranquillity, when D. Junius Brutus, ſurnamed Lepidus, and Mamercus Æmilius Livianus were choſen conſuls. And now Lepidus, having loſt all hopes of obtaining the

[u] Plut. in Pomp. Appian. bell. civil. ibid.

the conſulate, left Italy and went over to Sardinia, where he raiſed a new army with a deſign to carry the war into Sicily. But he was prevented by death from purſuing the wicked meaſures he had taken. He is ſaid to have died of grief upon the receipt of a letter, aſſuring him, that his wife, in his abſence, had proved unfaithful to him. His party fell with him; and Catulus and Pompey ſhared between them the glory of having ſaved Rome from the new misfortunes that threatened her [w].

Lepidus dies in Sardinia.

During theſe tranſactions at home, Muræna, whom Sylla had left in Aſia, unjuſtly attacked the king of Pontus, and forced him into the ſecond Mithridatic war, of which we have given a very particular account in our hiſtory of Pontus.

Sertorius retires to Spain.

Italy now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but the party of Marius and Cinna was ſtill kept up in Spain by the brave Sertorius, whoſe noble exploits, ſince his proſcription and flight, we have, to avoid confuſion, reſerved for this place. Upon the firſt advantages gained by Sylla in Italy, Sertorius, who had been appointed by the Marian faction prætor of Spain, retired thither, to ſecure that country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a ſupport to his declining party. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition he met with from the Barbarians, through whoſe countries he paſſed, he got ſafe to his government; and there, by his affable and obliging behaviour, ſo gained the affections both of the nobility and people, that all Spain declared for the new prætor. Thus that flouriſhing country was unfortunately brought to take part in the diviſions of the republic, and by that means became the ſeat of the civil war, which ambition had begun at Rome. Sylla no ſooner heard of the arrival of Sertorius in Spain, than he ſent Caius Annius at the head of a powerful army to drive him from thence. Sertorius, having timely notice of the dictator's deſign, immediately detached Julius Salinator with a body of ſix thouſand men to guard the narrow paſſes of the Pyrenees; which he did ſo effectually, that Annius, upon his arrival finding it impoſſible to open himſelf a way into Spain, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what courſe to take. But, in the mean time, one Calpurnius Lanarius, being gained over by Annius, treacherouſly murdered Julius Salinator, which ſo terrified the troops under his command, that they abandoned the paſſes,

[w] Plut. & Appian. ibid.

paſſes, and gave Annius an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of Spain. Sertorius not being ſtrong enough to keep the field, retired with three thouſand men to New Carthage, and there embarquing on board a fleet haſtily got together, paſſed over into Africa, and landed on the coaſt of Mauritania. His men went aſhore to ſupply themſelves with freſh water; but, while they were ſtraggling about with too much ſecurity, the Barbarians fell upon them, and put many of them to the ſword. This new misfortune forced Sertorius to ſail back to Spain; but finding the whole coaſt lined with Annius's men, he put out to ſea again, not knowing what courſe to ſteer. At ſome diſtance from the coaſt he fell in with a ſmall fleet of Cilician pirates, who were cruiſing between Africa and Spain, and having prevailed on them to join him in hopes of booty, he ſailed for the iſland of Pityuſa, now Yvica, on the coaſt of Africa, where he made a deſcent, overpowered the garriſon placed there by Annius, and got a conſiderable booty. This ſlight advantage brought Annius in perſon upon him, with a great fleet, having five thouſand ſoldiers on board. Though Sertorius's fleet conſiſted of veſſels not built for ſtrength, but for lightneſs, he made ready to engage the enemy. But a violent ſtorm ariſing, moſt of his ſhips were driven againſt the rocky ſhore, and daſhed to pieces. Sertorius himſelf, with the ſmall remains of his ſhattered fleet, being prevented by the fury of the weather from putting out to ſea, and by the enemy from landing, was toſſed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the ſea ran very high, in great danger of periſhing with all his men. As ſoon as the ſtorm was over, he paſſed the ſtreights of Gades, and landed near the mouth of the Bætis. There he met with ſome ſea-men newly arrived from the Atlantic or Fortunate iſlands (Z), and was ſo taken with the account they gave him of thoſe happy regions, that, being quite

Is driven from thence by Annius.

Is joined by a fleet of Cilician pirates.

(Z) Theſe iſlands, according to Plutarch, were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and diſtant about ten thouſand furlongs from the coaſt of Africa. The deſcription he gives us of them agrees exactly with that which we read in the fourth book of the Odyſſey. But after all, we are ſtill at a loſs to know what country the antients meant by the Atlantic or Fortunate iſlands. Plato deſcribes them in a very pompous manner in his Timæus and Critias; and the great extent he allows them, has inclined ſome, namely Ortelius and Sanſon, to believe, that

quite tired out with ſo many fatigues and dangers both by ſea and land, he reſolved to retire thither, and ſpend his life in peace and quietneſs, far from the noiſe of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no ſooner communicated his deſign to the Cilician pirates, than they abandoned him; and, chuſing rather to rove about the ſeas in queſt of ſpoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, ſet ſail for Africa, to aſſiſt Aſcalis king of Mauritania againſt his rebellious ſubjects. Sertorius, who only entertained a faint deſire of a quiet and retired life, no ſooner heard of this new war in Africa, than he likewiſe reſolved to ſet ſail thither and join the enemies of Aſcalis. He loſt no time, but immediately put to ſea, and landing on the coaſt of Mauritania, marched directly againſt Aſcalis, defeated him

Paſſes over into Africa.

in

that he meant America. But no one, before Mr. Ruſbeck, ever dreamt, that Plato in deſcribing his Atlantis had Scandinavia in view, which comprehends the kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. That learned writer, in love with the colds and froſts of his native country, finds all the charms of this renowned iſland in thoſe northern and frozen countries. To convince others of this, he urges no fewer than an hundred and two arguments in his work intitled Atlantica, and finds in certain ruins not far from Upſal the ſame ſituation and dimenſions which Plato gives to the capital of Atlantis. Norway and Sweden are, we allow, moſt pleaſant and delightful countries; but we can hardly perſuade ourſelves, that Homer had either of them in view when he deſcribed the Elyſian fields, which he places in the iſland of Atlantis. His deſcription of that happy region is as follows:

> Elyſium ſhall be thine; the bliſsful plains
> Of utmoſt earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns.
> Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
> Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
> Stern winter ſmiles on that auſpicious clime,
> The fields are florid with unfading prime.
> From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
> Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy ſnow;
> But from the breezy deep the bleſt inhale
> The flagrant murmurs of the weſtern gale.

We can hardly believe, that ſtern winter ſmiles either upon Norway or Sweden, that the fields there are florid with unfading prime, that no inclement winds blow from the bleak pole, &c. and therefore are inclined to think, that father Kircher gueſſed better than Mr. Ruſbeck, when he took the Canaries and Aſores for the Fortunate or Atlantic iſlands.

in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of Tingis, now Tangier, which he cloſely beſieged. In the mean time, Pacianus, whom Sylla had ſent to aſſiſt the king, advanced againſt Sertorius at the head of a conſiderable army. Hereupon the brave general, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the reſt to meet Pacianus, whoſe forces, though far ſuperior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, ſlew the general himſelf, and took the whole army priſoners. After this victory he not only reduced the city of Tingis, but made himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppreſſed Mauritanians from the tyrannical yoke of Aſcalis, he reſtored to them their eſtates, their cities, their laws, and their privileges, accepting only of ſuch acknowledgments as the people freely offered him [x].

Defeats Pacianus, and takes the city of Tingis.

HOWEVER, his reputation flew croſs the ſea. The Luſitanians, being threatened with a new war from Annius, ſent an embaſſy to him, inviting him to come and take upon him the command of their armies. This was raiſing him to the height of his deſires; he therefore immediately embarqued with two thouſand five hundred Romans, who had followed him in his flight, and ſeven hundred Africans, who were willing to ſhare his fortune with him; and putting to ſea ſteered his courſe to Luſitania. In his paſſage he happened to fall in with the Roman fleet, commanded by Cotta; but having forced his way through it, he arrived ſafe on the Luſitanian coaſt, landed his men, and marched ſtrait to mount Ballera, the place of the general rendezvouz. There he put himſelf at the head of that warlike nation, and became, in a manner, king of Luſitania, the natives, who were well acquainted with his virtues, experience in war, and great abilities, inveſting him with an abſolute and uncontrouled authority, and committing to his care themſelves and their fortunes. And indeed no man was more worthy to govern a ſtate, or command an army. He was, according to Plutarch, free from all vices, and an enemy to all ſorts of pleaſures; in adverſity and dangers undaunted, and no ways puffed up with proſperity, but of an even mind, ever courteous and ever obliging. He was ſparing and backward in puniſhing, but in rewarding liberal and magnificent, even to prodigality. As to war, none of the moſt famous and renowned generals of antiquity underſtood that art better

Is made general of the Luſitanians.

His character.

[x] Plut. in Sertor.

than Sertorius. He did not confine himſelf to one uniform method in ranging his cohorts and diſpoſing his ſquadrons, but varied it according to the character of his enemy. Tho' he approved of the order of battle eſtabliſhed among the Romans, yet he would not ſervilely adhere to it on all occaſions, but changed it when he thought proper, and by that means often broke the meaſures of the generals who oppoſed him. His maſter-piece was the art of haraſſing the enemy, laying ambuſcades, ſurpriſing them in narrow paſſes, tiring them with long marches, and avoiding a general engagement unleſs he was ſure of victory. With theſe qualifications, Sertorius, at the head of eight thouſand men, made war with four Roman generals, who had under their command an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand archers and ſlingers. Titus Didius, governor of Bætica, was the firſt champion who entered the liſts with him, and gave him battle among the mountains. But that weak general was defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, and driven out of the field. Hereupon Sylla diſpatched Metellus, one of the beſt generals then in Rome, to ſtop the progreſs of this new enemy. But the reputation of that great commander ſuffered much by this expedition. For he did not know which way to turn himſelf, having to do with a man of undaunted boldneſs and uncommon ſagacity, who was continually moleſting him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; but, by the ſwiftneſs and dexterity of his Spaniſh ſoldiery, was continually changing his ſtation, caſting his army into all forms, and every day contriving new ſtratagems. Metellus on his firſt arrival ſent for L. Domitius, then prætor of Hither Spain to his aſſiſtance. But Sertorius, informed of the march of Domitius, detached Hirtuleius or Herculeius, his quæſtor, againſt him, who gave the Roman prætor a total overthrow. Hereupon Metellus ordered Lucius Lollius, prætor of Narbonne Gaul, to leave his province and join him. But Hirtuleius, meeting him in the neighbourhood of Ilerda, now Lerida, gained a complete victory over him, diſperſed his troops, and killed his lieutenant-general. Upon the fame of theſe victories, all thoſe, who were diſſatisfied with the government of Sylla, eſpecially ſuch of the proſcribed perſons as could eſcape his fury, flocked to Sertorius from all parts. Inſomuch, that he ſoon ſaw in his camp ſuch a number of illuſtrious Roman citizens, that he formed a ſenate of them, whoſe authority he ſet up in competition with that of the ſenate of Rome.

Defeats T. Didius.

Gains great advantages over the Romans.

Out

Out of them he likewiſe choſe his quæſtors, his military tribunes, and other officers of his army. Thus he erected Luſitania into a new republic, which, as it conſiſted chiefly of Romans, rivalled that of Rome. Sylla, highly provoked to ſee a proſcribed perſon thus reigning in Spain, and the republic robbed of one of the fineſt parts of her dominions, was continually ſending freſh ſupplies to Metellus; but Sertorius, at the head of an handful of men, who were accuſtomed to range about the mountains, to endure hunger and thirſt, and to live expoſed to the wind and weather without fire or covering, ſo harraſſed the Roman army, that Metellus himſelf began to be quite diſheartened. If he ſent out his men in parties to forage, Sertorius, who was well acquainted with the country, ſcarce ever failed of cutting off their retreat; if the whole army marched in a body, he was continually harraſſing and alarming them, falling on their rear, blocking up the narrow paſſes, intercepting their convoys, cutting off their ſtragglers, &c. if they laid ſiege to any town, he preſently appeared, beſieged them, and reduced them to great ſtreights for want of proviſions. By this means Metellus ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies as if he had been conquered, while Sertorius reaped all the advantages of a conqueror. The latter being informed, that his rival had ſpoke of him with contempt, as if he declined fighting out of cowardice, immediately ſent him a challenge, inviting him to put an end to the war by a ſingle combat. But Metellus, who was advanced in years, wiſely refuſed to enter the liſts with a ſtrong active man, then in the flower of his age, thinking that it became a general, as Theophraſtus obſerves, to die like a general, and not like a gladiator. However, his declining the challenge brought him into diſcredit with the undiſcerning multitude; and he, to recover his reputation by ſome ſignal action, turned his arms againſt Lacobriga (A), a conſiderable city of the Turduli, which he hoped to take in two days time, there being but one well within the city. But Sertorius found means to convey into the city, before Metellus inveſted it, ſix thouſand ſkins full of water, and to remove all thoſe who could be of no ſervice during the ſiege; ſo that Metellus continued a long time before the place, without gaining the leaſt advantage over the enemy. When he had ſpent moſt part of his proviſions, he ſent out Aquinus, at the

Forms Luſitania into a republic.

Haraſſes Metellus's troops.

(A) The antient Lacobriga is thought to have ſtood where Lagos, a little city of Spain near the bay of Cadiz, now ſtands.

the head of six thousand men, to bring in fresh supplies from the neighbouring country. But the brave Sertorius falling unexpectedly on Aquinus, cut in pieces part of his detachment, and took the rest prisoners, the commander himself being the only man, who had the good luck to make his escape. And now Metellus, being reduced to great straights for want of provisions, shamefully raised the siege, and withdrew from before the place amidst the hisses of the Spaniards, who insulted him from their ramparts[y].

Defeats Aquinus, and obliges Metellus to raise the siege of Lacobriga.

Sertorius having gained the esteem, love, and admiration of the Lusitanians by these repeated advantages, and much more by his obliging and insinuating behaviour, changed their savage and furious manner of fighting, brought them to make use of the Roman arms, taught them to keep their ranks and follow their ensigns, and, in short, out of a confused multitude of thieves and robbers, formed a regular well-disciplined army. He likewise bestowed liberally upon them gold and silver to adorn their arms, caused their shields to be wrought and engraved with various figures, and, by conversing familiarly with them, prevailed upon them to lay aside their own dress, and assume the Roman toga or gown. But what delighted them most was, the care he took of their children. For he sent for all the children of the noblemen in those parts, placed them in the great city of Osca (B), and there appointed masters to instruct them in the Greek and Roman learning, that they might in due time, as he gave out, be capable of sharing with him the government of the republic. Under this pretence he really made them hostages for the fidelity of their parents (C), who nevertheless were wonderfully pleased to see their children going daily to school in good order, and handsomely dressed in fine long garments edged with purple. Sertorius paid large salaries for their learning, often enquired what progress they had made, examined them himself, and rewarded the most deserving with those Bullæ Aureæ

Gains the affections of the Lusitanians.

[y] Plut. ibid.

(B) The city of Osca, now Huesca, stood in the country of the Hergetes, a people of Tarraconian Spain. It now belongs to the kingdom of Arragon.

(C) This was a true fetch in politics. Sertorius knew how to ingratiate himself with the people by the same means that assured him of their fidelity. Alexander the Great had done the same thing before him.

Aureæ, which were at Rome the chief diſtinction of children of high birth. At this time a cuſtom prevailed among the Spaniards and Luſitanians, that when a great commander was ſlain in battle, all thoſe who attended him died with him, either by the enemy's ſwords, or their own. This the inhabitants called an offering, or devoting of themſelves (D). Of theſe Sertorius had many thouſands, all reſolved to ſacrifice their lives for his ſafety, and ſtand by him to the laſt. Plutarch tells us, that his army being once defeated near a city in Spain, and the enemy preſſing hard upon his broken troops, they forgetful of their own danger, and concerned only for their general, took him upon their ſhoulders, and paſſing him from one to another, conveyed him into the city, and then ſhifted, in the beſt manner they could for themſelves. Nay, his ſoldiers not only revered him as an invincible general, but as a man inſpired and a favourite of heaven. This opinion he gained among the ſuperſtitious Luſitanians by ſeveral artifices, and deluding impoſtures, among which that of the hind was none of the leaſt. A Luſitanian, by name Spanus, meeting one day a doe, which in flying from the hunters had juſt dropped a hind-calf, took up the fawn, and brought it to Ser-

(D) The ſame cuſtom obtained in Gaul, where a number of reſolute men, called Soldurii, devoted themſelves to a prince, or ſome great commander, to ſhare with him both his good and bad fortune, and either to fall with him in battle, or kill themſelves in caſe he was defeated. This was a point of honour, wherein none of them were ever known to fail (17). Dion tells us, that one Sextus Pacuvius or Apudius devoted himſelf in full ſenate to Auguſtus, after the manner of the Spaniards, and would have forced all the reſt to follow his example. But this was the action of a vile mercenary flatterer, who meant nothing of what he ſaid, and did it only to ingratiate himſelf with his prince; wherein indeed he ſucceeded, for in courts hypocriſy often prevails over truth. This cuſtom did not only prevail in Gaul and Spain, but in many other parts of the world, and in our days in the iſland of Ceylan and in the kingdom of Tunquin. Thoſe who thus devote themſelves are in ſome places called the king's vaſſals in this world and in the next. We wiſh Plutarch had told us by what name thoſe heroic perſons were diſtinguiſhed in Spain, as Cæſar has acquainted us what thoſe of the ſame order were called in Gaul.

(17) Cæſar de bell. Gall. iii.

He makes uſe of a hind to impoſe upon the ſuperſtitious Luſitanians.

torius, who uſed to reward very liberally thoſe who preſented him with fruit, fowls, or veniſon. As the young hind was milk-white, the general was wonderfully taken with it, reared it up with great care, and made it ſo tame, that it followed him where-ever he went, without being in the leaſt frightened at the noiſe and hurry of the camp. As he was well acquainted with the ſuperſtition and credulity of the Luſitanians, he gave out by degrees, that the hind was inſpired, that it was given him by Diana, and that it diſcovered hidden myſteries. When he received any private intelligence of the enemy's deſigns or motions, he pretended, that the hind had informed him of them in his ſleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readineſs. Upon the firſt notice of any advantage gained by the officers, who commanded under him, he uſed to bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, and encourage his ſoldiers to return thanks to the gods for the account they ſhould ſoon receive of ſome proſperous ſucceſs (E). By theſe and ſuch-like devices he brought the Luſitanians to look upon him as a man ſent them from heaven, or rather as a god under the appearance of a man. Hence Metellus, though an old and experienced general, could not, during Sylla's life-time, gain the leaſt advantage over him, or prevail upon one city to declare againſt him. When Sylla was dead, the republic, alarmed at the extraordinary progreſs Sertorius made in Luſitania, reſolved to ſend another general againſt him with ſuch a force as might cruſh him at once. All the officers of any note in Rome earneſtly ſolicited ſo honourable a commiſſion, and among the reſt Pompey, who had juſt ſuppreſſed the troubles raiſed by Lepidus. We are told, that though all was quiet in Rome, Pompey ſtill kept his army on foot in the neighbourhood of the city, and under various pretences refuſed to diſband it, till the ſenate at laſt thought fit to decree him the government of Luſitania. L. Philippus was the firſt who made this motion in the

(E) We meet in antient hiſtory with many examples of ſuch devices, made uſe of by the greateſt generals, and wiſeſt law-givers, the better to impoſe on the ſuperſtition and credulity of the people. A few years before, Marius, as we have related above, impoſed upon his ſoldiers by a Syrian woman, who paſſed for a great propheteſs, and by tame vultures, which he had accuſtomed to follow him, and come to him, when called. Theſe juggling tricks were not only practiſed in the times of ignorance and darkneſs, but are renewed in our days, in the days of the greateſt light and knowledge.

the ſenate, which was oppoſed by ſeveral ſenators, who were againſt beſtowing ſo honourable an employment on a young man, before he had paſſed through the inferior offices. One of them ſurpriſed at the motion, aſked Philippus, whether his meaning was, that Pompey ſhould be ſent into Spain proconſul, that is, inſtead of a conſul. No, replied Philippus, but pro conſulibus, that is, inſtead of both conſuls, intimating thereby, that the conſuls for the year were men of no merit, and incapable of managing the war in that province. After a long and warm debate a decree paſſed, appointing Pompey commander in chief of the army, that was to march into Luſitania to the aſſiſtance of Metellus. It was no ſooner paſſed, than Pompey ſet out from Rome, at the head of the troops he had kept together after the defeat of Lepidus [z].

Pompey appointed to command againſt Sertorius.

In the mean time, the republic choſe for her new conſuls Cn. Octavius Nepos and Caius Curio, who made it their whole buſineſs to ſupport the regulations Sylla had made againſt the attempts of the tribunes of the people. The dictator had reduced their power almoſt to nothing, but upon his death their ambition revived. At the head of the college was at this time one Cneius Sicinius, whoſe chief talent was buffoonry, the art of mimicking, and turninginto ridicule the moſt proper geſtures and moſt ſerious diſcourſes of the greateſt orators. Though he was a man of no principles or probity, yet he had found means to pleaſe the multitude; and, depending upon their favour, he had the confidence to ſummon the conſuls to appear in the comitium, and there give an account why they deprived the tribunes of their antient prerogatives. The conſuls obeyed the ſummons, and on the day appointed appeared before the people, when Curio ſpoke with all the dignity of a conſul and all the force of a great orator, ſhewing, that the late diſturbances owed their riſe to the abuſe of the too great power which the tribunes had uſurped. While he was ſpeaking, Sicinius mimicked all his geſtures and motions, making wry faces to divert the attention of the people. But all in vain; truth prevailed over the fondneſs of the populace for buffoonries; the tribunes continued in the ſame low condition, to which Sylla had reduced them, and the patricians triumphed. The whole glory of this victory was owing to Curio; for his collegue Octavius, who was troubled with the rheumatiſm, kept the whole time a profound

The tribunes attempt the recovery of their former power.

[z] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

found ſilence, ſitting on the roſtra wrapped up in linen, an covered over with plaiſters, which gave the facetious tr bune an opportunity to rally him, as he came down fro the roſtra, and tell him with a ſneer, That he was oblige to his collegue, who, by throwing himſelf about as uſua had ſaved him from being devoured by the flies. In ſhor Sicinius was ſo very witty, that he was aſſaſſinated befo his office expired, and the republic delivered from a dange rous citizen [a].

Julius Cæſar begins to ſhine at the bar.

THIS year Julius Cæſar, tho' but twenty-two years o age, began to ſhine at the bar. After he had ſignalized hi valour at the ſiege of Mitylene, as we have related above he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence, and this yea accuſed Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, formerly prætor of Ma cedon, and honoured with the conſulate and a triumph. He charged him with male-adminiſtration; but Quintus Hortenſius and Caius Aurelius Cotta, the two greateſt ora tors in Rome, pleaded with ſo much eloquence in favour o the accuſed, that he was acquitted. However, Cæſar gain ed the reputation of being one of the beſt orators of his age, and would have challenged the firſt place among men of that character, had he not proved, to the great misfortune of the republic, one of her greateſt warriors (F). Not long after he had accuſed Dolabella, he embarqued for Rhodes, with a deſign to improve himſelf in the art of oratory under Apollonius, one of the greateſt rhetoricians of his time; but he was taken in his paſſage by ſome pirates, who, with a few

[a] Cic. in Bruto. Quintil. l. xi. & Plut. in Craſſo.

(F) In his pleadings, ſays Plutarch (18), he appeared with all the graces of an excellent orator, and gained much upon the affections of the people by the eaſineſs of his addreſs and converſation, in which he was accompliſhed beyond what could be expected from his age. He was by nature excellently framed, ſays the ſame writer, for a perfect ſtateſman and orator, and took great pains to improve his genius that way in his youth; but he never roſe up to that pitch of eloquence, to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by thoſe expeditions and deſigns, which at length gained him the empire, whence he himſelf, in his anſwer to Cicero's panegyric on Cato, deſires his reader not to compare the plain diſcourſe of a ſoldier with the ſtudied harangues of an orator, who was not only endued with fine parts, but had employed his whole life in this one ſtudy (19).

(18) Plut. in Cæſare. (19) Idem ibid.

a few large ſhips and a vaſt number of ſmall veſſels, infeſted thoſe ſeas. When they demanded twenty talents for his ranſom, he ſmiled at them, as not underſtanding the value of their priſoner, and voluntarily engaged to pay them fifty, that is nine thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. Accordingly he diſpatched ſome of his domeſtics to raiſe the ſum he had promiſed in the neighbouring cities, and in the mean time remained in the hands of thoſe robbers, with only one friend and two attendants. During the thirty-eight days he ſpent among them, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence and poetry, wrote verſes, and compoſed ſpeeches, which he repeated to them, reproaching thoſe who did not admire them with barbarity and ignorance. He converſed familiarly with them; but always treated them with an high hand, and often in raillery threatened to have them crucified, if they diſturbed him when he had a mind to ſleep. The pirates, aſcribing this free way of talking to ſimplicity and a juvenile vivacity, were mightily taken with it. When his ranſom came, which the Mileſians raiſed by a tax upon themſelves, he immediately paid it; and being diſcharged, he went directly to Miletus, manned ſome ſhips there, and with them ſurpriſed the pirates, took moſt of them priſoners, and carried them to Pergamus. As it belonged to Junius, at that time prætor of Aſia, to determine their puniſhment, Cæſar applied to him, while he was taking a progreſs through the Aſiatic province. Junius, who was a very covetous man, and hoped to extort great ſums from the pirates, anſwered, That he would think at his leiſure what to do with the priſoners. Upon which Cæſar, taking his leave of him, returned to Pergamus, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; a puniſhment which he had often threatened them with while he was in their hands, and which they never dreamt he would be able ever to inflict upon them [b] (G). He then went to Rhodes, where he improved his talent for oratory, under the famous rhetorician Apollonius Molon (H), who at that time had Cicero for his auditor. In

His behaviour when taken by pirates.

Cauſes the pirates to be crucified.

[b] Plut. in Cæſare.

(G) Plutarch, in this place, contradicts Suetonius, whom we have followed. The former writer tells us, that Cæſar was taken by the pirates near the iſland of Pharmacuſa, on his return from Bithynia, where he had reſided ſome time, at the court of king Nicomedes, as we have related above.

(H) Plutarch calls Apollonius Molon's ſon, and of one man makes two; for Apollonius himſelf, and not his father, was called

In the mean time Pompey, having ſpent the winter in Narbonne Gaul, and in the beginning of the ſpring paſſed the

led Molon, as is evident from Suetonius, Quintilian, and Cicero, who often call him Molon ſimply, without the addition of the other appellative; which would have been very improper, if he had been only the ſon of Molon. Plutarch falls into the ſame miſtake in the life of Cicero, as the learned Rualdus obſerves. Thus far M. Dacier, in her notes upon Plutarch. But that learned critic is certainly miſtaken, it being evident from Strabo, that Molon and Apollonius were two different men; for he tells us in expreſs terms, that Molon and Apollonius were both natives of Alabanda, a city of Caria; that they were both ſcholars of Menecles the Alabandian; and that they both profeſſed the ſame art at Rhodes, tho' Molon went thither later than Apollonius, who, on that account, applied to him that of Homer 'Οψὲ Μόλων; for he was likewiſe called by ſome Molon, by others Μαλακὸς, or the Soft (20). Cicero likewiſe diſtinguiſhes them, calling the one Molon, and the other Apollonius the Alabandian, eſpecially in his firſt book de oratore, where he introduces M. Antonius ſpeaking of him thus: For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; tho' he taught for money, he did not ſuffer any, whom he thought incapable of becoming orators, to loſe their time and labour with him; but ſent them home, exhorting them to apply their minds to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, beſt qualified. It were much to be wiſhed, that thoſe who, in our days, ſet up for teachers and ſchoolmaſters, were as honeſt and diſintereſted as Apollonius. Of this Apollonius Plutarch relates, that as he was not well verſed in the Latin tongue, he deſired Cicero to declaim in Greek. The Roman was mightily pleaſed with this motion, ſuppoſing, that Apollonius could better correct him, in caſe he ſhould ſay any thing amiſs; but while thoſe who were preſent, amazed at his eloquence and the purity of his diction, ſtrove to outdo one another in commending him, Apollonius neither expreſſed any ſatisfaction in his countenance while his diſciple was ſpeaking, nor applauded him after he had done; but, without uttering a word, continued in his place muſing and penſive. When he obſerved Cicero to be uneaſy at this behaviour, he addreſſed him thus: Take courage, Cicero; I both praiſe and admire you; but I am ſorry for poor Greece, when I ſee the two only ornaments that were left us, learning and eloquence, transferred by you from us to the Romans. This Apollonius ſupplied Apion the grammarian, if Joſephus is to be credited (21), with the many falſhoods he publiſhed againſt the Jews and their temple.

(20) Strabo, l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661. (21) Joſeph. contra. Apion. l. ii.

the Pyrenees, after having ſurmounted the obſtacles which ſome Gauliſh nations threw in his way, appeared on the frontiers of Hither Spain. There he was informed, that the Roman troops, under the command of Perperna, or Perpenna, had, in ſpite of their general, joined Sertorius, and taken the military oath to him. Perperna, after the death of Lepidus, whoſe lieutenant he was, had got together the remains of his army, amounting to fifty-three cohorts, that is, about thirty-two thouſand men, and had marched with them into Spain, intending to ſettle there, as Sertorious had done, and to make war with Metellus by himſelf, thinking it below a man of his birth and rank to act in ſubordination to one, who was not even a Roman; but when his ſoldiers underſtood, that Pompey had paſſed the Pyrenees at the head of a mighty army, they took up their arms and enſigns, and threatened to abandon Perperna, if he did not inſtantly lead them to Sertorius, and reſign the command to a general, who was able to defend himſelf and thoſe who ſerved under him. Perperna complied, tho' much againſt his will, with their deſire, joined Sertorius, and ſerved under him as a ſubaltern. Sertorius, now at the head of a very conſiderable army, took the field, in order to ſtop the progreſs of Pompey, whoſe high character, founded on many glorious exploits, was a ſtrong prejudice in his favour. He was in the flower of his age, at moſt about thirty, had been honoured ſome years before with a triumph and the ſurname of Great, and was now empowered to act ſeparately and independently of Metellus, with the title of proconſul. Upon his arrival, ſeveral cities, which had hitherto continued faithful to Sertorius, began to waver, and ſeemed inclined to open their gates to a general, whoſe great fame had already reached the moſt remote corners of Spain. Sertorius therefore, to prevent their defection by ſome ſignal action, and to make them ſenſible that Pompey's protection could avail them little againſt his power and reſentment, entered the province of Hither Spain, which was moſt devoted to the republic, and there, tho' Pompey was advancing full march againſt him, laid ſiege to Lauron, now Liria, a ſtrong city on the banks of the Turia. Pompey, not doubting but he ſhould be able to raiſe the ſiege, marched quite up to the enemy's lines, and thinking he had encloſed them between his own army and the city, found means to convey a meſſenger into the place, to acquaint the garriſon, that thoſe who beſieged them were themſelves beſieged, and would be

Perperna retires to Spain.

His troops join Sertorius.

Sertorius beſieges Lauron.

ſoon

ſoon obliged to retire with ſhame and diſgrace. Sertorius, when informed of this meſſage, ſmiled, and turning to the officers about him, I will teach Sylla's diſciple, ſaid he, that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind him as before him. Having thus ſpoke, he ſent orders to a detachment of ſix thouſand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near to Pompey, and fall upon his rear, if he ſhould offer to force the lines. Pompey, ſurprized at their ſudden appearance, durſt not ſtir out of his camp; but was forced to ſit ſtill, and ſee his friends and confederates ruined before his face: for the beſieged, deſpairing of relief, delivered themſelves up to Sertorius, who ſpared their lives and granted them their liberty; but burnt their city, not out of anger or cruelty, to which Sertorius was an utter ſtranger, but that it might be ſaid, for the greater confuſion of the admirers of Pompey, that tho' he was ſo near the fire, which burnt down a confederate city, as to be well warmed by it, yet it was not able to raiſe heat enough in him to make him attempt the relief of it [b]. Frontinus tells us, that Pompey, without coming to a general action, loſt, during the ſiege of Lauron, ten thouſand men, cut off in ſmall parties by Sertorius's horſe, who were continually ſcouring the plains and intercepting all the enemy's convoys [c]. However that be, it is certain, that Pompey, after the ſurrender of the place, retired with Metellus to the foot of the Pyrenees, and there, without putting their troops into winter-quarters as uſual, ſuffered all the rigour of the ſeaſon in tents, being afraid of a ſurprize from a general, whom they both dreaded and admired.

And takes it before Pompey's face.

THE next year L. Octavius and Aurelius Cotta were choſen conſuls, and upon a complaint made, that the famine occaſioned in Rome by the Cilician pirates, who infeſted the ſeas, was owing to Sylla's having leſſened the power of the tribunes of the people, Cotta was weak enough to give up one point in their favour, to the great prejudice of the republic. He conſented, that, for the future, the tribunes might be promoted to ſuperior offices, contrary to a law enacted by Sylla. Thus they began to recover by degrees their former power, which, in the end, proved the ruin of the republican government [d].

The tribunes of the people begin to recover their former power.

BUT to return to Spain. As ſoon as the ſeaſon was proper for action, Metellus took the field, and marched againſt Hirtuleius,

[b] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor. [c] Front. ſtrat. l. i. c. 5.
[d] Appian. bell. civil. l. i. Salluſt. in fragment. Plut. in Cic.

Hirtuleius, one of Sertorius's lieutenants, engaged him, and, after a moſt obſtinate diſpute which laſted the whole day, put him to flight. Hirtuleius loſt in the action twenty thouſand men, was himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and very narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands [c]. Sertorius, upon the news of this overthrow, advanced with all poſſible expedition to the banks of the Sucro in Tarraconian Spain, intending to attack Pompey, who was encamped there, before he could be joined by Metellus, and by that means repair the loſs which his lieutenant had ſuſtained. On the other hand, Pompey, fearing Metellus ſhould ſhare with him the glory of the victory, made what haſte he could to engage Sertorius before his arrival. However, Sertorius, conſidering that the darkneſs of the night would be a great diſadvantage to the enemy, whether they were conquerors or conquered, none of them being acquainted with the country, delayed engaging till the cloſe of the day, and then advanced in order of battle againſt his rival, whoſe troops were drawn up in a large plain on the banks of the Sucro. Pompey, tho' well appriſed of the enemy's deſign in putting off the engagement till the evening, would not decline it, for fear Metellus ſhould in the mean time join him with his victorious troops, and rob him in great meaſure of the glory, which he promiſed himſelf from conquering a commander of ſo great reputation. The attack was begun with equal valour on both ſides. Pompey, who commanded his own right wing, ſoon obliged Perperna, who commanded the enemy's left wing, to give way. Hereupon Sertorius, committing the care of his right wing to his lieutenants, flew to the aſſiſtance of the left; and having, what by promiſes, what by menaces, brought his flying troops back to the charge, fell upon Pompey with ſuch fury, that, in ſpight of his utmoſt efforts, he was forced to give way, and betake himſelf to flight. As he was flying, an African of a gigantic ſize, who purſued cloſe, had already lifted up his arm to diſcharge a blow at him with his broad ſword; but Pompey, more active and nimble than the unwieldly African, prevented him by cutting off his hand at the firſt blow. He then continued his flight; but, being wounded and thrown from his horſe, he would have been made priſoner, had not the Africans, who purſued him, quarrelled about his horſe's golden trappings and rich capariſon. While they were dividing the ſpoil, Pompey made his eſcape, and, with much-ado, being

Hirtuleius entirely defeated by Metellus.

A battle between Pompey and Sertorius.

Pompey defeated.

[c] Front. ibid.

ing wounded in the thigh with an arrow, reached his camp. On the other hand, Afranius, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, had all the advantage over the wing Sertorius had left; he put them into diſorder, forced them to retire in confuſion, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that he entered the enemy's camp with the fugitives; but while his troops were buſy in rifling the tents, Sertorius came upon them unexpectedly, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them at the head of his victorious forces, and retook his camp. Early next morning, Sertorius drew up his army in the ſame plain, being reſolved to venture a ſecond engagement, which he had taken proper meaſures to make deciſive; but in the mean time Metellus coming up, he drew off, and returned to his camp, ſaying, Had it not been for the old woman, meaning Metellus, I would have whipt the boy ſoundly, and ſent him back to Rome [f].

At this time Sertorius was greatly concerned for the loſs of his hind, which had gone aſtray, being frightened with the noiſe and hurry of the late battle. He was thereby deſtitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the ſuperſtitious people, and inſpire them with an awful reſpect for his perſon; but by good fortune, ſome of his men who were wandering about in the night, meeting her and knowing her by her colour, retook her. The general was overjoyed with the news, and promiſed an ample reward to thoſe who had found her, provided they kept it ſecret and locked her up carefully. A few days after he appeared in public with a chearful countenance, and declared to the chief nobility, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that ſome extraordinary good fortune would ſoon attend him. He then aſcended his tribunal, and while he was there adminiſtering juſtice and giving audience to his officers and ſoldiers, the favourite hind being let looſe, purſuant to his directions, no ſooner diſcovered her maſter, than ſhe ran bounding to him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head in his lap, and licked his hand. Sertorius in return ſtroaked and careſſed her with all the tokens of a real tenderneſs and affection, inſomuch, that tears ran down his cheeks. All thoſe who were preſent, filled with wonder and aſtoniſhment, proclaimed him above the rank of common men, looked upon him as a perſon highly favoured by the gods, and with

[f] Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

with reſpectful congratulations and loud ſhouts of joy, attended him to his tent, proteſting, that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence [g].

SERTORIUS, not thinking it adviſeable to engage Pompey and Metellus at the ſame time, retired in the night from his camp; and, upon his retreat, Pompey, went out to receive and welcome Metellus. As he drew near, Pompey, out of reſpect to him as his ſuperior officer, ordered his lictors to lower their faſces; but Metellus would not aſſume any diſtinction, except that of giving the watch-word to the whole army, while they encamped together. As a perfect harmony reigned both between the generals and the two armies, they agreed to march after Sertorius, and attack him in his new poſt. They found his army divided into two bodies, one commanded by Perperna, the other by himſelf. After they had continued ſome days in ſight of each other, Metellus fell upon Perperna, and Pompey led his forces againſt Sertorius, in hopes of recovering the reputation he had loſt in the late battle. The engagement was ſo furious and obſtinate, that it laſted the whole day; but in the end Pompey was defeated anew and put to flight, after having loſt ſix thouſand men, among whom was Memmius, his lieutenant, and one of the greateſt officers of his time. On the other hand, Metellus put Perperna to flight, and killed five thouſand of his men; but Sertorius, having rallied the fugitives and renewed the fight, repulſed Metellus in his turn, and cutting his way through the battalions that ſurrounded him, wounded him with his lance, and would have ſoon diſpatched him, had not his troops, aſhamed to leave their general in diſtreſs, returned to the charge. After they had reſcued Metellus they fell upon the Luſitanians, who attended Sertorius, with ſuch fury, that they obliged them to retire in great confuſion. The brave general, having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rally his troops and lead them back to the charge, was forced at length to quit the field. He withdrew to a city among the mountains, not that he deſigned to ſtand a ſiege there, but only to deceive Pompey and Metellus. Accordingly the two generals, giving over the purſuit of the Luſitanians, haſtened to lay ſiege to the place whither Sertorius had retreated; but while they were forming their

Pompey defeated anew.

Sertorius obliged by Metellus to quit the field.

[g] Idem ibid.

their camp, he made a ſally, and eſcaped with his troops croſs the mountains into Luſitania, where he raiſed a ſufficient number of forces to enable him to keep the field. All the cities in his intereſt ſent him ſupplies of men, money, and proviſions, with ſuch expedition, that in a very ſhort time he appeared again at the head of a formidable army, and offered the two generals battle, which they wiſely declined; but they could not avoid the continual attacks of Sertorius, who fell upon them from all quarters, drove them from poſt to poſt, and, by intercepting all their convoys, reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they were obliged to ſeparate and retire, Metellus into Gaul, and Pompey into the country of the Vaccœi, whom Iſidorus places at the foot of the Pyrenees. From thence he wrote a doleful letter to the ſenate, demanding a ſpeedy ſupply of men and money, acquainting them with the wretched condition his troops were in, and adding, that if they delayed ſending him powerful reinforcements, he ſhould be forced to return into Italy with his army. To ſuch extremities Sertorius brought the two greateſt commanders and moſt experienced warriors of his age[r].

Pompey and Metellus reduced to great ſtreights.

He was now in the height of his proſperity; but nevertheleſs, as he was a ſincere lover of his country and had a great deſire to return home, he ſent word to Metellus and Pompey, that he was ready to lay down his arms and lead a private life, provided the decree of his proſcription were repealed. This great deſire of ſeeing again his native country, was chiefly owing, as Plutarch informs us, to the tender affection and extraordinary reſpect he had for his mother, under whom he had been brought up with great care, having loſt his father when he was very young. When he afterwards received the melancholy news of her death, he was ſo much affected with it, that he had almoſt died himſelf of grief; he wept bitterly, and lay ſeven days together on the ground, without giving the word or being ſeen by his moſt intimate friends. The chief commanders of the army and perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, crowding round his tent, with much ado prevailed upon him to appear again in public, and take upon him the management of affairs, which were then in a very proſperous condition. All this plainly ſhews, that he was of a mild and compaſſionate temper, naturally inclined to lead a quiet life, and that he was driven by

Sertorius offers to lay down his arms.

[r] Plut, ibid.

by his enemies to have recourſe to arms, contrary to his own inclination. What anſwer Pompey and Metellus returned him, hiſtorians have not told us. All we know is, that the decree of his proſcription was never repealed, nor he ſuffered to return to his native country.

In the mean time the fame of his noble exploits, and of the great advantages he gained every day over the two moſt renowned generals of the republic, flew as far as Aſia. Mithridates the Great had been obliged by Sylla, as we have related in our hiſtory of Pontus, to ſubmit to ſuch conditions of peace, as that general had been pleaſed to impoſe upon him; but after the deceaſe of Sylla, he raiſed a powerful army, with a deſign to renew the war, and improve the diſturbances of the republic to his advantage. As his court was at that time filled with proſcribed perſons, who had fled from Rome, theſe, eſpecially L. Magius and L. Fannius, adviſed him to enter into an alliance with Sertorius; and the king, purſuant to their advice, ſent embaſſadors into Spain, offering the Luſitanian general three thouſand talents and forty gallies completely fitted out, on condition that he would ſuffer him to reconquer thoſe provinces of Aſia, which he had been forced to give up in virtue of his treaty with Sylla. Upon the arrival of the embaſſadors, Sertorius called a council, when all to a man approved of the king's propoſals, and were very preſſing with Sertorius to comply with his requeſt, ſince he demanded nothing but an empty conſent to an undertaking, which they could no-ways prevent. And here we cannot ſufficiently admire the conſtancy and magnanimity of that brave commander, who, we may ſay, appeared greater in this glorious negotiation, than at the head of his army. Tho' it would have coſt him nothing to have granted Mithridates whatever he deſired, and ſuch a grant would have procured him great ſums and a conſiderable armament; yet he would not by any means hearken to the propoſal, ſaying, That it was his duty to enlarge the Roman dominions by his victories, and not to encreaſe his power by the diminution of the Roman territories. Having therefore ſent for the embaſſadors, he declared to them, that he was willing their maſter ſhould re-conquer Bithynia and Cappadocia, kingdoms to which the Romans had no right; but that he would not conſent he ſhould ſet foot in the province of Aſia, that is, the kingdom of Pergamus, which undoubtedly belonged to the

Mithridates ſends embaſſadors to Sertorius.

common-wealth, and which he had given up by a solemn treaty. With this answer he dismissed the embassadors; and when the king heard it, he could not help admiring the magnanimity of Sertorius: What would not this Roman prescribe to us, said he, if he were at Rome, since from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, he takes upon him to set bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, in case we should make any attempts upon Asia? However, the king of Pontus, knowing how advantageous it would prove to his designs to foment the civil war, concluded the treaty upon Sertorius's own terms. The king supplied him with three thousand talents and a fleet of forty gallies, and Sertorius sent to the king a body of troops, under the command of Marcus Marius, or, as others call him, Marcus Varius, one of the senators, who had been proscribed by Sylla[s].

Sertorius enters into an alliance with Mithridates.

WHILE Mithridates was making prodigious preparations for the war in Asia, and Sertorius in Spain, P. Servilius, with the title of proconsul, cleared the coasts and seas of the pirates who infested them, took Isaure their capital (I), and was honoured with the surname of Isauricus, and with a triumph for his success. The next year Licinius Lucullus and Aurelius Cotta were chosen consuls. The former by paying his court to a mistress of Cethegus, one of the tribunes of the people, got the command of the troops that were to be sent into Cilicia. His collegue was appointed to command the fleet that was to guard Bithynia against the invasion threatened by Mithridates; but before he set sail,

[s] Plut. in Sert. Cic. pro lege Manilia, & pro Murena. Liv. l. xciii Appian. in Mithridatic. Oros. l. vi. c. 2.

(I) Isaure, called afterwards Isauropolis, and now Saura, was the capital of Isauria, a country of Asia Minor, comprehending part of mount Taurus and the mountains between Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia. This city, in Pliny's time, had lost much of its antient splendor. Servilius, besides Isaure, reduced several other cities, viz. Phaselis, Olympus, and Coricus, which were retreats for pirates. The first stood on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia. Its inhabitants, who were for the most part pirates, made use of a sort of brigantine, which from them was called phaselus. They were so poor, according to the antients, that they sacrificed nothing but salt-fish to their gods; and hence the proverb, sacrificium Phaselitarum, to signify a mean present or offering. The city of Olympus stood on the sea-coast of Cilicia; and that of Coricus was a famous port in the same country, and is now known by the name of Curco.

ſail, he procured an unlimited commiſſion for M. Antonius, the father of the triumvir, which was that of guarding all the ſea-coaſts ſubject to the republic. He ſet out with great confidence in queſt of the pirates, and engaged them off the iſland of Crete; but he had the mortification to ſee moſt of his ſhips taken, and his men hanged to the maſts, with the chains which he had prepared for the enemy. This ſight ſo grieved him, that he died a few days after [t]. In the mean time Cotta arriving in Bithynia, found Mithridates in motion at the head of a mighty army. All the cities of Paphlagonia opened their gates to him, imagining, that, in ſubmitting to him, they ſubmitted to the authority of Rome, becauſe Marius, whom Sertorius had ſent into Aſia in quality of proconſul, always marched before the king's troops, attended by his lictors with their faſces. The Bithynians likewiſe would readily have revolted, had not Julius Cæſar, who had retired to Rhodes, as we have related above, upon the news of their motions, croſſed over to the continent, raiſed troops without any commiſſion, and, driving the king's emiſſaries out of the country, kept the cities, which were ready to revolt, ſteady to their duty. This was, as it were, the firſt eſſay of this young commander, who, tho' only twenty-four years of age, already equalled the oldeſt generals in prudence and bravery [u]. On the other hand, the conſul Cotta, being defeated in a ſea engagement by the fleet of Mithridates, was forced to take refuge in Chalcedon, where he was cloſely beſieged; but his collegue Lucullus, marching to his relief, obliged Mithridates to retire. The king went from thence to beſiege Cyzicus; but was obliged by Lucullus to drop that enterprize, after having loſt the greateſt part of his army, which, when he ſat down before the place, was three hundred thouſand ſtrong. The Roman, encouraged with this ſucceſs, took ſeveral places from the enemy, and put an end to the campaign by a complete victory over the king's fleet, as we have related in our hiſtory of Pontus, to which we refer our readers for a full account of what we have only hinted at in this place.

M. Antonius defeated by the pirates.

The ſucceſs of Lucullus againſt Mithridates.

THE republic was no leſs ſucceſsful in Spain than in Aſia. The ſenators and other patricians who ſerved under Sertorius, thinking they could now make head againſt the enemy without him, began to be jealous of his glory. They

A conſpiracy againſt Sertorius.

[t] Cic. act. 2. in Verr. Flor. l. iii. c. 7. Liv. l. xciv. [u] Suet. in Julio, c. 4. Vell. Paterc. l ii. c. 42.

were headed by Perperna, who was continually inveighing, both in private and public, againſt Sertorius and his ſenate. That ambitious patrician could not brook the authority which he had aſſumed over his army, and flattering himſelf that he ſhould ſucceed him in the command of all the troops in Luſitania, he plotted his ruin, and drew into the conſpiracy ſeveral officers, pretending, that Sertorius ſlighted the Romans, and confided only in the Luſitanians. The conſpirators, not daring at firſt to make any attempt upon his life, by reaſon of the great affection the Luſitanians bore him, did all that lay in their power to alienate their minds from him, and ſecretly deſtroy his intereſt among them. With this view the governors of the cities abuſed the inhabitants, puniſhed them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and loaded them with taxes, giving out, that all this was done by the expreſs order of Sertorius. Hereupon ſeveral cities revolted, and great diſturbances were raiſed all over Luſitania. Sertorius ſent perſons, in whom he thought he could confide, to appeaſe the mutineers; but thoſe, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, being gained over by his enemies, proved traitors to him, and inſtead of mitigating the people by gentle methods, exaſperated them with an unſeaſonable ſeverity, and left them at their departure more obſtinate and more inclined to revolt, than they had found them. This incenſed Sertorius to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed ſome of the children of the Luſitanians, who were educated at Oſca, to be put to death, and ſold others for ſlaves. This is the only piece of cruelty and injuſtice, which the author of Sertorius's life can lay to his charge (K); on all other occaſions he ſhewed a mildneſs of temper hardly to be matched [w].

His ſeverity to the Spaniſh hoſtages.

In

[w] Plut. ibid.

(K) However, he endeavours to excuſe it, and reaſons thus: "The cruelty which Sertorius practiſed upon the Spaniſh hoſtages ſeems to argue, that his clemency was not natural, but only acted as his affairs required. As to my own opinion, I am perſuaded that true virtue, eſtabliſhed by reaſon and mature judgment, can never be totally perverted and extirpated by any misfortune whatever; not that I think it impoſſible, but that great indignities offered without cauſe, and frequent abuſes put upon thoſe of the beſt nature and moſt virtuous inclinations, may make ſome impreſſion and alteration in their temper; and thus

In the mean time the baſe Perperna encreaſed the number of the conſpirators, and, amongſt others, drew in Manlius, one of the chief officers of the army. This Manlius, having conceived a ſhameful paſſion for a young Roman, diſcloſed to him the whole conſpiracy, telling him, that he ſhould ſoon ſee him at the head of the army. The youth diſcovered to one Aufidus what he had learnt of Manlius; but as Aufidus himſelf was one of the conſpirators, and knew not that Manlius was any-ways engaged in the plot, he made ſlight of what the youth ſaid; but when the young Roman named Perperna, Gracinus, Q. Fabius, Tarquitius, Sertorius's two ſecretaries, and ſeveral others, who, Aufidus well knew, were all in the plot, he went immediately to Perperna, gave him notice of the danger they were in, and ſolicited him immediately to put their deſign in execution. Accordingly Perperna, with the conſent of the other conſpirators, pitched on that very day; and they all agreed to aſſaſſinate him at an entertainment, to which no body but he and the conſpirators ſhould be invited. As it was no eaſy matter to engage him in a party of pleaſure, they had recourſe to artifice, and provided a meſſenger, who brought to him feigned letters, giving him notice of a ſignal victory obtained by one of his lieutenants over Pompey and Metellus. He was ſo well pleaſed with this news, that he readily came into the propoſal of the perfidious Perperna, and promiſed to paſs the evening with him and his friends in mirth and jollity. Accordingly, after he had returned ſolemn thanks to the gods for the pretended ſucceſs, he went to Perperna's quarters, to rejoice with him upon the new victory. At all entertainments, where Sertorius was preſent, great order and decency was obſerved; for they all

" thus, I ſuppoſe, it happened to Sertorius, who, being exaſpe-
" rated by repeated injuries of ungrateful perſons, was at laſt ſe-
" vere to thoſe who had wrongfully injured him." Thus far Plutarch (22). What that writer did not think impoſſible, is not only poſſible, but very common; for nothing can be truer, than what Electra ſays in Sophocles; It is very difficult, my friends, for any one in my condition to keep within due bounds, and not repine at providence. Such woful calamities change our very nature, and force us, in ſpite of ourſelves, to become wicked. This is the only reaſon that can be offered as an excuſe for Sertorius.

(22) Plut. in Sert.

knew, that he could not bear any looſe and indecent diſcourſes: but in the midſt of this entertainment, the conſpirators, pretending to be warmed with wine, began to talk very looſely, on purpoſe to provoke their general and pick a quarrel with him. Sertorius, offended at their indecent and diſreſpectful behaviour, changed his poſture, and leaning backward, pretended not to hear or regard them. Then Perperna, taking a cup full of wine, let it fall, as he was drinking, out of his hand, which was the ſignal agreed on. Upon this Antonius, who was next to Sertorius, drew his poniard and wounded him. The brave general ſtrove to raiſe himſelf; but Antonius, throwing himſelf upon his breaſt, held both his hands, ſo that, without being in the leaſt able to defend himſelf, he lay expoſed to the fury of the reſt of the conſpirators, who fell upon him and diſpatched him. Sertorius was, without contradiction, one of the greateſt ſoldiers the republic had ever bred. Rome was ſo fully convinced of it, that ſhe ſent againſt him two of the greateſt generals ſhe had, Metellus and Pompey; but the glory, which theſe two renowned warriors had acquired elſewhere, was eclipſed in Spain: they could never gain any conſiderable advantage over the Luſitanian general, and were at laſt by him driven quite out of the field, and forced to ſhelter themſelves either in Gaul, or among the moſt inacceſſible mountains. Pompey, who had been honoured in his youth with a triumph and the ſurname of Great, and had filled all Italy, Sicily, and Africa with the fame of his exploits, gained nothing in Spain, ſo long as Sertorius lived, but ſhame and diſgrace.

Sertorius aſſaſſinated.

Upon his death, the treacherous Perperna took upon him the command of the army; but ſoon made it appear, that he underſtood no more how to command, than how to obey; for Pompey, who had continued for ſome time inactive in a corner of Hither Spain, no ſooner heard of Sertorius's death, than he left the place of his retreat, marched againſt Perperna, gained an eaſy and complete victory over him, and took the traitor himſelf priſoner. As Perperna had, on Sertorius's death, ſeized on all his papers, he offered to ſhew Pompey letters from the greateſt men in Rome, inviting him into Italy; but Pompey, not vouchſafing to ſee the perfidious wretch, ordered him to ſend to him all Sertorius's papers and writings ſealed up. He no ſooner received them, than he cauſed them to be burnt unopened, in the preſence of all the officers of his army; and immediately after ordered Perperna to be put to death, leſt he ſhould name any

Perperna defeated and taken.

Perperna put to death.

of

of Sertorius's correſpondents, and by that means give occaſion to new diſturbances. As to the reſt of the conſpirators, ſome of them were taken and put to death by Pompey's order; others fled into Africa, where they were murdered by the Mauritanians. In a ſhort time not one of them was left alive, except Aufidus, who, not being much enquired after, died many years after in an obſcure village of Spain, in extreme poverty and abhorred by all [x]. The death of Perperna put an end to the war, which had employed the greateſt generals and the beſt forces of the republic almoſt ten years. Pompey, tho' he gained little reputation by this expedition, ye he had the glory of ending it ſucceſsfully. He continued ſome time in Spain, to reduce the rebellious cities, and then returned with his army into Italy.

The war in Spain ended.

Year of the Flood, 2930. Before Chriſt, 69. Of Rome, 679.

SCARCE was the rebellion in Spain at an end, when a new ſtorm aroſe in the heart of Italy. In the next conſulate of Terentius Varro and Caſſius Varus, ſome ſlaves of Capua, having broke their chains, took up arms, and, under the conduct of Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator of uncommon abilities, firſt defeated the Capuan militia, and afterwards Claudius Pulcher, a Roman prætor, at the head of three thouſand men. Theſe ſucceſsful beginnings ſo raiſed the reputation of Spartacus, that he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, whom he led againſt the prætor Vatinius, and gave him a total overthrow. He then marched into Ciſalpine Gaul, with a deſign to give his troops, who were moſtly Gauls, an opportunity of returning into their own country; for he found them ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a war. But the next year, when Gellius Poplicola and Cornelius Lentulus were conſuls, Cnixus, one of the chiefs of the Gauliſh ſlaves, ſeparated from him, and marched back into Apulia, where he was attacked and cut in pieces with his whole army, by the conſul Gellius and the proconſul Anius. Upon the news of this defeat, Spartacus, who was in Ciſalpine Gaul, and had nothing elſe in view but to paſs the Alps and take ſhelter among the Tranſalpine Gauls, turned back, and falling upon the conſul Lentulus, who purſued him, gave him a total overthrow. Then, without delay, he marched in queſt of the conſul Gellius, defeated his victorious army, and obliged both him and his troops to ſhelter themſelves behind the walls of their cities. Never was the proud republic

The war of the ſlaves under Spartacus.

Cnixus defeated.

Spartacus defeats both the conſuls.

[x] Plut. in Sert. & Pomp.

public more humbled. Her two conſuls and her invincible legions were forced to fly, in a ſhameful manner, before a Thracian, a gladiator, and a ſlave. Spartacus would not give quarter to any of the Roman priſoners, but in honour of Cnixus ſacrificed them all round his funeral pile. As his army now conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, all fugitive ſlaves, he ravaged moſt of the provinces of Italy, without the leaſt oppoſition, and then returned into Lucania, poſted himſelf on the mountains near Thurii, and erected magazines in that city for the ſupport of his numerous army.

Craſſus ſent againſt Spartacus.

THE next year, when Auſidius Oreſtes and Lentulus Sura were conſuls, the ſenate gave the conduct of the war againſt the rebellious gladiators to Licinius Craſſus, one of the chief commanders of Sylla's party, and who had a great ſhare in moſt of his victories. Craſſus, having raiſed in a few days ſix legions, detached Mummius, one of his lieutenants, with two of them, to watch the enemy's motions, while he came up with the reſt of the army. The raſh lieutenant no ſooner diſcovered the enemy, than he drew up his troops in battalia, and challenged Spartacus, contrary to the expreſs orders of his general. The Thracian accepted the challenge, and put the Romans to flight at the firſt onſet. Craſſus ſoon after arrived, and having reprimanded Mummius in the ſevereſt terms, he cauſed five hundred legionaries, who had retired at the approach of the enemy, to be decimated; which ſeaſonable piece of ſeverity made him as much reſpected by his troops, as he had been formerly beloved.

Cuts off ten thouſand of the rebels.

He ſoon after marched in queſt of the enemy, and falling in with a body of ten thouſand rebels, who were laying waſte the country, he fell upon them, and, cutting off their retreat, put them all to the ſword. Hereupon Spartacus, after a fruitleſs attempt to get over to Sicily, poſted himſelf in a peninſula near Rhegium. There Craſſus ſhut him in with a ditch from one ſea to the other, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen foot broad, and as much in depth. But the brave Spartacus, taking the opportunity of a ſnowy ſtormy night, filled up part of the ditch, forced his way through the enemy's army, and encamped again in the open country. Craſſus was afraid leſt he ſhould march directly to Rome. But he was freed from this apprehenſion, when he ſaw a great body of the rebellious ſlaves upon ſome diſcontent revolt from Spartacus, and encamp by themſelves.

Bravery of the ſlaves.

Theſe Craſſus attacked without loſs of time, and defeated them after a long and obſti-

nate

nate diſpute. Twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, of which number only two were found wounded in the back, all the reſt died fighting in their ranks with incredible bravery. After this defeat, Spartacus retired towards the mountains of Petilia. But his men, encouraged by a ſlight advantage gained over two of Craſſus's officers, obliged him to march them back, and lead them againſt the Romans. This was what Craſſus impatiently deſired, being informed by his friends at Rome, that the people deſigned to recal him, and give the command of the army to their favourite idol Pompey. He therefore encamped near the enem, and offered them battle. As Spartacus could not retreat, being inveſted in his camp by Craſſus, he drew up his army with all the ſkill of a great commander. When his horſe was brought him before the onſet, he drew his ſword and killed him, ſaying, If I gain the victory, I ſhall have a great many better horſes; if I loſe it, I ſhall have no need of this. He then began the attack at the head of his infantry. His men, animated by his example, fought with unparallelled bravery. Victory was long doubtful, but at length declared for the Romans. Spartacus, after all his men were fled, ſtood his ground alone for a great while with invincible courage. Being wounded in the leg with a javelin, he fought on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand and his ſword in the other. At laſt, being pierced with many wounds, he fell upon an heap of Romans, whom he had ſacrificed to his fury. In this battle forty thouſand of the rebels were killed upon the ſpot, whereas the Romans loſt but a thouſand men. However, the fugitives rallied again to the number of five thouſand, and retired under the conduct of one Publipot into Lucania. Againſt theſe Pompey marched, and having defeated them without difficulty, wrote a bragging letter to the ſenate, wherein he vainly aſſumed to himſelf the glory of having finiſhed the war. Craſſus, ſaid he, has overcome the gladiators in a pitched battle; but I have plucked up war by the roots. This is the true ſpirit of ambition, which wreſts every thing, even the actions of others, to its own advantage. Craſſus was highly provoked at Pompey's vanity, which robbed him of the glory he deſerved; but nevertheleſs, as he aſpired at the conſulſhip, and was well appriſed that it was in Pompey's power to get him excluded, he diſſembled his reſentment, and even begged his rival's intereſt. Pompey, who ſtood himſelf for the ſame dignity, and had long deſired to lay ſome obligation upon Craſſus,

Spartacus defeated and ſlain.

Craſſus, readily embraced this opportunity, declaring in open aſſembly, that he ſhould be as much obliged to his friends for the advancement of Craſſus as his own. Upon this declaration the tribes unanimouſly concurred in raiſing Pompey to the conſulate, and giving him Craſſus for his collegue. But this good underſtanding between the two rivals did not continue long. Pompey refuſed to diſband the troops he had brought from Spain, till a triumph was decreed him. On the other hand Craſſus, would not part with the command of the army he had led againſt Spartacus, ſo long as Pompey continued in arms. The latter gave out, that Pompey aſpired at an abſolute power, and intended to follow the example of Sylla (L), and to govern by a ſtanding army. Theſe diſcourſes greatly exaſperated Pompey; and the breach between the two collegues growing daily wider, the ſenate and people, to prevent the evil effects of their mutual jealouſies, earneſtly entreated them to diſband their armies, and ſacrifice their private reſentments to the public peace. But they both continued obſtinate; Craſſus pretending, that Pompey ought firſt to diſband his army, ſince he had firſt finiſhed the Spaniſh war; and Pompey proteſting, that he would not diſmiſs his troops, till the arrival of Metellus, who was to triumph with him. The people, dreading to ſee Rome involved again in a civil war, even went ſo far as to beg of them on their knees in the comitium to be reconciled. But neither of them hearkening to the entreaties of the people, a Roman knight, by name Ovatius Aurelius, who had ſpent ſome years of his life in the country, and was then accidentally in Rome, mounting the roſtra, gave them an account

Pompey and Craſſus conſuls.

They fall out.

(L) No-body doubted but this was his deſign; whence Cicero wrote to Atticus in the following words; Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noſter Syllani regni ſimilitudinem concupivit: εἰδως σοι λέγω, nihil ille unquam minus obſcure tulit; that is, Our friend Pompey is wonderfully deſirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla: I tell you no more than what I know for certain; for he makes no ſecret of it (23). And elſewhere; Hoc turpe Cneius noſter biennio ante cogitavit; ita Syllaturit animus ejus & proſcripturit, that is, Pompey has been forming this ſhameful deſign for theſe two years laſt paſt; ſo ſtrongly is his mind bent upon imitating Sylla, and proſcribing like him (24).

(23) Cic. ad Attic. l. vii. epiſt. 9. (24) Idem ibid. epiſt. 10.

account of a viſion he pretended to have ſeen in his ſleep. Jupiter, ſaid he, appeared to me laſt night, and admoniſhes you, O Romans, by my mouth, not to ſuffer the miſunderſtanding between the two conſuls to continue any longer. When Ovatius had done ſpeaking, the people renewed their entreaties, and then Craſſus, moved with ſentiments of piety, made the firſt advances, drew near to Pompey, and offered him his hand. Pompey returned the civility; they embraced each other; and ſoon after they diſbanded their troops by conſent [y].

Are in appearance reconciled.

HOWEVER, as their reconciliation was not ſincere, each of them ſtrove, by different methods, to gain the favour of the people and ſtrengthen his party. Pompey baſely made his court to the multitude by reinſtating the tribunes in their antient power, which greatly contributed to the deſtruction of the common-wealth. He likewiſe engaged M. Aurelius Cotta the prætor, to move, that ſome Roman knights might be appointed to be his aſſeſſors, and to judge with him in civil cauſes. Thus the right of judging private cauſes, which had been taken from the knights by Sylla, was by means of Pompey reſtored to them; which engaged that powerful order to ſupport him in all his pretenſions with their whole intereſt. On the other hand, Craſſus, to get the better of his rival in the eſteem of the people, entertained them, though naturally covetous, with ſurprizing profuſion and magnificence at ten thouſand tables, and at the ſame time diſtributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Such prodigious largeſſes will ſeem leſs ſurpriſing, if we conſider that Craſſus was the richeſt man in Rome, and that his eſtate amounted to ſeven thouſand talents and upwards, that is, to 1356250 l. ſterling. But notwithſtanding this mighty bounty, Pompey ſtill maintained the firſt place in the affections and eſteem of the multitude [z]. This year the cenſorſhip, which had been ſuppreſſed during the civil wars, was revived, L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus being promoted to that dignity. Theſe appointed Q. Catulus prince of the ſenate, ſtruck the names of ſixty-four antient ſenators out of the liſt, and made a cenſus, in which they found, that the number of Roman citizens

Pompey and Craſſus affect popularity.

[y] Plut. in Craſſ. & Pomp. Cic. pro lege Manilia. Appian. bell. civil. l. i. [z] Plut. in Craſſo. Cic. de legib. l. iii. Salluſt. in bell. Catilin.

citizens fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and fifty thouſand.

AND now the conſulate of Pompey and Craſſus being expired, the republic raiſed to the faſces the famous orator Q. Hortenſius and Q. Metellus, the ſon of Metellus Dalmaticus. As all was calm at Rome during their adminiſtration, Pompey no longer intermeddled in public affairs, neither frequenting the bar, as he had done formerly, nor the aſſemblies of the people. He ſeldom appeared in public; and when he did, he was always attended by a great number of clients, deſigning thereby to keep up the reſpect due to him, as a man of ſuperior rank and uncommon merit. He even thought it beneath him to converſe with the generality of the nobility, and therefore kept company only with a few ſelect friends [a]. The following year the tribes raiſed L. Cæcilius Metellus and Q. Marcius, ſurnamed Rex, to the conſulate. The former died before he entered upon his office, and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, was choſen in his room. But he alſo dying ſoon after his election, the people ſuperſtitiouſly took it for granted, that it was the pleaſure of the gods that the republic ſhould be governed one whole year by Marcius alone. During his adminiſtration, the ſenate, pretending that the Cretans had ſided with Mithridates and given a retreat to the pirates, ſent Q. Cæcilius Metellus with a fleet to reduce that iſland. But of this expedition we have given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of Crete [b].

The iſland of Crete reduced.

IN the following conſulate of C. Calpurnius Piſo and M. Acilius Glabrio, Gabinius, tribune of the people, at the inſtigation of Pompey, who began to be weary of a retired life, propoſed a law for clearing the ſeas of the pirates, whoſe numbers and power daily encreaſed. Theſe robbers fitted out at firſt but a ſmall number of light veſſels; but upon their being protected by Mithridates, who, during his war with Rome, took them into his ſervice, they equipped a thouſand galleys, and exerciſed a kind of ſovereignty over all the coaſts of the Mediterranean. They ſpared not one temple that was famous for its riches on the coaſts of Italy, Greece, and Aſia. All the country-ſeats on the ſea-ſhore were a prey to them. They took ſlaves without number; blocked up all the ports of the republic; pillaged

The ſeas infeſted by pirates.

[a] Plut. ibid. [b] Vide Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. vii. p. 481, & ſeq.

pillaged the city of Caieta; ſunk part of a conſular fleet at Oſtia, and having made a deſcent near Miſene, carried away the daughter of the old conſul Antonius with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. They even ſurpriſed and carried off two Roman prætors, Sextilius and Bellinus, in their purple robes with their lictors and attendants. If any of the captives declared himſelf to be a Roman, the barbarians in deriſion threw themſelves at his feet, begging his pardon, and imploring his protection. But after they had inſolently ſported with their priſoner, they often dreſſed him in a toga, and then, caſting out a ſhip's ladder, deſired him to return home and wiſhed him a good journey. If he refuſed to leap into the ſea, they threw him over-board, ſaying, that they would not by any means keep a free-born Roman in captivity. But the greateſt calamity the world ſuffered by theſe tyrants of the ſea was, the ſcarcity of proviſions which they occaſioned, not in Europe only, but likewiſe in Aſia and Africa, no veſſel venturing out without being taken. Gabinius therefore, who propoſed a law for clearing the ſeas of theſe pirates, was much applauded for his zeal, though in reality he had nothing in view, but the procuring of new honours for Pompey, who had reſtored the college of tribunes to their former authority. In virtue of the law which Gabinius propoſed, the perſon to whom the Roman people and ſenate ſhould commit the managment of this war, for the crafty tribune did not name Pompey, was to have a power without controul or reſtriction. His authority was to extend all over the ſeas within the Streights, or the pillars of Hercules, and over all the countries for the ſpace of four hundred furlongs from the ſea. By the ſame law he was empowered to raiſe as many mariners and ſoldiers as he thought fit, to take what ſums he pleaſed out of the public treaſury, without being accountable for them, and to chooſe out of the ſenate fifteen ſenators to be his lieutenants, and to execute his orders, where he could not be preſent in perſon. As this arbitrary and unbounded authority was to be for three years, it gave a great deal of uneaſineſs and jealouſy to the ſenate. They ſaw through the tribune's deſign, and ſeveral of them reproached Pompey with aiming at the ſovereignty of Rome; nay, the conſul Calpurnius told him ſmartly, that if he followed the footſteps of Romulus he would ſcarce avoid his end. But he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the people, for treating with ſuch freedom their favourite. The con-

The Gabinian law.

ſcript

ſcript fathers, finding the people determined to paſs the law, had recourſe to their old method of diſconcerting the meaſures of the tribunes, and gained over two of them, Trebellius and Roſcius [c].

As no body doubted but this extenſive commiſſion, which the tribune Gabinius called the proconſulate of the ſeas, was deſigned for Pompey, when the day appointed for holding the comitia came, in which the Gabinian law was to be received or rejected, the concourſe was prodigious. The tribune Trebellius attempted to oppoſe it; but the tribes threatening to depoſe him, he was forced to give way and be ſilent. Then Catulus, prince of the ſenate, riſing up, made a long ſpeech, which was nothing but a panegyric upon Pompey. In the cloſe of his harangue, he adviſed the people not to expoſe a man of his value, the greateſt general of the republic, to ſo many dangers. For if you ſhould loſe him, ſaid he, where could you find another Pompey? or whom would you put in his place? At theſe words the people, who had hearkened to the venerable ſenator with great attention, cried out with one voice, You, Catulus, we will put you in his place. Catulus, no longer able to reſiſt the firm reſolution of the whole people, and at the ſame time pleaſed with the eſteem they ſhewed for him, waved his oppoſition and withdrew. Then the tribune Roſcius attempted to ſpeak, but being prevented by the clamours of the people, he held up two of his fingers, to ſignify, that he was for dividing that extenſive commiſſion between two perſons, and not intruſting Pompey alone with ſuch an ample and unlimited authority. Upon this the aſſembly made ſuch a terrible outcry, that a crow flying accidentally over the comitium at that inſtant, was ſtunned and dropt down among the rabble [d]. Hortenſius and ſeveral other ſenators ſpoke with great eloquence, and were heard with attention; but their harangues made no impreſſion on the multitude. Cicero never opened his mouth, though ſo fine an opportunity offered of diſplaying his talents. He did not care to make either Pompey, the ſenate, or the people, his enemies. The whole day being ſpent in ſpeeches and debates, the determination was poſtponed to the next, when Gabinius's motion was agreed to by a great majority, and Pompey appointed to make war on the pirates with the title of proconſul. The people even granted him more than the tribune had deſired; for they allowed

The Gabinian law paſſes.

[c] Plut. in Pomp. Dio Caſs. l. lvi. [d] Plut. ibid.

allowed him to equip five hundred ships, to raise an hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and to chuse out of the senate twenty, or, as Appian has it, twenty-five senators for his lieutenants. He had also two quæstors allowed him, and six thousand Attic talents paid down to him before he left Rome. Thus the people, seduced by their tribunes, were running blindly into slavery; for it was now in Pompey's power to follow the example of Sylla, and make himself absolute master of the republic [e]. Pompey's power.

However, on this occasion he behaved with great integrity, and gained more glory than he had done by all his former exploits. He conducted the expedition with such prudence, and took such wise measures, that, instead of the three years allowed him, he quite cleared the seas in four months, after having taken or sunk, according to some, one thousand three hundred, according to others, eight hundred and forty-six of their vessels, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and made himself master of an hundred and twenty towns or castles on the coasts, which they had seized. In this glorious expedition the proconsul set at liberty an incredible number of captives, and took above twenty thousand of the pirates prisoners, whom he sent to people the deserted cities of Cilicia, namely Mallus, Adana, Epiphania, and Soli, which latter he called from his own name Pompeiopolis [f]. He extirpates the pirates.

No sooner did the news of Pompey's victories reach Rome, than Manilius, tribune of the people, at the instigation of the proconsul's friends and agents, proposed a new law in his favour, importing, that Lucullus should be recalled from Asia, where he was waging war with Mithridates and Tigranes; that the conduct of the armies employed against those two princes should be committed to Pompey, that Cilicia, where Marcius Rex commanded, and Bithynia, which had been allotted to Acilius Glabrio, should be resigned to him; and that finally he should, at the same time, retain the same naval forces and sovereignty of the seas as before. This was appointing him absolute monarch of all the Roman dominions; for the provinces, which were exempted from his authority by the former decree, such as Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, The Manilian law.

[e] Plut. & Appian. ibid. [f] Appian & Plut. ibid. c. 31. Cic. pro lege Manilia. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.

Cilicia, Colchis, Armenia, &c. would by this new law be within the precincts of his province. This was the famous law, which from its author was ſtyled the Manilian law. When the tribune propoſed it in the comitia, it raiſed ſuch diſturbances among the nobility and the zealous republicans, as are not eaſily deſcribed. They looked upon the new law as calculated for the eſtabliſhing of tyranny; We have then got at laſt, ſaid they, a ſovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the ſervices of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy ſenators, are to be ſacrificed to the promotion of Pompey; Sylla never carried his tyranny ſo far, &c. They encouraged one another to uſe their utmoſt efforts in oppoſition to ſo ſcandalous a decree, and not to part with their liberty at ſo tame a rate. But notwithſtanding the reſolution they ſhewed in private, when the day came for the accepting or rejecting of the Manilian law, their hearts failed them; inſomuch, that of all the conſcript fathers, only Hortenſius and Catulus had courage enough to ſpeak againſt it. The latter eſpecially made ſurpriſing efforts to diſſuade the people from inveſting one man with ſuch an abſolute power; he reproached them with the injuſtice they were going to do Lucullus, deſcribed to them in pompous terms his glorious exploits both by ſea and land, enumerated the many evils which they had reaſon to apprehend from ſuch an unbounded authority, &c. But finding the people heard with great indifference, and grew uneaſy at, his diſcourſe, he directed his ſpeech to the ſenate, and raiſing his voice, Let us fly, ſaid he, conſcript fathers, let us fly to ſome mountain, as our fore-fathers have done; let us fly to ſome rocks, where we may ſhelter ourſelves from the ſlavery with which we are threatened. Two great men ſpoke in favour of the law, viz. Cicero and Cæſar; the former aimed at the conſulate, which Pompey's party could more eaſily procure him, than that of Catulus and the ſenate. On this occaſion he made that ſpeech, which is ſtill preſerved, and will be the admiration of all ages. As for Cæſar, he was delighted to ſee the people inſenſibly loſe that republican ſpirit and love of liberty, which might one day obſtruct the vaſt deſigns he had already formed. Thus was the public intereſt, as it too commonly happens, ſacrificed to private views. The decree paſſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes; and the people of their own accord conferred on Pompey as extenſive an authority as Sylla had uſurped by

The cowardice of the ſenate.

Cicero and Cæſar favour Pompey.

by an armed force [f]. He was ſtill on the coaſts of Aſia, when news was brought him of the extraordinary power with which the people had veſted him. He received it with an affected modeſty and reluctance; What! ſaid he, will Rome then burden me with a new war? Muſt I never have any reſt? Muſt I ſacrifice to the deſires of my country the pleaſures of a retired life, and the enjoyment of a beloved wife? Happy, thrice happy are thoſe who live in the inglorious croud, unknown and unregarded! Plutarch tells us, that even his moſt zealous friends were highly diſpleaſed with ſuch groſs hypocriſy, well knowing what ſteps he had taken in order to procure this new commiſſion. Lucullus, ſeeing himſelf thus degraded, returned to Rome, where he was received by the nobility with all poſſible marks of eſteem, and honoured with a moſt pompous and magnificent triumph. As for Pompey, he purſued the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes with great ſucceſs, and performed thoſe glorious exploits in Pontus, Albania, Iberia, &c. which we have deſcribed at length in our hiſtory of Pontus [g].

Pompey's diſſimulation and hypocriſy.

WHILE Pompey was extending the dominions of the republic in Aſia, ſome wicked citizens were plotting her ruin at home. At the head of theſe was Lucius Sergius Catiline, who was deſcended of an illuſtrious patrician family, but had rendered himſelf infamous by a continued ſeries of debaucheries, inceſts, murders, and the moſt horrible crimes. He is ſaid to have debauched, when he was very young, a woman of diſtinction, and to have afterwards married the daughter he had by her. He was likewiſe accuſed of keeping an unlawful correſpondence with Fabia Terentia, the veſtal, ſiſter to Terentia, Cicero's wife. He had committed murders without number, and had been, in the time of Sylla's proſcriptions, the moſt mercileſs miniſter of that tyrant's fury. The favour of the dictator, his birth and courage, had raiſed him to the principal dignities of the republic. He had been quæſtor, lieutenant in ſeveral armies, and had governed Africa in quality of prætor. But in all theſe different employments he had equally diſhonoured himſelf by his debaucheries and enormous oppreſſions. As he had ſquandered away his patrimony, and was overloaded with debts, he had no proſpect of retrieving his affairs, but by the ſubverſion of the ſtate.

Catiline's character.

[f] Plut. in Pomp. Dio. l. xxxvi. Liv. l. c. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 33. Cic. pro lege Manilia. [g] Vide Vol. ix. p. 438, & ſeq.

He therefore watched all opportunities of raiſing diſturbances; and one offered ſoon after his return from Africa, where he had been prætor. P. Autronius Pætus and P. Cornelius Sylla, the ſon of the dictator's brother, being choſen conſuls, and afterwards diſqualified for that office, upon their being convicted of having openly bought the ſuffrages of the people, Catiline prevailed upon them to enter into a plot againſt the conſuls who were choſen in their room, viz. Aurelius Cotta and Manlius Torquatus.

Conſpires againſt the conſuls and ſenate.

His ſcheme was to aſſaſſinate them both, murder the greateſt part of the ſenators, and ſeize the government. Beſides Autronius and Sylla, he engaged a great many young men, who were undone by their exceſſes, and, among the reſt, Cn. Calpurnius Piſo, a youth of a noble family, but raſh, factious, and by his exceſſes reduced almoſt to beggary. This wicked attempt was to be put in execution on the calends of January, when the new conſuls took poſſeſſion of their office. But the conſpirators not having found a convenient opportunity that day, they put off the affair to the nones of February, the day appointed for the uſual meeting of the conſcript fathers. But this ſecond attempt proved as unſucceſsful as the firſt. Catiline gave the ſignal at an improper time, before the conſpirators were got together; ſo that no body offered to ſtir; by which means the lives of the conſuls and ſenators were ſaved, and the moſt bloody and execrable conſpiracy, which had been formed ſince the foundation of Rome, came to nothing.

His conſpiracy defeated.

However, Catiline did not drop his wicked deſign; as he had ſpent his patrimony in debauchery, and was plunged in debt, he had no reſource but in the ſubverſion of the republic [h]. But we ſhall leave him for a while to obſerve the conduct of another young Roman, who had the ſame view with Catiline of ſubverting the whole conſtitution, but took more prudent and better concerted meaſures for the execution of his deſign. This was Julius Cæſar, who, having paſſed through the offices of legionary tribune and quæſtor, was this year raiſed to the ædileſhip, in which employment he made it his whole buſineſs to gain the affections of the people. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his behaviour. His liberality knew no bounds, and the magnificence of his furniture and entertainments ſurpaſſed any thing that had ever before been ſeen in Rome. As he was naturally of a generous diſpoſition, he

Julius Cæſar captivates the hearts of the people.

[h] Salluſt. bell. Catilin. Plut. in Cic.

he is ſaid to have owed above one thouſand three hundred talents, that is, 251875l. ſterling, before he entered upon any of the public offices. The immenſe ſums he beſtowed upon the populace gave no umbrage even to his enemies, who uſed to ſay, that this was a ſhort-lived ſhew, which would ſoon end with his eſtate, and then he would be reduced to the ſtate of a common citizen. Cicero only ſaw farther than the vulgar into the intentions of the ambitious youth. He was the firſt who had any ſuſpicion of his aſpiring at a ſovereign power, and often uſed to ſay, that in all his other actions and intrigues he plainly diſcovered the air of a tyrant; but when he ſaw his hair lie in ſo exact order, and obſerved him ſo often adjuſting it with his finger, he could not imagine it ſhould enter into ſuch a man's thoughts to ſubvert the Roman ſtate. Cicero did not diſcover that manly courage and intrepidity, which lay concealed under the appearance of luxury and effeminacy. As the office of ædile confined him to Rome, he undertook the repairing of the Appian way, and finiſhed that great work almoſt wholly at his own expence. He entertained the people with a ſhew of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators, and built porticos of timber with ſeats all round the forum, that the populace might ſee, without any inconvenience, the Megaleſian games, which were exhibited at Rome, during his ædileſhip. By theſe means he ſo captivated the people, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him, than to Pompey. Depending upon the favour of the people, he made a funeral oration in praiſe of his aunt Julia, though ſhe was the widow of Marius, whoſe name was odious to the ſenate and nobility; and was even ſo bold as to bring forth on that occaſion the images of Marius, which no body had preſumed to produce ſince the government firſt came into Sylla's hands. The nobility exclaimed againſt him for reviving the memory of one who had been declared an enemy to his country; but the people applauded the action; and this encouraged him to ſet up in the night-time the ſtatues and trophies of Marius, which Sylla had ordered to be taken down. Next morning the people crouded to ſee them, and many of Marius's party even wept for joy at the ſight of his ſtatues and trophies. But the nobility inveighed bitterly againſt Cæſar, as if he had deſigns upon the government, and Catulus even accuſed him before the ſenate of aiming at the ſame tyrannical power which Marius had uſurped. He cloſed his ſpeech with this remarkable ſaying; Cæſar no

He revives the memory and honours of Marius.

longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries againſt it. But the accuſed anſwered the invectives of Catulus with ſo much art and temper, that he was not only acquitted, but highly applauded by the people as a relation worthy of the great Marius. Julius Cæſar being thus become the idol of the people, he prevailed upon them to confer the conſular dignity on L. Julius Cæſar, one of his own family, though of another branch. The collegue the republic gave him was C. Marcius Figulus, a man of a mild diſpoſition, and an enemy to all factions and parties. During their adminiſtration, Cæſar got many of Sylla's partiſans condemned, ſome to perpetual baniſhment, others to death, for the murders they had committed during the dictator's tyrannical reign. Among the latter was L. Bellienus, uncle to Catiline; but Catiline himſelf was ſpared, though he had been the chief inſtrument of Sylla's fury[i]. He was a friend to Cæſar, and had communicated to him, as was ſuppoſed, his wicked deſign of ſubverting the government. Of this horrible conſpiracy the antients give us the following account.

Catiline his conſpiracy. Year after the flood; 2940. Before Chriſt, 59. Of Rome 689.

CATILINE, though he had failed in his two former plots, as we have related above, yet did not drop his wicked deſign of ſubverting the government, but having ſtrengthened his party with a great number of ſenators and knights, waited only for an opportunity of putting it in execution. Among his accomplices in the ſenate were P. Lentulus Sura, P. Antronius, L. Caſſius Longinus, C. Cethegus, Publius, and Servius Sylla, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Beſtia, and Q. Curius; and among the knights M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, and C. Cornelius. We are told, that M. Licinius Craſſus was alſo privy to the plot, and that Cæſar favoured it underhand: theſe two cunning and equally ambitious men waited for the event before they would declare themſelves. Beſides the above-mentioned ſenators and knights, Catiline drew into the plot all the debauched youth of Rome, who had ſquandered away their eſtates, and could no longer follow their extravagant courſes; and likewiſe ſome of the old ſoldiers and officers of Sylla's army, who, after having conſumed all the rewards of their former ſervices in debaucheries, were longing for a new civil war, as the only remedy for want and poverty. As it was very difficult

[i] Plut. in Cæſar. Salluſt. bell. Catilin.

difficult that the deſigns of ſuch men as were continually rioting ſhould long remain ſecret, Cicero was informed of them by Fulvia, a woman of diſtinction, but who diſhonoured her family by a criminal correſpondence with Quintus Curius, one of the conſpirators. The young debauchee, finding himſelf ſcornfully treated by Fulvia, after he had ſpent his eſtate upon her, in order to recover her favour, boaſted, that he ſhould be ſoon rich enough to pleaſe her; adding, that the method he was taking to become ſo, was a ſecret which he would never diſcloſe to her. This awaked her curioſity; and as ſhe was more artful than her lover, ſhe ſoon prevailed upon him by her careſſes to unravel the whole plot. Whether Fulvia was really ſtruck with the danger of the republic, or thought the undertaking would not ſucceed, as being managed in great part by young people, ſhe made a full diſcovery of all ſhe had heard to Cicero, but concealed the name of the perſon, who had given her that intelligence. This diſcovery Cicero, who then ſtood for the conſulate, and had Catiline for his competitor, made uſe of to get himſelf choſen, and Catiline excluded. The collegue given him by the tribes was C. Antonius, a man naturally lazy, a lover of eaſe and pleaſure, and who hitherto no further concerned himſelf in public affairs, than was neceſſary to ſhew that he was not abſolutely unfit for them. As he was a man of little weight and eaſily manageable, Cicero flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, with a little art, to get the aſcendant over him, and govern him as he pleaſed. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than P. Servilius Rullus, tribune of the people, endeavoured to revive the old troubles about the diſtribution of the conquered lands. But he was vigorouſly oppoſed by Cicero, who by the force of his eloquence prevailed upon the people to ſacrifice their private intereſt to the public tranquillity. The cauſe of the public diſturbances being removed, the new conſul applied himſelf next to draw off his collegue from the faction of the tribunes, which he favoured; and ſucceeded by changing provinces with him, and reſigning to him the government of Macedon, which by lot was fallen to himſelf, and taking that of Gaul, which was leſs profitable, and had fallen to Antonius. This done, he made it his chief buſineſs to prevent any popular diſturbance. One had like to have been raiſed in the theatre, on account of the new diſtinction which the tribune Otho had given to the Roman knights, allotting to them, in all

The conſpiracy diſcovered to Cicero.

Cicero's conſulſhip.

public ſhews, the fourteen firſt ranks after thoſe of the ſenators. But Cicero interpoſed, and harangued the people with ſuch ſtrength and ſucceſs, that they willingly complied with Otho's regulation. By this means he ſtifled a ſedition in its birth, of which Catiline might have made a very ill uſe [k].

Preparations made by Catiline for an open revolt.

In the mean time, Catiline, grown outrageous at Cicero's ſucceſs, reſolved to ſtand once more for the conſulate, and prepared for an open rebellion, in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed. He borrowed what money he could; and engaged his partiſans to raiſe as much as poſſible upon their credit, and on ſecurities. Theſe ſums were lodged in the hands of one Manlius, a ſoldier of fortune, who had ſerved with great reputation of bravery under Sylla, and at that time reſided at Fæſulæ in Hetruria. As that city was a colony of Sylla's ſoldiers, Manlius who had great intereſt among them, engaged them in the plot, and made conſiderable levies throughout all Hetruria. Lucullus the famous general, whom Pompey had ſucceeded in the eaſt, being informed of theſe preparations, made a report of what he had heard to the ſenate, and aſſiſted the conſul with all his intereſt in the proſecution of the traitor. Cicero at the ſame time kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with Fulvia, and even gained over ſome of the conſpirators, who, purſuant to his directions, pretended to be the warmeſt promoters of the plot. It was by their means that he diſcovered the deſigns of Catiline, the various ſentiments of his accomplices, their number and quality, and the general, as well as the private, views of each of the conſpirators. By them he was informed, that on a day appointed the conſpirators were to ſet fire to ſeveral parts of the city; that during the confuſion and uproar, which ſo general a conflagration would occaſion, ſome were to murder the chief men of the ſenate in their houſes, others to aſſemble the mutinous populace, ſeize the capitol, and fortify themſelves there, till Manlius arrived from Hetruria with his veterans. Two Roman knights were appointed to murder Cicero in his own houſe; but the conſul immediately informed of all that paſſed in their aſſembly, ſummoned the ſenate, and boldly informed the fathers, in Catiline's preſence, of the danger they were in. He communicated to them the whole plot, and though he did not

[k] Plut. in Cic, in Rull. & Piſon.

not think proper to name thoſe, by whom he had been informed, yet the ſenate by a public decree ordered the conſuls to take care that the republic ſuffered no detriment; an antient form, by which the magiſtrates for the time being had almoſt an unbounded authority conferred on them. Cicero, inveſted with ſuch an ample power, diſpatched, without delay, ſome of the worthieſt ſenators to the principal cities in Italy to keep them in awe. At the ſame time he placed guards in different parts of Rome to prevent the incendiaries. By his advice the ſenate promiſed not only a pardon, but ample rewards, to any of the conſpirators, who ſhould make farther diſcoveries of this black attempt. But not one ſingle man, which is very ſurpriſing, out of ſo great a number of profligates, appeared as an evidence againſt his accomplices. The conſul might indeed, upon his own perſonal knowledge, have made uſe of the new power the ſenate had given him, and condemned Catiline and his adherents to death without appeal. But as this was a dangerous ſtep, he thought it more adviſeable to induce Catiline to leave Rome, and to take refuge in Manlius's camp near Fæſulæ. With this view he aſſembled the conſcript fathers, and Catiline appearing among the reſt, as if he had been no ways concerned in the affair, thoſe ſenators, near whom he came to ſeat himſelf, quitting their places, left him quite by himſelf. Then Cicero, no longer able to conceal his indignation, firſt read certain letters which had been put into his hand by Licinius Craſſus (M); and then directing his ſpeech to Catiline, made that famous oration, which is ſtill extant, and will ever be admired by all men of taſte and judgment. Catiline heard his ſpeech with the moſt artful diſſimulation, and even had the aſſurance to entreat the conſcript fathers not to ſuffer themſelves to be prejudiced againſt him by the calumnies of his moſt bitter

The conſuls are veſted with an extraordinary power.

Cicero harangues the people againſt Catiline.

(M) After Craſſus had ſupped, one of his ſervants brought him a pacquet, which he ſaid had been delivered to him by an unknown perſon. In the pacquet were ſeveral letters directed to different perſons, and one to Craſſus himſelf, which he read; and found therein the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy. The anonymous writer likewiſe adviſed him to leave Rome without delay, if he tendered his life. Upon this Craſſus went directly to the conſul, and delivered to him the pacquet, in order to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicion, which his ſtrict friendſhip with Catiline had raiſed.

bitter enemy, a new man, who had not ſo much as an houſe of his own, and who had forged a conſpiracy in order to raiſe himſelf, and acquire the title of defender of his country. He added, that Cicero laughed in private at their credulity, and the falſe alarms he had given them. But when he began to proceed to invectives againſt the conſul, he was interrupted by the cries of the whole aſſembly, the ſenate-houſe ringing with the names of incendiary, parricide, enemy to his country, &c. Catiline, highly provoked at theſe reproaches, and foaming with rage, cried out, Since you have provoked me to the utmoſt, I will not periſh alone, but will have the ſatisfaction of involving thoſe who have ſworn my ruin, in the ſame deſtruction with myſelf. Having ſpoke thus, he inſtantly left the ſenate, and ſending for Cethegus, Lentulus, and the other chief conſpirators, he gave them an account of what had juſt happened in the ſenate; made them ſenſible, that he could no longer ſtay in Rome with ſafety; encouraged them to lay hold of the firſt opportunity of ſetting fire to the city, of aſſaſſinating the ſenators, and above all of deſtroying the conſul, the only man who could render their deſigns abortive. He told them, that he was going to put himſelf at the head of the forces, which Manlius had raiſed for him in Hetruria, and that they ſhould ſoon ſee him again with ſuch a force, as would ſtrike the boldeſt of his enemies with dread and terror. After this conference he

Catiline leaves Rome.

ſet out in great haſte for Hetruria, attended by three hundred of his party. His ſudden flight gave Cicero great pleaſure; but as he was ſenſible how tender the people were of their privileges, and feared the tribunes might exaſperate the populace againſt him, by ſuggeſting, that he had baniſhed a Roman citizen without conſulting them, the next day he mounted the roſtra, and in his ſecond oration againſt Catiline, which is ſtill preſerved in his works, informed the aſſembly of the true ſtate of affairs, aſſuring them, with great firmneſs, that no care or vigilance ſhould be wanting, on his part, to guard them againſt the impending dangers [1].

In the mean time Catiline arriving at Manlius's camp in the neighbourhood of Fæſulæ, took upon him the command of the troops, and at the ſame time aſſumed all the marks of a ſupreme magiſtrate, being preceded by lictors carrying their axes and faſces. The ſenate informed of

[1] Plut. in Cic. Salluſt. ibid.

of so open a rebellion; declared Catiline and Manlius enemies to their country, and at the same time ordered the consul Antonius to take the field with a proconsular army, and Cicero to continue in Rome and there watch the motions of the conspirators. At the motion of Cicero a decree was also passed, promising impunity to all those who should abandon Catiline, and return to Rome within a limited time, and declaring those guilty of high treason against the state, who should join him. Notwithstanding this decree, great numbers of profligates flocked to him both from Rome, and the other cities of Italy. Among others the son of Aulus Fulvius, a venerable senator, set out for the army of the rebels; but his father dispatched messengers after him, who brought him back to Rome; where his father, in virtue of his paternal authority, condemned him to death, and caused his severe sentence to be immediately put in execution. In the mean time Lentulus and the other chiefs of the conspiracy endeavoured to draw into the plot the embassadors of the Allobroges then at Rome, in order to get assistance from Transalpine Gaul. But the embassadors imparted the whole affair to Q. Fabius Sanga, who was the protector of their nation, according to the custom of those times, when the different states subject to the republic had in the senate one who took care of their interests. Sanga, after having made them sensible of the danger of such an undertaking, brought them to the consul, who prevailed upon them to continue their negotiations with the conspirators, in order to procure by their means undeniable proofs of the conspiracy. Accordingly, the embassadors made no difficulty to close with the proposals of the conspirators, but insisted on a written treaty as their credentials to their countrymen. This treaty was granted them, signed by all the chiefs of the plot; and it was agreed, that they should set out on the third of the nones of December, and take their way through Hetruria to get the treaty ratified by Catiline. Cicero, being informed by the embassadors when they were to leave Rome, sent privately two prætors, with a sufficient number of troops, to lie in wait for them, seize them, with the conspirators who attended them, and bring them all back to Rome. The prætors faithfully executed their commission; the embassadors together with Vulturcius, who had taken upon him to conduct them to Catiline, were stopped at the bridge Milvius, and brought back to

Catiline declared an enemy to his country.

Is betrayed by the embassadors of the Allobroges.

Rome

Rome with all the papers, which either the Allobroges or Vulturcius had in their cuſtody. This news Cicero received by break of day, and having now in his power undeniable proofs of the conſpiracy, he ſent, without loſs of time, proper officers to ſeize Lentulus, Gabinius, Cethegus, Statilius, and other chiefs of the conſpiracy, in their houſes. Theſe were not ſent to the public priſons, but, agreeable to the tenderneſs the Roman laws ſhewed to citizens, though ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, were only committed to the care of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators. Then the conſul, upon the depoſition of the Allobroges, ordered the houſe of Cethegus to be ſearched; and having found there a great quantity of ſulphur and tow, with arms of all ſorts, he aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of Concord. There he produced his evidence, confronted the witneſſes with the criminals, and prevailed on Vulturcius to diſcover the ſecrets of the plot. Cicero, having thus got the proofs he expected both from the witneſſes and criminals, he aſſembled the ſenate again, when the conſcript fathers returned him the thanks he deſerved, and acknowledged, that by his wiſdom, vigilance, and courage, he had diſcovered a deteſtable plot, ſaved Rome from the flames, and preſerved the republic from utter ruin. Catulus and Cato went ſo far as to ſtyle him the father of his country, an appellation, which had never been given to any Roman before him. L. Gellius moved that a civic crown ſhould be given the conſul, a mark of honour which had never been granted but in camps. After theſe applauſes the conſcript fathers entered into a debate concerning the puniſhment of the criminals; but before they came to any reſolution, L. Tarquinius, one of the conſpirators, appeared before the fathers, confeſſed his guilt, and accuſed M. Licinius Craſſus, the richeſt man in Rome, of being concerned in the conſpiracy. But the very name of Craſſus raiſed a great clamour in the aſſembly; his friends cried out, that Tarquinius had been ſuborned; and thoſe very ſenators, who ſuſpected Craſſus, joined the majority in acquitting him. It was dangerous to provoke a man of his great intereſt; ſo that Tarquinius was the only ſufferer by his accuſation. He was condemned to impriſonment, and enjoined never to mention this affair again, unleſs it were to diſcover the perſon who had ſuborned him. The ſenate, after long and warm debates, came to no other reſolution, than that the four chief criminals, Lentulus, Cethegus,

The chiefs of the conſpiracy ſeized.

Cicero ſtyled father of his country.

Craſſus accuſed and acquitted.

thegus, Statilius, and Gabinius ſhould be carried to the public priſon, and there kept under cloſe confinement, till the fathers agreed about the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted upon them. During theſe delays, Cethegus found means to convey letters to his friends and clients, encouraging them to raiſe the whole party, and try their utmoſt to reſcue them out of priſon. But Cicero, informed of this, poſted troops on the ramparts, at the gates, and in the croſs-ways, and having aſſembled the ſenate anew on the nones of December, he exhorted the fathers to come to an ultimate reſolution concerning the priſoners. Syllanus, conſul elect for the enſuing year, was, according to cuſtom, aſked his advice firſt; and he, without heſitation, declared, that, in his opinion, they all deſerved to die. All who voted after him were of the ſame opinion, except T. Nero and Julius Cæſar. The latter made a famous ſpeech in praiſe of clemency, which is ſtill extant, and by all admired as a moſt artful piece of oratory. He concluded, ſaying, that in an affair, which concerned the lives of the citizens and the principal patricians in Rome, it was adviſeable not to be too haſty in giving judgment; but that they ſhould be well guarded, and kept in ſome towns of Italy, till Catiline was vanquiſhed. As Cæſar was an excellent orator, his ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the aſſembly. Moſt of the ſenators, and among the reſt Syllanus, retracting what he had ſaid, declared for Cæſar's opinion. But Cato, when it came to his turn to vote, repreſented in ſuch lively colours the horrible deſigns of the conſpirators, and ſhewed with ſo many unanſwerable arguments, that Cæſar's clemency was incompatible with the ſafety of the ſtate, that the whole ſenate returned to their former opinion, and ſentence of death was pronounced againſt the conſpirators, without any oppoſition but from Cæſar only, who, obſtinately perſiſting in his opinion, made ſuch a noiſe, that the guards at the door came into the ſenate, and, thinking him a conſpirator, would have killed him, had they not been prevented by Cicero and Curio (N). Cæſar's unſeaſonable

The ſenate conſults about puniſhing the conſpirators.

(N) There happened a ridiculous adventure during the heat of the conteſt between Cato and Cæſar. Servilia, Cato's ſiſter, being in love with Cæſar, ſent a ſlave to him with a letter, in which ſhe expreſſed her affection in the moſt paſſionate terms. The ſlave, who was ordered to deliver the letter into Cæſar's own hands, not finding him at home, brought it to him in the ſenate. Cato no ſooner ſaw the letter delivered, than he cried out, that it came from

Cæſar ſuſpected.

ſonable mildneſs, and management in this whole affair, made moſt of the ſenators ſuſpect he had a hand in the plot; nay, Curius undertook to prove from ſome writings of Catiline, that he had entered into engagements with the author of the conſpiracy. But Cicero, who was ſenſible how great his intereſt was in Rome, avoided impeaching him with the reſt, leſt by the aſſiſtance of his friends and relations he ſhould not only eſcape the rigour of the law himſelf, but ſhould likewiſe ſave the reſt of the criminals. As Cæſar was going out of the ſenate, the knights, who were upon duty, turned the points of their naked ſwords towards him, watching the conſul's looks to receive his orders. But Cicero made them a ſign to let him eſcape, either for fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the murder illegal [m].

But ſaved by Cicero.

As ſoon as the decree for the execution of the criminals was paſſed, Cicero, though it was late in the day, went directly from the aſſembly to the priſon, and to prevent a reſcue in the night, had them executed in his ſight. As he was returning home after the execution, he turned to the populace, who crouded about him, and cried out, Vixerunt, They have lived, an expreſſion then in uſe among the Romans to avoid ſaying, Mortui ſunt, They are dead, death and dead being words of an ill augury, which conveyed melancholy thoughts to the mind. The friends and relations of the conſpirators, who had reſolved to break open the priſons in the night and reſcue them, were thunderſtruck, when they heard they were executed, loſt all hopes, and immediately diſperſed. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy which the people ſhewed, when they heard that the plot was ſuppreſſed, and the conſpirators puniſhed. They conducted the conſul to his houſe with extraordinary ſhouts and acclamations: as it was night, fires were made in the ſtreets, through which he paſſed; and the whole city was illuminated, men, women, and even

The conſpirators executed.

[m] Salluſt. ibid. Plut. in Cic. & Cæſare.

from one of the conſpirators, and inſiſted upon its being read to the aſſembly. Cæſar ſmiling, gave him the letter, and Cato, after he had peruſed it, threw it back to him, ſaying with his uſual ſourneſs, Take it, drunkard (25). This reproach Cæſar well deſerved, for in his youth he was greatly given to drinking.

(25) Plut. in Cat.

en children calling him, as he paſſed by, The deliverer Rome, the ſecond founder of the city, the father of his untry, &c. This night was more glorious to him, than a y of triumph had ever been to the greateſt general. No nful ever ſince the birth of the republic had done her more nportant ſervices. Others had enlarged her territories by eir victories, but Cicero ſaved the lives of his fellow-ci-zens, and the ſtate itſelf from utter ruin [n].

CICERO and Antonius had no ſooner yielded the faſces) D. Junius Syllanus and L. Licinius Murena, than Q. Metellus, and L. Beſtia, two tribunes of the people, to ob Cicero of the honour of putting an end to the rebellion, nade a motion for recalling Pompey from Aſia to march gainſt Catiline. Cæſar, jealous of Cicero's glory and grow-ng intereſt, ſupported the tribunes; but Cato, with great intrepidity, oppoſed the motion; whereupon the two tri-bunes and Cæſar raiſed ſuch a tumult, that he was even driven from the roſtra by violence, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. However, the tumult was no ſooner ap-peaſed, than the people returned in crouds to the comitium, ſupported Cato, and prevented Metellus from publiſhing the edict. When the ſenate were informed of theſe vio-lences, they deprived both the tribunes and Cæſar, who was then prætor, of their offices. Metellus left Rome, and ſet out for Aſia to complain to Pompey of the ſmall concern the Roman people ſhewed for his glory; but Pompey paid little regard to his complaints. As for Cæſar, he at firſt refuſed to comply with the decree of the ſenate; but at length, fearing the reſentment of the fathers, he laid down his office, and ſhut himſelf up in his houſe. The multi-tude, who adored him, offered to reſtore him to his poſt; but he wiſely refuſed it, without the conſent of the ſe-nate. This conduct charmed the fathers to ſuch a de-gree, that, after many encomiums, they re-inſtated him in his prætorſhip. Thus, by the departure of Metellus, and the political moderation of Cæſar, tranquillity was re-ſtored to the city.

Diſturbance raiſed by Cæſar and the tribunes.

DURING theſe tranſactions at Rome, Catiline made it his whole buſineſs to lead his army into Tranſalpine Gaul, where the whole nation ſeemed ready to declare for him. To prevent this, Q. Metellus Celer, leaving Picenum, which he had guarded the laſt year, poſted himſelf with three legions at the foot of the Alps. On the other hand, Antonius,

[n] Plut. in Cic.

Antonius, Cicero's late collegue, kept following Catiline in the rear; so that the rebels were in a manner hemmed in by two bodies of troops. In this situation Catiline resolved to attack Antonius, who, as he had been formerly of his faction, seemed to act but faintly against him. With this view he marched back, and meeting the proconsul near the city of Pistoria, now Pistoia, he drew up his men in order of battle. In the first line he posted eight cohorts, which were the best armed; in the second the veterans, who had served under Sylla, and in the third his new levies, armed only with knotty clubs, long poles, or the implements of husbandry. Having drawn up his troops, he led them to a great distance from his camp to shew that he was fully resolved to give battle. Antonius observed the enemy's motions, but would not stir out of his camp, though all the officers of the army pressed him not to let slip the opportunity that offered of putting an end to the rebellion at once. Should Catiline escape, said they, and get into Gaul, what will be the fate of Italy? Who knows how much blood must be spilt before the rebels are crushed? But Antonius would not by any means consent to an engagement; which some historians ascribe to a secret inclination he had for the party, which he was ordered to destroy. Whatever were his motives, when the legionaries absolutely insisted on their being led against the enemy, he pretended to be indisposed, and committed the conduct of his army to Petreius, who had served above thirty years, and had raised himself by his merit from a private soldier to the post of lieutenant-general, in which quality he now served under Antonius. The soldiers, not doubting of victory under so brave and experienced a leader, marched out of their camp in two lines, and fell upon the enemy with a fury hardly to be expressed. The rebels sustained the onset with equal intrepidity and resolution, and, being encouraged by the example of their leader, obliged Petreius's first line to give ground. But that brave commander flying to their relief with a body of fresh men, the rebels were in their turn forced to retire in disorder. Hereupon Catiline, reproaching his men with cowardice, and putting them in mind of the promise they had made before the battle, either to conquer or die, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory continued doubtful, till Manlius and the officer of Fæsulæ, who commanded the wings, were both killed. Then Catiline, being no longer able to govern so great a body himself, his ranks

Catiline resolves to give Antonius battle.

Antonius commits the command of the army to Petreius.

ranks were broken, and moſt of his men, eſpecially in the wings, diſperſed. Hereupon the head of the rebels, reſolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, threw himſelf in a great rage into the midſt of the enemy, and there found the death which he ſought. He no ſooner fell, than his whole army betook themſelves to flight, leaving Petreius maſter of the field. That prudent commander would not ſuffer his men to purſue the fugitives, but allowed them all, as they were for the moſt part Roman citizens, to eſcape and return to their own houſes. Of the rebels three thouſand were killed on the ſpot. Catiline was found on a heap of dead bodies, ſtill breathing, and with thoſe marks of fierceneſs in his countenance, notwithſtanding the agonies of death, which had rendered him formidable to his enemies during his life [o]. And now nothing more ſeemed wanting with regard to the conſpiracy, than to puniſh Catiline's accomplices. L. Vettius, a Roman knight, became their accuſer, and included Cæſar, now prætor, in the number. Q. Curius likewiſe accuſed him in the ſenate of being one of the chief conſpirators, and in proof of his depoſition quoted the teſtimony of Catiline himſelf, by whom he ſaid he had been told the names of all the conſpirators, and particularly that of Cæſar. As for Vettius, he offered to produce the accuſed's own hand-writing, which had been found among Catiline's papers. But Cæſar called upon Cicero to witneſs the diſcoveries he had made to him concerning the plot; and Cicero's teſtimony was his juſtification; not that the orator thought him clear from all guilt, but becauſe he was afraid to rank ſo popular a man among the criminals [p]. After this ſeveral decrees were iſſued out againſt the reſt of the conſpirators, and ſuch effectual care was taken of the public peace, that in all the provinces, where any ſeditions had happened, the rebels were ſuppreſſed, and the guilty puniſhed.

Catiline defeated and killed.

Cæſar privy to the conſpiracy.

In the mean time the pontifex maximus dying, Cæſar was by the ſuffrages of the people advanced to that high ſtation, though he had Servilius Iſauricus and Lutatius Catulus, two of the greateſt men of the republic, for his competitors. But the joy he felt on this occaſion was in great meaſure allayed by his domeſtic misfortunes. His wife Pompeia, the daughter of Pompeius Rufus, entertained

Cæſar choſen pontifex maximus.

[o] Salluſt, ibid.

[p] Plut. in Cic.

ed a ſtrong inclination for a young patrician, named P. Clodius. As Clodius, though yet a youth, was infamous for his lewdneſs and debaucheries, Pompeia could not, without expoſing her character, even ſpeak to him in public. At home ſhe was naturally watched by the virtuous Aurelia, Cæſar's mother, and by his ſiſter Julia, who entertained ſome ſuſpicions of her. As ſhe could therefore find no other opportunity of meeting Clodius, ſhe took advantage of a very ſolemn feaſt, which was to be celebrated in her huſband's houſe. It had been cuſtomary, ever ſince the birth of the republic, to have certain religious ceremonies performed at the end of every conſular year in the houſe of the conſul or prætor. Thither the veſtals repaired, and offered a ſacrifice to the Good Goddeſs (O), whoſe very name

P. Clodius carries on an intrigue with Cæſar's wife.

(O) We learn from Cicero all that is to be known of the Good Goddeſs, and of the ſacrifices offered to her. In his oration concerning the anſwers of the aruſpices, he ſpeaks thus; "What "ſacrifice is there ſo antient as that which has been handed "down to us from our firſt kings, and is coeval with Rome her"ſelf? What ſacrifice is there ſo private and ſecret as that which "is concealed not only from the eyes of the curious and inqui"ſitive, but from the ſight of all men, and whither neither the "moſt profligate wickedneſs nor impudence ever yet preſumed to "enter? This ſacrifice no man, except Clodius, was ever ſo im"pious as to violate, no man, but Clodius, ever thought, without "the utmoſt horror, of aſſiſting at it. This ſacrifice, which is "performed by the veſtal virgins, which is performed for the "proſperity of the Roman people, which is performed in the "houſe of the chief magiſtrate, celebrated with unknown cere"monies, and in honour of a goddeſs, whoſe very name to know "is ſacrilege; this ſacrifice Clodius profaned, &c." Since then, at the very time when this adventure happened, the ceremonies obſerved in that ſacrifice were abſolutely unknown to the people, and locked up under ſo religious a ſecrecy, that all were ignorant of the very name of the goddeſs, we are not to wonder, that the antients have left us in the dark as to the nature of this ſacrifice. One thing indeed ſeems unaccountable: Cicero tells us, that the name of the goddeſs was concealed from the men, but revealed to the women: how then could it remain ſuch a ſecret? This is much to the honour of the Roman women. Plutarch takes the good goddeſs to be the ſame with the Gynæcea of the Greeks, that is, with the goddeſs of the women; and adds, that the Phrygians who claimed a particular title to her, ſaid ſhe was mother to Midas, that the Romans pretended, ſhe was one of the dryads and married to Faunus, and that the Greeks affirmed, ſhe was mother to Bacchus.

name was concealed from the men, and known only to the women. At this ſacrifice it was unlawful for any man to aſſiſt; nay it was deemed a ſacrilege even for the maſter of the houſe, or his children, to be at home while the ceremony was performing. Some writers tell us, that the women, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, carried their ſuperſtition ſo far as even to cover the pictures of men and male-animals with thick veils. On this ſolemn day, and in the houſe ſet apart for this religious uſe, Clodius and Pompeia agreed to meet. Clodius, in order to get admiſſion, was to come in the habit and diſguiſe of a ſinging woman; for the ſolemnity was attended with dancing and muſic. A female ſlave, who was in the ſecret, had orders to receive him and conduct him to his miſtreſs's apartment. Clodius, being yet very young, was by his face and appearance, taken for a woman and readily admitted. The maid, who was in the ſecret, no ſooner ſaw him than ſhe ran to inform Pompeia; but as ſhe did not return ſo ſoon as Clodius expected, he grew uneaſy; and not thinking it ſafe to continue long in the ſame place, he took ſeveral turns in the rooms, avoiding the lights as much as poſſible for fear of being diſcovered. As he was thus walking about ſlowly by himſelf, one of Aurelia's maids, taking him for a female muſician, aſked him to ſing; which he refuſing to do, the maid put ſeveral queſtions to him, and obliged him at laſt to ſpeak, which he no ſooner did, than his voice betrayed him. Whereupon the woman ſhrieking ran into the rooms where the ceremonies were performed, crying aloud, that ſhe had diſcovered a man. The women all in a fright threw a veil over the myſteries, ſtopt the ceremonies, and, having ordered the doors to be ſhut, ran about with lights in ſearch of the ſacrilegious man, whom they found in the maid's room, who was privy to the appointment. There they ſeized him, and having driven him out of doors, though it was yet night, they went home to acquaint their huſband's with what had happened. The next morning Clodius's impious attempt was the ſubject of every converſation, and all agreed, that he ought to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Accordingly he was accuſed of profaning the holy rites, but the populace declared in his favour; ſo that the judges, fearing to provoke the multitude, acquitted him. Cæſar immediately divorced Pompeia; but being ſummoned as a witneſs againſt Clodius, he ſaid, that he had nothing to charge him with. As this looked like a paradox, the accuſers aſked him, why

Cæſar divorces his wife Pompeia.

then had he parted with his wife? Becauſe, ſaid he, I cannot bear that my wife ſhould be ſo much as ſuſpected. He declined appearing againſt Clodius, to gratify the populace, who, he ſaw, were very earneſt to ſave him [q].

THE next year M. Pupius Piſo, one of Pompey's lieutenants, was, upon his recommendation, raiſed to the conſulate, and with him M. Valerius Meſſala. Soon after their election, news was brought, that Pompey, after having reduced ſeveral kingdoms in the eaſt, was preparing to return to Rome. Some, fearing he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt his country, were for raiſing troops, and guarding againſt any attempt of that nature; but he reſolved on a conduct very different from what was dreaded. He was very deſirous of making himſelf abſolute in the republic; but at the ſame time ſo weak as to imagine, that he could attain and preſerve a kind of arbitrary power by ſuch gentle methods, as would carry no odium with them.

Pompey's idle ſcheme of power.

Agreeable to this falſe notion, he diſbanded his troops, as ſoon as he landed at Brunduſium, and proceeded to Rome with as ſmall a train as if he had been returning from a journey of pleaſure. The whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud acclamations. He demanded a triumph, which, as he well deſerved it, was readily granted him. The proceſſion laſted two days, and was by far the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in Rome. Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great diſtinction, among whom were Ariſtobulus king of Judæa and his ſon Antigonus; Olthaces king of Colchis; Tigranes, the ſon of Tigranes king of Armenia, with his wife and daughter; five ſons and two daughters of Mithridates king of Pontus, a queen of Scythia, &c. The ſpoils that were carried before him were valued above three millions ſterling; and the gold and ſilver coin, which he delivered to the quæſtors, amounted to thrice that ſum, not reckoning the large donatives which he beſtowed on his ſoldiers; for he ordered one thouſand five hundred drachmas to each ſoldier of his army, that is, near fifty pounds ſterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, as other generals uſed to do, neither did he keep them in priſon; but ſent them all, except Ariſtobulus and Tigranes, back to their reſpective countries, at the expence of

His triumph.

[q] Plut. in Cæſare.

of the public [r]. The ſolemnity was no ſooner over, than Pompey betook himſelf to a private life, declining, from a pretended modeſty, even the uſe of thoſe titles and privileges with which he had been honoured. His aim was to aſſume a ſovereign authority in the ſtate, without appearing to deſire it; but he ſoon found, that it was eaſier to give law to ſubalterns in a camp, than to govern his equals in a free ſtate without force. There were many, who made as great a figure in Rome as himſelf, and were ready to oppoſe the ſovereignty at which he aſpired. Lucullus, who had paved the way for his conqueſts in the eaſt, did not think himſelf at all inferior to this celebrated conqueror. Craſſus had been Pompey's rival ever ſince he robbed him of the honour of a triumph, by aſſuming to himſelf the glory of having put an end to the war with the ſlaves, as we have related above. Pompey indeed outſhined Craſſus in glory; but the immenſe riches of the latter put him at leaſt upon a level with his adverſary; for he is ſaid to have been worth ſeven thouſand talents, that is one million three hundred fifty-ſix thouand two hundred and fifty pounds ſterling. Cato was too zealous for the public good to let Pompey give any wound to the liberty of his country. Cicero was not ſo diſintereſted in his views as Cato; but was at bottom a good republican, and his eloquence made him formidable. Cæſar, who, we may ſay, was at this time only beginning to ſhew himſelf, was too ambitious to ſubmit to any ſuperior. However, Pompey had intereſt enough to get L. Afranius and Q. Metellus, who had ſerved under him, promoted to the conſulate. They no ſooner entered upon their office, than he made two attempts, which turned both to his confuſion, viz. that lands ſhould be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the eaſt ſhould be approved by one decree. He made the motion himſelf; but it was almoſt unanimouſly rejected by the fathers, and no body oppoſed it with more warmth than the conſul Metellus, who had indeed made his court to Pompey, in order to raiſe himſelf, but hated him in his heart, for having divorced his ſiſter Mucia (P), which

Is convinced of the folly of his ſcheme

[r] Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridatic. Dio, l. xxxvii. Plin. l. vii. c. 26. & l. xxxvii. c. 3.

(P) Mucia was the third daughter of Q. Mucius Scævola. While her huſband was making war in Aſia, ſhe took advantage of his abſence, and carried on an intrigue with Cæſar, which was the

which he looked upon as an affront offered to the Cæcilian family. As for the other conſul, he was a man of no weight, and entirely incapable of buſineſs. Pompey, enraged at the refuſal of the ſenate, had recourſe to the tribunes, and prevailed upon Flavius Nepos, one of that college, to propoſe his requeſt to the people; but Lucullus, Cato, and Metellus oppoſed the tribune with great ſteadineſs and reſolution. Their oppoſition occaſioned a tumult in the forum, and the furious tribune went ſo far as to ſend the conſul Metellus to priſon; but Pompey, who was the author of the tumult, not caring to incur the hatred of the ſenate, ordered the conſul to be ſet at liberty, under pretence that the conſul had deſired it. He was now fully convinced, that to pretend to reign in a republic, otherwiſe than by force of arms, was a chimerical project; but as he could not conquer his boundleſs ambition, he made it his whole buſineſs to gain over to his intereſt the ſeditious Clodius, a man of a moſt abandoned character, but greatly favoured by the populace, and a declared enemy to the ſenate. The illuſtrious conqueror of the eaſt demeaned himſelf ſo far as to join this profligate patrician, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get him raiſed to the tribuneſhip, tho' he knew, that Clodius's only aim in aſpiring to that office was to revenge himſelf on Cicero, who had appeared as a witneſs againſt him, when he was accuſed of having profaned the myſteries of the Good Goddeſs. Hence the bitter complaints which Cicero made of him in ſeveral of his letters. This conduct greatly leſſened the high opinion, which both the people and the nobility had entertained of him before his return [s].

Sinks in his reputation.

In

[s] Plut. ibid. Cic in epiſt. 13. l. i. ad Atticum, & alibi paſſ.

the common talk of Rome; inſomuch, that Pompey did not think proper to wait till he returned to Rome to divorce her; but ſent orders to her to leave his houſe before he returned to Italy. She was ſiſter to the two Metelli, Celer and Nepos; and he could not but foreſee, that he ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of thoſe two patricians, who made a conſiderable figure in the republic; but her life was ſo ſcandalous, that Pompey thought himſelf obliged in honour to part with her, though he had three children by her. He never forgot the injury Cæſar had done him, but complained ſeveral times, in the heat of the civil wars, that the debaucher of Mucia was his Ægyſthus, ſince he was not content with having diſhonoured him, but at the ſame time wanted to take away his life, as Ægyſthus was Clytemneſtra's lover, and the muderer of her huſband Agamemnon.

In the mean time the government of Farther Spain, which comprehended Luſitania and Bœtica, that is Portugal and Andaluſia, falling by lot to Cæſar, after his prætorſhip, he was preparing to ſet out for his new province; but being ſtopped by ſome of his creditors, Craſſus, to whom he applied, took upon him to ſatisfy thoſe creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred ſixty thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſterling. Upon this Cæſar, being at liberty to go to his government, ſet out without delay. In his journey, as he was croſſing the Alps, he paſſed by a ſmall village, which had but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor, which gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to aſk him by way of raillery, Whether there was any canvaſſing there for offices, or any contention among the barbarians who ſhould be uppermoſt? To this queſtion Cæſar anſwered very ſeriouſly, That he had rather be firſt man among thoſe poor Barbarians, than the ſecond in Rome (Q). It is eaſy to imagine, that Cæſar, with theſe ſentiments, could not continue idle in his province. To find himſelf work there, he made war on the innocent Spaniards, and, advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued ſeveral nations, which had never before been ſubject to Rome. Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to Rome, carrying with him ſufficient ſums to diſcharge his debts, which amounted to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, ſo great was his extravagance and profuſion. His heart was ſet on a triumph and the conſulate; but chiefly on the latter, which he could not obtain, without appearing perſonally at the comitium. On the other hand, thoſe who demanded a triumph were obliged to halt in the ſuburbs, and there wait for the anſwer of the ſenate. Being therefore reduced to the dilemma either of laying aſide the thoughts of a triumph by going into the city, or to give up the conſulſhip by ſtaying in the ſuburbs, he readily renounced the former, and purſued the latter, leaving nothing unattempted in order to ſucceed. His management on this occaſion was a maſter-piece of

Cæſar ſent into Spain.

His ambition.

Aſpires to the conſulate.

(Q) Plutarch adds to this, that while he was one day reading the hiſtory of Alexander the Great, he appeared very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt out into tears, anſwering his friends, who aſked him the reaſon of his grief, do you think I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider, that Alexander, at my age, had conquered ſo many nations, while I have yet done nothing that is memorable?

policy, and the foundation of his future grandeur. The two citizens, who at this time made the greateſt figure in the republic, were, without diſpute, Pompey and Craſſus; but theſe two powerful citizens were declared enemies, and, all things conſidered, much upon a level. As they had both great intereſt, Cæſar plainly ſaw, that he could never obtain the conſulſhip, without gaining one or other of them to his cauſe; but the difficulty was which to chooſe. If he cloſed with Pompey, he would meet with a ſtrong oppoſition from Craſſus's friends; and if he joined Craſſus, he was ſure to have all Pompey's party againſt him. He therefore undertook to reconcile the two rivals, and by propoſing to them a triumvirate, in which ſhould be lodged all the authority of the ſenate and people, he prevailed upon them to make up their differences, and to enter into a ſtrict friendſhip with each other. In order to make their confederacy the more indiſſoluble, they ſolemnly bound themſelves by mutual oaths and promiſes to aſſiſt each other, and to ſuffer nothing to be undertaken or executed, without the unanimous conſent of all three. Thus was the firſt great triumvirate formed, by which Rome became a prey to three men, who, by the intereſt of their united parties, arbitrarily diſpoſed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. The public were long ſtrangers to the myſteries of this new cabal. Nothing more appeared to the ſenate than the reconciliation of Pompey and Craſſus, and Cæſar was congratulated by all ranks of men for having brought it about. Cato alone foreſaw the evil conſequences of this new alliance, and exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That Rome had loſt her liberty; but no body hearkened to him, till it was too late to follow his prudent counſel[t]. This aſſociation ſubſiſted to the death of Craſſus, and was followed by the entire ſubverſion of the republican ſtate.

The firſt triumvirate. Year of the Flood, 2944. Before Chriſt, 55. Of Rome, 693.

[t] Plut. in Pomp. Cæſ. & Catone. Dio, Caſſ. l. xxxvii. Appian. bell. civil. l. ii. Suet. in Julio.

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